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The Ohio State University, Ph.D., 1974
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THE HIGH SCHOOL TEACHER IN UGANDA:
A ROLE ANALYSIS

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of the Ohio State University

By
Rita Marie Byrnes, B.S. M.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1974

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FIELDS OF STUDY

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Anthropology of Africa

Political Anthropology

History of Anthropological Theory

Educational Anthropology

Culture Change

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CHAPTER I

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The study of a society can focus on one of a number of levels of analysis. The entire society can be viewed as a system of interrelated parts. Social institutions can be viewed as sub-systems within the larger social system. The unit of analysis may be an organization, a group such as the family, the individual person, or a particular role. This is a study of the teacher in a high school in Uganda, viewing the teacher's role as the unit of analysis. This approach, "role analysis," is one technique for studying the social system of the school within the context of the entire culture, and it provides a means for relating individual behavior to the social structure.

The teacher's role is itself viewed as a system of interrelated norms, behavior and relationships, defined within three larger contexts--the school, the community, and the nation. I am interested in the degree in consensus which exists concerning this role, among these three levels and within the school itself. Five predictions were tested concerning role consensus, based on a study of the role of school superintendent by Neal Gross and others.

Role Analysis

In the 1930s anthropology in America possessed large numbers of detailed ethnographic descriptions, many of them written by students of Franz Boas. In 1936, Ralph Linton wrote The Study of Man in an attempt to present organizing concepts for students in anthropology. He sought to demonstrate relationships between ethnographic detail and broader generalizations of functionalist and psychological approaches to society. Theoretical concepts, not far removed from the empirical data, enabled readers to compare cultures systematically. The status and role concepts were among these "middle range" concepts.

Linton distinguishes between levels of cultural elements--items, traits, complexes, and activities. Each can be analyzed according to form, use, meaning, and function in a culture. Culture is described as a system, composed of a number of sub-systems. It is by occupying a place in a sub-system that an individual occupies a "status". Linton defines an individual's status as his position in a pattern of reciprocal behavior, and also as the set of rights and duties assigned to a person in that position. The person's behavior in relation to these expectations, is his role.

In the same year, 1936, Linton held a running debate with A.R. Radcliffe-Brown at the University of Wisconsin. Radcliffe-Brown was critical of Linton's utilization of

sociological, psychological, and historical data in his study of society. Linton argued that a single functionalist model of society could not be invoked to explain the variety of cultural behavior anthropological mongraphs. Using psychological or structural interpretation exclusively, Linton said, would make any theory of human behavior less explanatory.

The question posed most dramatically by Thomas Hobbes, "What is the basis of social order?", had been answered largely in terms of power and the threat of force, or of theories of exchange. In 1937, Talcott Parsons used the role concept in suggesting that enlightened self-interest, exchange, and contract were not the only bases of social order (1937:89-102). He stressed the internalized, shared values which define the role structure of society. Parsons has been criticized for confusing the question of increased social integration with the origin of this integration in society. Parsons and Linton and role analysts in general have been accused of maintaining an overly integrated view of society in emphasizing shared expectations as a basis for human behavior.

Status and role

The status and role concepts were not introduced into the social sciences for the first time by Linton. They had been used without formal definition by Robert Park, George Herbert Mead, and others. Behavior was related to a person's place in society, and this approach provided a link between

the individual and the social stucture.

Linton's definitions--status, being the position in a social system, and the set of rights and duties associated with it, and role, the individual's behavior as an occupant of that position--were not adopted as widely as the use of the terms themselves. Used in a variety of contexts, the terms were often defined differently. The distinction between social position and associated behavior was maintained by Kingsley Davis (1949:86,90), Robert Merton (1957:110) and Parsons (1951:25).

Linton also referred to an individual's role as "a blueprint for behavior," the set of normative cultural patterns held in the minds of members of a society (1936: 114). This usage has been adopted in other studies using role analysis (Newcomb 1950:280; Parsons 1942:604). Theodore Newcomb introduced the term "role behavior" to designate actual behavior, as distinct from the role as a set of norms. J. Ingersoll used the term role to include both the actual and the expected behavior of an occupant of a social position. In analyzing a role as a system, he emphasized the interrelationships among behavior, expectations, recruitment, relationships, norms adhered to, and values expressed through the role system (1963).

The most frequent distinction drawn between status and role has been the analytical one drawn by Linton, which Parsons termed the "positional aspect" of an actor's participa-

tion in a set of relationships and the "processual aspect" of activities and attributes, the sum of preferred and expected behavior and attitudes associated with one status, or position, in society (Gross 1958; Goffman 1961; Banton 1965).

A different set of distinctions is drawn by Frederick Bates, who places the role concept within that of status. "Role is part of a position, a sub-set of norms among other sub-sets applied to the same position" (1956:315). W.R. Catton has defined role to include only the duties or obligations associated with a position in society, while status includes the rights and privileges associated with that position (Catton 1964).

Different uses of the term role include Coult's, which emphasizes both status and role as attributes. A social position or status is identified by one attribute which has some social significance. This main attribute implies other attributes of an individual. For example, "provider of clothing" may be implied by the attribute "father." The implied attributes also imply behavior forms appropriate for an individual. The main, over-riding attribute, "father," is the individual's status, and the implied attribute, "provider of clothing," is an element of the person's role. Implied behavior (such as, "making bark c th") is not itself the individual's role but is implied by it.

Ward Goodenough also introduces a new set of distinctions. He objects to the equation of a social "position"

with the rights and duties of one occupying that position. A social category, for instance "brother," implies certain obligations (such as, lending money). Goodenough argues that these two conceptual categories should be named separately because they can exist separately. A person can occupy the category "brother" without honoring his obligation to lend money. Goodenough suggests that this category of persons, a social position, be termed an "identity". A person's status then includes rights and duties accorded an individual in a particular identity relationship, and this status is composed of "right-statuses" and "duty-statuses." The person's role then would include the entire set of right- and duty-statuses assigned to any one individual in one identity. A person has several identities, in that he occupies different positions in the same social structure (Goodenough 1965).

Following the maze of conceptual distinctions that have surrounded the use of these terms is interesting for what it reveals about human thought, more than for what it adds to our understanding of the nature of status and role. Occasionally it is helpful to think back over what caused the entire subject to be introduced. The use of the term "role" developed out of the dramatic use of a part played by an actor, and out of references in English and in other languages to the appropriateness of a person's behavior, considering his "place" in society. The concept is central to socialization studies and to functionalist studies of

groups and organizations. Socialization is the process of learning appropriate social roles, and social functions are fulfilled through appropriate individual action.

Role analysis incorporates the strictly "sociological," i.e., empirically observable actions, along with attitudes and expectations, into an interpretation of social behavior. Erving Goffman's role analyses tend towards the psychological, viewing a role as a set of attitudes and attributes which allow an individual to foster a desirable impression of himself and to cope with social encounters in accordance with that impression. For Goffman, the role is the unit of socialization. Tasks necessary for the maintenance of society are allocated on the basis of roles, and the role system also enforces the performance of these tasks (1961:87).

The role is a structural unit in the writings of S.F. Nadel. He suggests that the role is a corollary of the social division of labor, and that role analysis is basic to functionalist studies. Social activities serve social functions. Rather than conducting structural analysis, producing models of social differentiation, he urges the study of the functions of role behavior. These, he suggests, will tell us more about the way a social system works, and how the individual is incorporated into his society (1957:Ch.5).

Following Nadel's suggestion that a role analysis should demonstrate that role behavior fulfills social functions, Daniel Hughes used the term role to designate a cluster of

functions fulfilled by a person carrying out a particular set of rights and duties, while those rights and duties constitute his status (Hughes 1967). These functions are the observable social consequences of the behavior of an individual. Hughes's analysis of the political system of Ponape shows that some of the social functions of traditional leaders are fulfilled more completely by elected leaders in the modern political system. In these areas, the role of the modern political leader overlaps with that of the traditional ruler.

A distinction introduced by Craig Calhoun is the difference between an individual's recognized place in a social system and the effects of his behavior within the system (1974). He argues against the use of the term role as an abstraction from the behavior of a category of individuals. Urging anthrolopogists to focus on the objective realities of social behavior, he suggests that role might best refer to the acutal behavior of one individual. This would allow us to begin with what we can actually observe--individual acts, and it would remind us as observers that actual behavior is not the same as people's ideas about that behavior. Each individual's actions would make up his role as an occupant of a particular position in the social system. Calhoun then uses the terms role expectations, referring to anticipated behavior, and status, referring to the structural interrelationships among people.

An important reminder in Calhoun's article, is that people do not act out statuses, as the distinction made by Linton and Parsons might suggest. Individual behavior that is not expected need not be an indication of failure to act out a role. Role expectations are not as specific as observable actions.

Role consensus and role conflict

Margaret Coulson is particularly critical of role analysts, partly for their proliferation of terminology that does not lend itself to empirical testing and for their analogy between real life and a stage play. She also attacks what she perceives as an assumption that society directs people's actions, leaving no room for individual reaction or choice (Coulson 1972). Part of her criticism is deserved, but the notion of individual choice has been dealt with in many discussions of role behavior (Toby 1952; Merton 1957; Gross 1958; Goode 1960). It is because these choices are incorporated into role systems that this approach is more valuable in understanding social behavior than one which defines the basic unit of society as the group.

Linton is sometimes blamed for bequeathing the erroneous assumption of complete consensus on later role analysts, but in fact Linton acknowledged that there would be disagreement in expectations for certain types of roles, and that the amount of agreement would vary among different

types of roles. He hypothesized that roles ascribed on the basis of sex and age would typically show the greatest degree of consensus (1936). Some studies based on Linton's definitions do not acknowledge this variation in consensus.

The degree of role consensus is of major concern in a study of the role of high school superintendent conducted by Neal Gross, W.S. Mason, and A.W. McEachern (1958). They label the set of expectatons held by one member of a role set for another, the "role sector". The amount of consensus varies between role sectors and between individuals occupying the same type of role sector. The degree of perceived consensus also varies among role sectors. Gross tested a number of hypotheses concerning actual and perceived consensus and the resolution of the conflict which arose in situations of dissensus.

Role conflict has been defined in a variety of ways in role analysis' attempts to deal with the variable that Coulson says they have ignored. The term sometimes denotes incompatible expectations to which a person is subject, whether he is aware of this conflict or not. At other times, role conflict refers to perceived conflicts in expectations. Other variations in this definition consider the source of the expectations, whether they arise from one or more than one role sector, or whether the occupant of the role considers these expectations legitimate (Gross

1958; 1966).

Merton dealt specifically with sources of disagreement in expectations in his article concerning the "role set" (1957a). Rather than assuming a one-to-one correspondence between status and role, as is implied by Linton, Merton suggests that since an occupant of a status interacts with a number of other status occupants, a variation in expectations is assumed. He terms the entire set of expectations, the role, and the set of others holding these expectations, the role set. For each status, then, there is one role set, or "complement of role relationships in which persons are involved by virtue of occupying a particular social status" (1957a:110). A person occupies a number of social statuses at one time, and is a member of a number of role sets. Role conflict includes actual and perceived conflicts in accordance with the usage in a number of other studies (See Parsons 1951:380; Perry and Wynne 1959; Toby 1952).

Merton relates role conflict to social change, in that social change should be understandable as individual changes in role relationships. The accumulation of individual choices in situations of role conflict leads to a change in behavior and future expectations. The mechanisms by which role behavior is altered vary among different types of role sets and in different societies. Merton suggests that a comparison in role changes between social institutions and societies would contribute to the

study of change.

William Goode also considers individual changes in role behavior to be an isolable part of social change situations. Individual variation or "deviance" from role expectations can arise from conflicting expectations or from a lack of commitment to values or a simple overload of expectations within the role set. Goode introduces the term "role strain" to refer to the "felt difficulty in fulfilling role demands, whether due to conflicting expectations or a simple inability to respond to perceived expectations" (Goode 1960b:484).

A number of writers enumerate mechanisms by which role conflict is avoided or resolved (Toby 1952; Goode 1960a). Roles are segregated so that contradictory expectations only arise in mutually exclusive circumstances. Roles are "compartmentalized," so that contradictory demands on one individual are met at different times or in different places. "Surrogates," channels of communication, office hours, vacations, "do not disturb" signs, assist in role compartmentalization. Failure to respond to role demands is explained or its effects are minimized by other mechanisms which vary among different role sets. The "excuse," the accident, unforeseen circumstances, and a superseding hierarchy of role obligations can both acknowledge and relieve role conflict. Failing these, there is the "automatic bilateral apology," an elaborate

ritual for reducing social friction by which both parties pretend to be guilty. Unresolved role conflict is terminated by simply "bowing out," reducing the role set to exclude the source of the conflict.

Goode describes these choices as essentially economic ones--ways of allocating limited resources (1960a). An individual adjusts his behavior according to perceived alternatives and the degree of conflict produced. Such a transaction expresses an evaluation of an obligation and of the resources available to meet it. "Costs" are measured relative to social values. A role transaction consists of setting a "price" in consideration of the "going role price." A higher price is paid if the person commits more of his time, energy, or resources to meeting the obligation. He strikes a bargain depending on his pre-existing norm commitment, his estimate of probable reward, or his fear of punishment. Limits are placed on role bargains in that pressure to pay the going role price is balanced against a tendency towards over-involvement or over-commitment.

Another of Coulson's criticisms of role analysis is that they assume that role consensus is necessary to a social system, that role bargaining is disruptive to social interaction. A number of role analysts have dealt with this assumption (Goode 1960b; Foskett 1969; Komarovsky 1967:335-338). They have questioned in what areas and to what extent consensus is necessary in order to maintain a

social system, and how the variation in consensus affects the working of the entire system. Biddle (1966:302-310) and Clark (1970) suggest that lack of consensus in certain areas of academic institutions contribute to their operation rather than hindering it. Sheldon Weeks suggests, based on his study of an African day school, that in a highly task-oriented, authoritarian organization a high degree of consensus may not be necessary for its functioning (Weeks 1968:244). With regard to other institutions, Komarovsky judged the main contribution to family disorganization to be rigidity of role conformity in a period of social change (1967:335-338), and Desmond Ellis suggests that shared values can actually contribute to social disorder and fragmentation (Ellis 1973:697).

Research in Uganda

This role analysis of the high school teacher in Uganda was prompted by twenty-one months' teaching experience in Kenya, plus four months' work on an adult literacy manual in Nairobi. Graduate work in anthrolopogy provided me with insights into problems of communication for an American teaching in East Africa.

The plan for this project included spending several months at an East African government-aided high school attended by students form several districts in the nation.

I chose a role analysis approach to the study of the school rather than a purely structural one because I be-

lieve that social behavior is better understood by a consideration of both structural and psychological factors. I relied largely on the study of the school superintendent conducted by Gross, Mason, and McEachern, mentioned in the previous section.

"Role" refers to the role system as described by Ingersoll (1963), rather than either behavior or expectation, in consideration of the complaints of Calhoun (1974) and Coulson (1972). Otherwise, terms are defined largely as used by Gross. The status of the teacher is the social position of the teacher vis-a-vis others in the social system. "Identity", used by Goodenough, emphasizes this social attribute in isolation from the other members of the role set, and refers to the category socially recognized as implying certain rights and duties. Role expectations are the rights and duties attributed to an actor by others in the role set. I adopted Newcomb's emphasis on the actual behavior as "role behavior", rather than as the role itself. Role conflict includes William Goode's "role strain" as well as the perceived incompatibility of role expectations. Role differentiation from Michael Banton's Roles (1965) refers to the extent to which a person's acting in one role influences his ability to act in other roles in the social system. Role functions, from the work of J. Ingersoll and D. Hughes, refer to the observable social consequences of role behavior within the social system.

One of the hypotheses supported by Gross's study was stated as follows: Individuals in any one position within a system who have had a more homogeneous preparation for that position tend to share greater consensus regarding expectations applied to a position in the system (1958:147). Separating the home region from the teacher training process I tested two predictions derived from this hypothesis:

(1) Teachers from the same home region in Uganda will tend to share a greater degree of consensus regarding expectations applied to teachers than will those from different regions.

(2) Teachers who received their teacher training from the same institution will tend to share greater consensus regarding expectations applied to their role.

A second hypothesis, supported by Gross's study was: The longer the members of a social system have interacted with one another, the more consensus they will have on the expectations they apply to incumbents of positions in that social system (1958:177). The following prediction was derived from this hypothesis:

(3) Teachers who taught in Mukono for a longer period of time will tend to share greater consensus regarding expectations applied to their job.

Two more alternate predictions concerning the resolution of role conflict were derived from Gross's study:

(4) Role conflict tends to be resolved according to

the expectations of the person in greater authority.

(5) Role conflict tends to be resolved according to the expectations of the peer group.

A prolonged stay at the school in Mukono made it possible for me to obtain much of the data for this study through participant-observation. I also used official documents of the Uganda Government and of the school, pertaining to the role of the teacher. I conducted unstructured interviews with students, teachers, and members of the local community. I also used structured interviews and one set of written questions in determining role consensus among teachers and the degree of consensus perceived by the teachers.

The issues on which consensus was measured were not formulated in advance of my arrival in Mukono. I spent the first five months there interviewing students and teachers to gain an understanding of problems and concerns of people at the school. The later interviews and the questionnaire reflected the concerns expressed in these months from October, 1971, to March, 1972.

During January and February, 1972, I also taught mathematics to freshmen and sophomore classes, so I was able to gain an inside view of the demands of teaching in that school.

Educational Anthropology

John Singleton makes an interesting comparison between

an academic discipline and the anthropologist's traditional unit of study, the tribe (1971). A tribe has a territory, a language, a system of social stratification, a set of rules of behavior, a series of rituals, and a mythology which justifies traditional values. An academic discipline has a territory, a separate language, a ranking system, a series of rituals in initiation procedures. The conceptual means of identifying a social unit also applies to a body of knowledge or a university department. It seems slightly disloyal to suggest that two distinct fields can be profitably combined without losing the "essence" of what was there before. Educational anthropologists in the United States are subject to some criticism that they are diluting the field of anthropology, using weak analogies in comparing education in different societies. Educators complain that such comparisons do little to help improve our own system, here and now.

Anthropologists have always been concerned with the nature of culture and cultural transmission. Assumptions about the nature of culture are contained in educational philosophies, although seldom influencing the formation of educational philosophies.

Anthropologists do not share the educator's primary concern for the application of culture theory to educational processes, nor do they share the educator's focus on the segment of cultural transmission that takes place in a

formal educational setting, the school. Cultural transmission, anthropology, refers to the enculturation that takes place in wide variety of settings including the family, age groupings, and informal group activities. They emphasize the relationship between the education process and the entire cultural context.

Anthropologist have been reluctant to propose solutions to problems of education without extensive study. The entire school system, the school as a sub-system in the society, the personnel and learning process in the school are seen as inter-related. The anthropologist's holistic approach requires an integrated view of the entire culture and an objective consideration of the premises on which educational policies are formulated.

The anthropological concern for the difference between the real situation and the ideal is also relevant to the study of education. Cultural transmission involves the reiteration of the ideals of society. The existence of these ideals is sometimes accepted without question. In the United States, for instance, the ideals of equal opportunity and acceptance of cultural pluralism exist alongside a school curriculum and educational outlook which reward specific class and ethnic backgrounds.

Cultural ideals themselves often contain inconsistencies. The ideal of equal opportunity for all and that of differential rewards for achievement are often invoked

without recognizing the implied contradiction between them.

The history of the study of cultural transmission in anthropology requires the mention of Franz Boas, who contributed both empirical research and suggestions for the improvement of American education. His thesis that the human organism is determined largely by cultural as well as genetic causes is substantiated by anthropometric studies of school children in America (1941:339). He emphasized the effects of environment on the child, and the necessity for considering cultural background and human malleability in American schools.

Boas also spoke out on social issues--intellectual freedom, democracy, and racism. His essays on education include warnings about prejudice in teaching practices and advocations of faculty control of universities (Boas 1945).

Ruth Benedict, a student of Boas, studied the functions of education in American culture. These functions are classified as transmissive, in that education imparts enduring social values and contributes to the maintenance of the social order; transitional, in that education has the responsibility of helping a child overcome cultural discontinuities between childhood and adulthood; and transformative, in that comparative educational studies can contribute to the improvement of society (Benedict 1943).

Margaret Mead, also a student of Boas, studied the transitional function of education, comparing American education to cultural transmission in Samoa and New Guinea societies. She suggests that one important responsibility of education is to provide models of behavior that are congruent with cultural ideals, and that societies undergoing rapid culture change should emphasize enduring social values in education (Mead 1951). Her other educational studies include an emphasis on enculturation as a lifelong process and on the effects of educational practices on social change.

In comparing the enculturation process among traditional societies and our own, Mead distinguishes three types of enculturation. Postfigurative education is emphasized in societies in which children learn most of their culture from adults. Cofigurative enculturation is the process whereby both children and adults learn from peers, and prefigurative enculturation, in complex and r pidly changing societies, takes place when adults witness models of behavior for the future of the society in their children. (Mead 1970).

Melville J. Herskovits defines encul`uration as all "the aspects of the learning experience wh ch mark off man from other creatures," including conscious and unconscious, formal and informal conditioning (1948:39). An understanding of the enculturation process, by which an individual

acquires the particular patterns of belief and behavior of his own culture, would enable teachers to understand differences among their students without condemning members of minority groups. This understanding of enculturation is the basis for Herskovits' insistence on cultural relativism in studying society. Based on research in Africa and America, he helped to destroy the myth of racial inferiority and showed that enculturation could contribute to both cultural stability and change. He criticized ethnocentric curriculum and teacher training, urged teachers to understand the malleability of the human child.

Robert Redfield, Clyde Kluckhohn, and Ashley Montagu, following the writings of Boas and Herskovits, each accept the placticity of the individual as an important consideration in education, but emphasize the need for stressing universal human values in education. Their writings urge teachers to move away from a position of complete relativism towards a recognition of the common humanity in all cultures and the need for cooperation between human groups (Redfield 1963; Kluckhohn 1963; Montagu 1958).

Jules Henry conducted field research in American classrooms and interpreted the education process in terms of the entire American culture. American culture, he says, consciously and unconsciously inculcates a non-reflective, acquisitive attitude toward life, which leaves Americans craving human values of love and cooperation. He describes

the American school as it reflects the drives and conflicts inherent in the totality of American culture (Henry 1965).

George Spindler has also contributed a great deal to recent educational anthropology. Viewing the school as reflecting and influencing social values and value conflicts in society, he has applied this view to the study of specific classroom situations and has compared the Anglo-American education system with educational processes among the Menomini Indians (Spindler 1963). He has also published several collections of articles on the anthropology of education (1963, 1974).

Theodore Brameld is an educational philosopher who has conducted cross-cultural research in education. He urges a cross-cultural approach to teacher training, in order for educators to better understand the nature of culture and cultural change (Brameld 1957). Brameld has taught courses in education in which prospective teachers do fieldwork in schools and attempt to formulate for themselves a set of values which are compatible with the culture and can be conveyed through the teaching process.

Brameld's philosophical position is neither that of complete relativism nor strict adherence to one set of universal human values. He describes two views of culture which have different implications for cultural transmission. The "superorganic" view of culture attributes to it a unique, objective level of reality. Within this view,

and a "stimulus-response" model of learning, the "perennialists" believe that Truth is absolute and unchanging. Education should serve primarily to react against materialistic biases and unquestioning faith in experimentation. The human mind must be constantly religned with Truth, which is, in the long run, unchanging.

Other, less absolute views of education processes in the superorganic view of culture, termed "essentialists," hold that truth changes insofar as new events occur. Culture changes as it incorporates history, but these changes proceed inexorably along a path far removed from human intervention. Culture is ultimately an unchanging set of human values, which should be reaffirmed in the education process.

A different view of the nature of culture is that it is a concept devised by students of society in order to interpret behavior. Brameld terms this the "operational" view. Analytically, culture can be divided into the meanings attached to objects and actions as symbols of social beliefs, and the acts and artifacts which manifest these common understandings. These things fit together to form a coherent whole, "a culture," in that, together with geographical and physical features, they form the environment of a group of people. Cultural transmission is the process of bringing a person into conformity and harmony with culture rather than conveying an absolute truth.

This view of culture implies a more active role of the student, placing more emphasis on his interpretation of experience which enables him to change his behavior and evaluate these changes. Within this view of culture, "progressive" educators encourage individual creativity and experimentation, emphasizing the individual role in instituting culture change. The "reconstructionist" view, to which Brameld himself adheres, emphasizes the planning and defining of the goals of social change within the process of education.

Brameld suggests that teachers construct and implement plans to improve the school, while teaching students to take a similar approach to social problems. The goals of learning are not defined in absolute terms. Rather, the results are to be accepted or revised, in a democratic fashion, by those affected by them.

Educational programs contain the implicit assumption that, in general, ideas determine behavior, and that values determine customs. Anthropologists question the direction of this causal arrow, emphasizing the extent to which the ideals of a society are justifications of, and even rationalizations for, customs which have evolved out of more pragmatic considerations. The educational philosophies outlined by Brameld describe the effects upon society for which schools should strive. In either view of culture, schools produce citizens who strive to conform to, or improve upon,

society's ideals. Anthropological studies of schools have emphasized the way the school reflects society. Social change produces new conditions to which the education process adapts.

When not pressed to overcome an opposing point of view, students of society generally concede that arrows of causation between social institutions may not be drawn in one direction only. Ideas and behavior exist in a balance, although not in complete harmony. In the same way, the relationship between educational institutions and the wider social system of which they are part, is an interaction in which changes at one level produce noticeable effects upon the other.

The school as an organization

A school can be viewed as a social system within society, having a culture and social organization of its own. Sheldon Weeks conducted a study of an urban school in Uganda in 1962. He separates the internal organization of the school from the external organization by which it is linked to other institutions in society (Weeks 1968). The stated goals of the school--maximizing the potential of the students and maximizing the resources available to the school--are contrasted with its actual operation. One of the goals, inculcating self-reliance among students, appeared to be dysfunctional to the smooth operation of the school. In a rural school where

my study was conducted, the headmaster complained that the rigid syllabus and authoritarian teaching practices left the students unable to earn high grades in further training programs, where they were expected to take more responsibility for organizing their own note-taking and study time.

Erving Goffman includes boarding schools, along with hospitals, mental institutions, and prisons, as "total institutions" (Goffman 1961). Such institutions exert a wide influence upon the lives of "inmates," as all aspects of a person's life are temporarily contained within one circumscribed setting. He describes the way that informal elements of institutional organization can assume a greater importance than formal elements. Explicit goals, such as rehabilitation or training, may be subordinated to implicit ones, such as efficiency of operation, social control, or maintaining the mental health of the staff. Informal structure--friends, cliques, gangs--influences the functioning of the formal structural units such as classes, work groups, or clubs. In the Council on Anthropology and Education Quarterly (1974) Francis Ianni repeats the concern for the understanding of the relationship between formal and informal aspects of the organization of school: "Educators are beginning to sense that informal social systems may be the primary facilitators of learning" (Ianni 1974:3).

Eric Wolf describes a model by which schools as national institutions can be studied by anthropologists (Wolf 1956). He views a nation as an integrated set of networks, organized at different levels. The Uganda school, for instance, is one terminus in a national network of schools. It is also located in a community, and is organized as a relatively autonomous institution. The behavior which characterizes interaction with other national institutions--governmental agencies and other schools--demonstrates the integration of the school into the national network. Behavior which characterizes interaction between members of the school and members of the community characterizes the integration of the school into the community, or the integration between the national and community networks. This differs only slightly form Week's "external" versus "internal" organization, but separates the external organization into the community and national levels.

Towards a theory of cultural transmission

George Spindler has pioneered in the search for a coherent model for conveying the anthropological outlook on education to anthropologists and educators. The "omnibus" model, as Spindler and his colleagues call it, is an outline of "what to look for in studying cultural transmission." Jules Henry's Cross-cultural Outline of Education (1960) is an example of an omnibus model. It

is helpful in pointing out aspects of the process but does not provide a coherent set of relationships among them.

The "enculturation" model, first outlined in these terms by Herskovits in Man and his Works, (1948:40ff.) made it possible to incorporate much of social psychology's insights into the learning process into the study of culture. Critics of this approach say that it does not adequately allow for individual creativity, innovation and culture change (Shimahara 1970).

Much of the work in this area has been done by members of the Council on Anthropology and Education, organized in 1968, with anthrolopogists and educational researchers sharing their concern for the application of anthropological research to educational development. Spindler, in working on models of cultural transmission, has developed what he terms a "cultural compression and discontinuity" model (1974:2), from an article written by Ruth Benedict (1936). In an attempt to extend the understanding of the enculturation process beyond the early years of childhood, Spindler and his associates conducted a cross-cultural comparison of "cultural compression," or a narrowing of alternatives which occurs at times in an individual's life. New opportunities for behavior are available, but are nonetheless carefully sanctioned by society. Cultural "decompression" occurs,

for instance, at old age when social taboos and recognition of sex differences are sometimes relaxed.

Another "embryonic enculturation theory" has been developed by Fred Gearing (1973). Gearing and others in the Council on Anthropology and Education have turned to the study of cognitive processes in cultural transmission. Gearing's "proto-theory" is based on the notions of "transaction" and "equivalence." Role analysts who discuss roles in terms of cognitive and affective processes, such as Erving Goffman, will find these notions familiar. The type of interaction concerned in Gearing's model is the"encounter," defined much as Goffman's encounter or "situated activity system," or focussed interaction. In one setting, both participants actively participate in sustaining a definition of the situation as they see it (Goffman 1961).

Gearing views the encounter as the scene of the "transaction of equivalences," or in grossly over-simplified language, the learning of meanings.

> The cultural system of any society or group consists of an array of diverse but interlocking equivalences of meaning which have been variously transacted in the course of recurrent encounters of each member of the group with some others.
>
> Cultural transmission consists of such transactions of equivalences in certain encounters — (Gearing 1973:1).

What each person brings to an encounter is analyzed into (a) ideas about the setting, (b) a logic, (c) a set

of social categories or identities regarding self, other, and third parties, and (d) an agenda, or set of expectations as to how the encounter will proceed. These "dimensions of cognitive mappings," according to Gearing, are all subject to change during any encounter. The study of cultural transmission ultimately should involve the analysis of the kind and direction of changes of each dimension in specified encounters. A cross-cultural model of cultural transmission, then, would involve mappings societies as to their patterns of encounters and characteristics of typical transactions. A general theory would consist of a series of predictions regarding these transactions.

Summary

Educational and anthropological research complement each other in their concern for culture and cultural transmission. Educators benefit from the anthropologist's broader perspective, his examination of premises on which education is based and of the wider repercussions of educational practices. Organizational studies also contribute ways to study the school as a social system in itself, the interrelationship between formal and informal organization, and the relationship to the wider social system. Theories of learning can be tested cross-culturally and used to compare traditional and modern

forms of enculturation.

Anthropologists also study education because most anthropologists are themselves educators. Their own academic perspective allows them to view their professional activities in the perspective of the entire culture. It enables anthropologists to synthesize interdisciplinary approaches to the study of social and educational issues. It also burdens the anthropologist with the awareness of and a understanding of the broad implications of proposed solutions to social and educational problems.

CHAPTER II

THE SETTING

Uganda

Uganda occupies 94,000 square miles of the interior of East Africa. One-seventh of the total area is the open water of Lake Victoria and smaller lakes. The boundaries of the country were set at a conference of the Anglo-German-Congolese Boundary Commission in 1896: Mount Elgon on the east, the Sudan and Egyptian territory on the north, Lake Albert and the Ruwenzori Mountains on the west, and Lake Victoria on the south. (See map, page 34.)

The land averages 4,000 feet altitude, with forty inches of rain on the average, distributed throughout the year. Temperatures range between sixty and eighty degrees Fahrenheit. The north is drier and warmer than Buganda on Lake Victoria or the cooler mountainous Western Region bordering Zaire.

Over ninety per cent of the population is dependent upon agriculture. One-half of the total domestic output originates in agricultural products. Staple foods include millet in the north and the banana in the south and east. Cassava, maize, peanuts, and a variety of vegetables are

Sudan

Zaire

West Nile

Madi

East Acholi

North Karamoja

West Acholi

South Karamoja

Lango

Lake Albert

Bunyoro

Teso

Sebei

Bugisu

Bukedi

Lake Kyoga

BUGANDA PROVINCE

Toro

Busoga

MUKONO

Lake Edward

Ankole

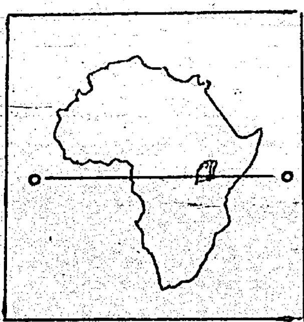
Kenya

Lake Victoria

Kigezi

Tanzania

Rwanda



UGANDA

grown as both food and cash crops. The most important cash crops are cotton, coffee, tea, tobacco and sugar cane. Cooperative socities and government marketing boards control the sale of crops. Wheat, dairy products, and meat are imported.

Consumer goods, cigarettes, beer, soap, waragi (gin), and blankets are manufactured and sold locally. Cement, paints, and timber are also produced, but tariffs between East African countries have limited export of these products. The second largest city, Jinja, is the site of the headwaters of the Albert Nile and of the Owens Falls Hydroelectric scheme which provides electricity for most of Kenya and Uganda.

Uganda is divided approximately in half, between the Nilotic language groups in the North and the Niger-Congo speaking populations in the south. There are twenty-one major langgage groups. The largest, spoken by one million Buganda in the south is Luganda.[1] Buganda Region, comprising four districts, is the home of one and one-half million Baganda and one million Banyarwanda immigrants, primarily Watusi. Other large groups in Uganda are the Iteso, Basoga and Banyankole, each occupying one main district. Of the four regions--Buganda, Northern, Eastern, and Western--only Buganda is considered one tribal territory. In each of the

[1]In Luganda, and a number of related languages, nouns are modified by prefixes. Lu-indicates the language; Mu-, the person; Ba-, the plural, as the Baganda. Bu-refers to the region, and Ki-, the adjective.

three regions, there are four or five districts which are ethnically distinct.

Kampala, the national capital, located in Buganda, contains over 300,000 of the nation's ten million people. Until Septeptember, 1972, about 70,000 urban residents in Uganda were of Indian descent, and more than one-third of these were Uganda citizens. In September, 1972, this number of "Asian Ugandans" dropped to less than five thousand.

One-half of the total population is under fifteen years of age (Uganda Government 1972:70-71). The Uganda Government Manpower Survey indicates that between 1972 and 1976 approximately four thousand high school graduates each year will be placed in training programs and positions of primarily clerical and technical employment, and an additional two thousand each year will continue on to the fifth and sixth years of "higher school" which precedes university. During these five years the number of fulltime jobs in Uganda is estimated to increase from 330,000 to 380,000 (Uganda Government 1972:81-85).

Most of the students involved in this study will probably be involved in agricultural projects but not necessarily farming after leaving school. Students watch the government bureaucracy to see in what areas jobs appear. The Ministry of Agriculture, one of twenty ministries in the President's Cabinet, controls cooperative schemes, live stock and crop marketing boards, irrigation schemes,

bush clearing units, research programs in crop expansion, agricultural colleges, district farm institutes, and rural training centers. The Ministry of Animal Resources operates a similar number of projects in livestock and poultry keeping, fisheries, and wildlife managements. These two ministries are expected to receive fifteen per cent of the total development expenditures of Uganda in the next five years.

Cultural diversity in Uganda

Students in the Mukono School represent sixteen of Uganda'a eighteen districts and over twenty ethnic groups. Although this study focussess largely on the national educational system, the influence of diverse cultures is felt in national development issues. Like most modern nations of Africa, Uganda is an artificial creation of the nineteenth century, comprising vastly different political and social systems.

The region of Buganda, in which Mukono is located, represents the most centralized of Uganda's traditional political systems. The kingdoms in Southern Uganda--Bunyoro, Toro, and Ankole--and the chiefdom of Busoga were also highly centralized. One of the districts which is well represented in Uganda's high schools including Mukono which is frequently contrasted with Buganda is the Kigezi district, home of the Bakiga. Kigezi is referred to by Europeans as the "Switzerland of East Africa" with its mountainous farmland and chilly year-round temperatures.

The Bakiga, also Niger-Congo speaking population, take pride in their decentralized political system based on kinship and age group alliances.

Another district represented in Mukono, although by smaller numbers of students and teachers, is the district of Karamoja. These pastoral Nilotic language speakers of northern Uganda have also taken pride in their decentralization and family autonomy. This distinction between the "north" and the "south" is frequently invoked in discussions of school problems, and is an oversimplification of the great diversity of ethnic groups within each region.

Although Uganda was a British Protectorate rather than a colony, the history of ethnic diversity has itself been affected by colonial history. The British intensified ethnic divisions by establishing district boundaries, and they intensified the ethnic basis of Uganda politics to this day, through the use of the District Council and by their favored treatment of the Baganda. Even at Independence in 1962, factional disputes based on ethnic divisions were recognized in the establishment of three different types of federal status among Uganda's districts.

History of Buganda

Before 1900

Uganda was originally inhabited by agriculturalists. Beginning in the sixteenth century, pastoralist populations from the north came into the area around Lakes Vic-

toria and Albert. The Kingdom of Ruanda, Burundi, and those in southern Uganda show the results of these migrations. The Nyoro, Toro, and Ankole Kingdoms still show the stratifications between pastoralist and agricultural populations. In Buganda there has been a more complete assimilation of the Nilotic invaders.

The clan system of the Baganda gradually became subordinated to the appointed hierarchy of chiefs before the mid-nineteenth century. The King, or Kabaka, held power to grant the use of land. A chief's followers were those to whom he had granted land use. The Kabaka had assumed the title, "Head of all the clans," although sacrifices to clan ancestors had not been channeled through the Kabaka but were organized around local shrines. The office of the Kabaka evolved into a secular office of great power, but not that of a divine king.

The first Kabaka, Kintu, is said to have been the brother-in-law of Walumbe, god of death. Some gods were human during their lifetime and have shown their supernatural powers only after death. Kintu is believed to be a human being, not a descendant of a god.

Buganda expanded its kingdom over the Basoga to the East and Ankole and parts of Bunyoro to the west. In 1862, when John Speke, reportedly the first European visitor, reached Buganda, he commented on the neatness and order that he saw in the kingdom and the "lack of superstition" in

comparison with neighboring populations. Kabaka Mutesa I was extending his rule to the north and west with a large well-organized army.

European and Arab traders had already been providing guns and assistance to armies in the north of Buganda's territory and in the Sudan. Mutesa received Speke with a gracious welcome. In 1869, Mutesa conquered Bunyoro, once the ruling kingdom in the area, using soldiers and guns provided by the English. To the north of Buganda, Sir Samuel Baker and Charles Gordon were attempting to suppress the slave trade to the Arab Coast and to annex the Northern Territory to Egypt's Equatorial Province. Administration took second place to the skirmishes involving the northern "tribes" and to slave trading.

In Buganda, Islam had been introduced with the earliest Arab traders in the 1840's, but slave trading had been minimal primarily because of the strong personalities and strong armies of Mutesa and his father, Suna. With threats of slave traders from the north and east, and troops in the north attempting to incorporate territory into Egypt, Mutesa agreed to Stanley's proposal to send Church Missionary Society representatives to Buganda in 1875, hoping that they would supply arms and ammunition.

Mutesa kept all missionaries at the royal capital until 1882, when the Catholics arrived in 1879 from France. He allowed them to live in the southernmost end of the king-

dom, where the divided loyalities of new converts, between their obedience to a king and to a new god, would be less threatening.

Mwanga succeeded his father, Mutesa, in 1884. He recognized the Christians to be potentially dislyoal citizens and feared threats to his kingdom from new Arab advances and a new German interest in East Africa. From 1885 to 1900, much of the political strife surrounding Buganda concerned the Catholics, Protestants, and Mohammedans. Mwanga provoked unexpected alliances when he executed Christians and denounced Moslems. For a short period, the Moslems replaced Mwanga with one of his brothers who had adopted Islam. Mwanga had once been baptized a Catholic, and he received Catholic support in reclaiming the throne.

Kalema, the Moslem brother, was able to reclaim the throne once again with the help of the armies from neighboring Bunyoro. Finally, the Catholics and Protestants united against the Moslems to reinstate Mwanga in 1890. Mwanga's job was much more difficult after that, for he not only agreed to divide his highest offices equally among Protestants and Catholics but also received frequent advice from his appointed chiefs, that all Christians should be driven out or killed.

In 1890 the Imperial British East Africa Company sent Captain F. D. Lugard to Buganda as its representative, in

the same year a treaty was signed between England and Germany recognizing Uganda as British territory. Lugard offered support to Mwanga in return for control of all foreign trade and treaties. Lugard helped Mwanga annex five counties from Bunyoro to Buganda.

In 1893 the British Government signed a treaty with Mwanga, superseding Lugard's Imperial British East Africa Company agreement with a stipulation that there should be two prime ministers assisting the Kabaka. The 1890 agreement had held that the Prime Minister, the Katikkiro, should be Protestant. Mwanga was nominally a Catholic, but had since converted to Protestantism, and it was agreed that there should be a Protestant and a Catholic Katikkiro. The Protestant was given seniority, and the fighting between Buganda and Bunyoro continued. When the British and Buganda finally defeated Bunyoro, they claimed for Buganda some of the best land including the ancestral shrines of Bunyoro. These "Lost Counties" are still the source of great controversy in Uganda. (See Kasfir 1972:103-106).

A British-Belgian treaty in 1894 established the boundary between Uganda and the Congo, and England brought the Western Kingdoms and Busoga within Protectorate status. Buganda objected to this move, claiming that it was redundant: these kingdoms had been subordinate to Buganda at the time of the British-Buganda treaty in 1893 and did not require separate agreements. Kabaka Mwanga was insulted at

the implication of their autonomy. When the British Commissioner, E.J.L. Berkeley, fined the Kabaka for ivory smuggling in 1897, Mwanga rallied an army to attack the Protectorate Government officials. Mwanga was defeated and deposed, and he fled. His one-year-old son, Daudi Chwa, acceded to the throne in 1897.

Religious and tribal conflict continued, with the Moslem armies residing in Bunyoro. During the 1890's Buganda's populations had been decimated due to cholera, sleeping sickness, and small pox. Rinderpest and blackwater fever attacked the livestock and severe drought contributed to food shortages.

This is a brief sketch of the nineteenth-century background of one former protectorate, but it is till important today in Uganda. Christian martyrs under Mwanga's rule are remembered in church services. The cathedrals and mosque occupy the three main hills of Kampala, where each served as a fortress. The names of nineteenth-century leaders are still remembered in the names of towns, roads, and schools.

Buganda in the twentieth century

In 1899 Sir Harry Johnston was commissioned to organize the Uganda Protectorate and to make communication and trade with the outside world more efficient, since the railway from Mombasa to Kampala was nearing completion. He wanted agricultural products from Uganda to be

transported to the coast as rapidly as possible. The aim was to have the Protectorate "pay its own way" as part of the Commonwealth.

Johnston's first problem was finding out just what land tenure policies were within Buganda. He undertook the revision of these policies before they were known, and the disagreements over the results are the source of many legal conflicts today.

The ethno-history of land tenure is inaccurate today, because of the bias of the informants of the main ethnographer of the Baganda, John Roscoe (1911). According to Roscoe's informants, land tenure policies changed during the reign of Mutesa I (1856-1884), as the number of estates given in return for services and gifts to the Kabaka greatly increased. Roscoe's chief informant, Apolo Kagwa, was also the Protestant Prime Minister at the time that Johnston was attempting to sort out land tenure customs in 1899, and also served as "historical advisor" to Johnston and the British Commission.

By 1899 chiefs were appointed in twenty counties of Buganda, the sub-counties, and the villages. The county was the unit of taxation; so the county chief collected the head tax and hut tax. Land in each county was "owned" for one of several reasons. The Kabaka allotted land to his senior appointed chiefs and ministers, his more important clients, in return for gifts and services, his mother and patrilineal

descendants of previous Kabakas. (The Kabaka was a member of his mother's patriclan, in exception to patrilineal descent rules which applied to other Baganda.) Subcounty chiefs appointed village heads and allowed them the use of land near the village. The heads of clans were the authority figures on land which clan shrines were located. Speculation is that these clan heads had rules "counties" until early in the nineteenth century. County chiefs were probably appointed to handle political matters for the clan heads, and the estate became vested in the appointed chiefs (Richards 1960:48).

The appointed chiefs received the power to levy taxes against people in their territory. Johnston's plan was for about one-half of Buganda to be vested in the colonial government and controlled by the protectorate administration. The remainder was allotted as freehold plots for appointed chiefs and office holders. The plan was accepted in 1900, and the Kabaka's council was given the responsibility of allocating 9,000 square miles of freehold plots.

The effects upon Buganda were striking. The next few years were a time of upheaval, as followers of chiefs went with them to the chief's new freehold land. Mass migrations took place. Some gained power through their land ownership, which they never would have gained by amassing clients or showing service to the State. Those who were chiefs in 1900 and received land were the Catholics and Protestants

who had supported Mwanga against the Moslems. As freehold land was inherited by the next generation, a landed Christian oligarchy was formed. The county chiefs each signed the 1900 Agreement and were given land accordingly. Clan leaders who were not also chiefs found themselves robbed of their land rights.

The Kabaka, as both "head of all the clans" and the "head of State," gave preference to the latter title. Their old landlords displaced, "commoners" were left without land. Court disputes ever since have revolved around clan leaders accusing appointed administrators of usurping their rights to land. Similar agreements were signed in Toro and Ankole, and Bunyoro's "Lost Counties," and Bunyoro's ancestral shrines still stand in the heart of Buganda.

Other effects of the 1900 Agreement were that boundaries were fixed between counties, giving emphasis to administration on an ethnic basis. Groups with long-standing hostilities were united, such as the Sebei and Bagisu, and the Batoro and Bakonjo. At the same time, cotton was introduced into the Protectorate, and it became an important cash crop within five years.

Following 1900, Baganda officials were sent to other districts as administrators, and most of Uganda's high schools were built in Buganda. The Kabaka wielded much more power than kings in Nyoro, Toro, or Ankole Kingdoms, or the chiefs or clan leaders in societies of the East and

North. In the 1960's Buganda opposed the East Africa Federation with Kenya, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar, for fear of losing its autonomy. Before independence in October 1962, all of the kingdoms were vying for a more favorable position at the time that the British left.

The terms of independence in 1962 allowed the four kingdoms and Busoga chiefdom to remain relatively autonomous. Internal affairs and education were organized within the districts. The Northern districts were administered directly by the Uganda Government. The Prime Minister, Milton Obote, was from Lango, in the North. The President was the Kabaka of Buganda, Edward Mutesa II.

In 1966, Obote's troops bombed the palace of the Kabaka. He fled to England, where he died in 1967. Prime Minister Obote assumed the office of President and abolished the autonomy of the Kingdoms. The Kabaka's body was not returned to Buganda for burial until after an army coup in 1971, when a President, General Idi Amin Dada, a Moslem from the West Nile District, took office.

Education in Uganda

About fifty per cent of Uganda's children between the ages of seven and thirteen attend primary school (Uganda Government 1972b:327), usually within walking distance of home. In most schools instruction begins with vernacular languages, but by the fourth grade some English is used in

class. At the end of seventh grade a primary school leaving exam in English is used to determine who enters high school. About twelve per cent of the primary school pupils attend high school.

When the test scores are released by the Ministry of Education, the headmasters of government secondary schools meet to select high school freshmen. Headmasters of schools with the best exam records have the first choice of students who have requested admission to their school. Poorer schools end up admitting some students who have not listed that school as one of their choices. Letters are sent informing students of their acceptance, but the school term begins in the meantime and the two or four-week delay in freshmen beginning classes is lengthened when students drop out--due to lack of money for fees or other opportunities for training or jobs which seem better at the time. Places left vacant in the better schools are filled by students who appeal either to the Chief Education Officer of the Ministry of Education or to the Headmaster of the school, and whose exam certificates suggest that they are within the grade range of others in the school. If a Headmaster finds places left vacant in his freshman class, he can appeal to the C.E.O. for more names of students to be accepted, or send particular students to the C.E.O. to request permission to enter. It may be eighteen weeks before a Headmaster can assess just who is a student in his

school.

These problems are more severe in day schools. Students do not choose to attend day schools unless they live very near one. They will sometimes wait for weeks before reporting to the school in hopes of finding a place in a boarding school or even a private school nearer home. Some live far from the school and do not realize that it is a day school, and then leave as soon as they arrive. Others leave due to difficulties of finding lodging or problems of adjusting to an unfamiliar area, a new language, new foods and life styles, and sometimes hostility to strangers. Renting rooms in the community often involves sharing the room with others, having no place to study, or no light to study by, or having to work long hours to substitute for rent payments.

After four years of secondary school, students again take a school leaving exam, which has gradually been changed from a Cambridge Overseas version of the Commonwealth exam to an East African Examinations Council exam. From the secondary school leavers in 1971, 3540 were accepted in the two-year "Higher School" course. Other training programs are open to those who have good test scores and recommendations. From the Mukono School's senior class of sixty-two students in 1970, fifteen were admitted to higher schools and eleven were admitted to training programs in other institutions.

All grant-aided high schools are controlled by the Ministry of Education. This included seventy-three high schools and thirty-nine thousand students in April, 1971. In addition, it is estimated that three hundred private schools operate throughout the country. There is a great variation in the quality of private schools. Some are profit-making businesses that do not meet national standards for teachers, fees or school supplies.

Within the Ministry of Education, the Minister is a political appointment by the President. He is a member of the Cabinet, and advises the President, Cabinet, and the public on all aspects of the educational system.

The Chief Education Officer is the professional head of the Ministry. He appoints teachers and headmasters to their posts. He and the Chief Inspector of Secondary Schools compile confidential reports on each teacher, based on school inspections and reports of headmasters and heads of subjects. The Chief Inspector is in charge of evaluating teachers, class schedules, exams, school supplies, and making recommendations for their improvement.

A Board of Governors for each school is composed of a chairman and four members appointed by the founding body of the school. Most secondary schools were founded by religious groups in Uganda. The Chief Education Officer appoints four more members, and approves of the founding body's appointees. These nine members then invite four more

people to serve with them, to make a total of thirteen members.

Once a "church school" has been taken over by the government, the nine appointed members are chosen by the Ministry, but as in the case of Mukono's School, the church may be allowed to influence these appointments. Government schools receive teachers' salaries, building costs, and a capitulation grant, based on the number of pupils. Students' fees are also part of the school income.

Mukono

The community of Mukono is located in the densely populated East Mengo District of Buganda. It is typical of Buganda, in that the community is surrounded by fertile farm land and coffee and tea estates. The people are mostly Baganda and Banyarwanda immigrants.

Only about six per cent of Uganda's ten million people live in urban centers according to the 1969 census, and about half of these live in Kampala. There are seventeen cities and the same number of towns ranging from two to six thousand residents, so the students at Mukono school represent a more rural population than the trading center of Mukono. The school is slightly less than one mile from the shops of Mukono town.

In Mukono, there are forty shops selling mostly staples and yard goods, and there are a number of bars, gas stations, a bank, and a post office. The approximately

three thousand residents of Mukono town do not live in the immediate area of the shops. Homes and a few small shops are off the main road on small farm plots. Homes are neat, rectangular mud and wattle houses built on wooden frames. They have several windows, and one or two doors, depending on the number of rooms. A source of pride and security is a set of wooden window shutters and a wooden door frame.

Houses vary in the arrangement of rooms. One preferred style has a roofed porch a few inches off the ground, a small front room and at least one bedroom. Outlying buildings include a kitchen, a house for adolescent boys to sleep in, and a pen for animals. A mud and wattle house can be lived in for ten years or more, with occasional patching, so over the years men sometimes build roofed walkways between the kitchen and the front room.

One of the houses, owned by a man who had helped to establish the high school, and had lived in Mukono for forty years, had an ornate treadle sewing machine just inside the window of the front room. Visitors signed a guest book as they entered the house for the first time, a common practice in Kiganda homes. (I noticed when I signed that two students from Makerere University had signed just two weeks before me. When I asked about them, after receiving gracious answers to lengthy, tedious questions, I was told that they had asked many of the same questions.)

Another house in Mukono which was considered to be nice

but not extravagant was rented by two young teachers at the grade school. In it, the usual family pictures on the wall were absent but instead there was a picture of Kabaka Edward Mutesa II and a Coca-cola poster. The problem of thieves makes storage of supplies difficult. Women keep a padlocked cupboard in the outside kitchen or move dishes and pots and pans into the house at night, on a table that is put back outside during the day. Sometimes chickens are locked in the kitchen at night.

Although women sometimes knelt when I entered a house, as they would do for a man, women still felt free to upbraid and ridicule me for my ignorance in the kitchen. I was scolded for general mishandling of knives and foodstuffs. For instance, I peeled bananas while standing up, instead of sitting or kneeling as is proper. I peeled bananas from the wrong end with the wrong hand and poorly. Bananas are prepared every day. They are wrapped in layers of banana leaves and steamed, then mashed while in the leaves and steamed again.

Serving bananas without gravy is an indication of dire poverty. Peanut gravy ("ground nut sauce") is the most frequent type but meat or fish sauces are also served. Grinding peanuts was one of my worst failures. A large mortar and pestle is used and women take pride in the fineness of the "peanut flour" that results. Boiled with water and sometimes curry powder, onions, tomatoes, and salt,

peanut gravy is an important source of protein in a starchy diet of bananas and potatoes.

Appearance is important in Buganda. For example, in the school, discussions of school uniforms were frequent and emotional. They took up part of every staff meeting and were continued afterward. Although some teachers hired house sevants to do their housework, they would still iron their own clothes to make sure that the ironing was done correctly. Criticisms of peoples' appearance often included the reference to being "rumpled." The headmaster visited America for about six weeks and described the women in American cities as in "wrinkles and curlers."

Men in Buganda frequently wear the national dress, the _kanzu_, an Arab style gown which costs between three and thirty dollars and is sometimes decorated with elaborate needlework. Women also wear the _busuti_ especially since the government ban on mini-skirts. The _busuti_ is a full length dress made with seven or eight yards of material and it costs between eight and twenty dollars.

In many homes water is carried from a stream or a pump which may be a mile away. A bucket of water from a pump costs between one and seven cents. Women are ingenious in setting up tin drums and sheets of corrugated iron for catching rain water and collecting water which falls on corrugated roofs. Many homes do not have electricity due to the expense of wiring and the basic charge; however,

electricity is available almost anywhere in the Mukono area.

Mukono School

Mukono is one of seventy-three government high schools in Uganda. The number of students in these schools has multiplied by ten between 1962 and 1972, so generalizations about high schools appear to be immediately out of data. The 1972 five year plan, however, calls for an increase of only 500 high school pupils in the next five years. Expanding education is shifting to a greater emphasis on the grade school population.

Mukono School is typical of government schools in that it was founded by an Anglican Church as a grade school. In the high school, students, both boys and girls, several districts of Uganda are represented. The Headmaster if from Uganda as is the case in most of the government schools in the past two or three years. Most students go on to further training or to jobs with about one-fifth of the students going to "Higher Schools"--from five and six.

Mukono is atypical, however, in that it is a rural day school. Most of the government schools are either boarding schools or located in urban centers. So at Mukono, the students live away from home but also outside the school compound. It is also one of only twenty-eight schools which have an agricultural curriculum up to the fourth year and the senior exam. Other schools are urged to start agricul-

tural courses which Mukono began in 1967. The size of the school, 650 students, is slightly larger than the average and considerably larger than the ideal of 400 to 450.

The school was established in 1910 when thirty acres of land which had been acquired by the county chief, Ham Mukasa, in the Uganda Agreement of 1900 were given to the Church Missionary Society to establish a theological seminary. The Reverend Baskerville, Rural dean of the Kyagwe County CMS Mission, moved his mission house from Ngogwe, twenty-five miles away, to Mukono Hill to establish Bishop Tucker College. A member of the CMS mission, Miss Hill, started a primary school for boys from the area. This primary school has grown into a large school near the present Bishop Tucker College. The high school section was started in 1958. Secondary teachers' salaries were paid by a group of parents who were anxious to have a high school in the area.

In 1962, the year of Uganda's independence, when Buganda was given complete autonomy in education, the school received aid from the Kabaka's government. In 1966, when the Kabaka was deported and the Kingdoms abolished, the school was taken over by the Uganda Government.

The Headmaster and the Board of Governors decided in 1966 to take advantage of Government offers of more teachers and higher grants for schools that emphasized practical subjects. The school received an International Develop-

ment Association grant to begin the study of agriculture as an exam subject. By 1968 the school had expanded to three hundred nine pupils, and to over twenty buildings, including thirteen classrooms and six laboratories and workshops. Mr. Stickney, who had taught in England and Malawi was recruited to help organize the school farm. It has grown to twelve acres of crops with cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens. Bishop's School is one of twenty-six schools in the country that has developed a school farm in the last six years.

Of the forty-eight non-teaching staff, seven work on the school farm, twelve in the kitchen, ten in the offices and laboratories and twelve care for buildings and grounds. The school also hires five security guards, a school nurse, and the bursar, whose job includes supervising all non-teaching staff as well as keeping the school accounts.

The Headmaster is appointed by the Minister of Education along with the school board of governors. Teachers are appointed by the Chief Education Officer in the Ministry of Education. Students are selected out of a list of national candidates and approved by the Chief Education Officer.

Within the school the Headmaster and bursar together hire all non-teaching staff. The Headmaster appoints a deputy headmaster and teachers as heads of subjects. Prefects are elected by the students with the teacher's approval. Class leaders are elected by each class. The school council

meets every two to four weeks without any teacher except by special invitation.

Each school society has a teacher as "patron." Teachers volunteer or are urged by the Headmaster to volunteer for this duty. Teachers are also assigned out-of-school duties which help with the maintenance of the school. In day schools these are relatively light, as in Bishop's School: supervising senior exams, supervising entertainments, the school newspaper, games schedules, the student aid society, the dining room and breakfast and lunch menus, health dispensary, school uniforms, furniture in teachers' houses. Teachers also serve as chaplain, hostel master, and oversee building maintenance, plumbing problems, coordinating school scoieties, problems with the school electricity supply, school bus schedules, visual aids, identity cards, cleanliness of grounds, the school water supply, staff room maintenance, minutes of staff meetings, ordering books and supplies, and "keeping an eye out" for the small number of girls in the school. These duties as "patrons" of societies and helping with school operations are in addition to teaching twenty to thirty classes per week in two, three, or sometimes four subjects.

When I arrived in September 1971 the school consisted of five hundred thirty boys, sixty girls, twenty-two teachers, including eight from England and Australia and one American. The forty-eight non-teaching staff were all

Ugandans. In this report the present tense will refer to September 1971 and the year following.

All but two of the teachers live on the school grounds, while students find housing with the teachers or at Bishop Tucker College, or in the surrounding community. The school hostel holds about sixty boys, mostly seniors, and those who have the most difficulty finding a place to live. Some of the non-teaching staff live on the school grounds but most walk or ride the bus from their homes or rented rooms.

The school consists of a Headmaster, Deputy Headmaster, Heads of subjects, teachers, prefects, a school council, class leaders, and students. Social groups include a large number of societies with voluntary membership: the school choir, Christian Union, Scouting Club; art, debate, country dancing, geography, history, drama, mechanics and current affairs clubs; Uganda Voluntary Work Camps Association, and the Young Farmers.

CHAPTER III

THE STUDENTS

Life in a Day School

One hundred and fifty freshmen arrived at Mukono School over the first six weeks of school in 1972. This brought the student body to 650 of which ninety were girls. Fifty per cent were from the Buganda Region, thirty per cent from the Western Region (primarily Kigezi, Ankole, and Bunyoro), fifteen per cent from the Eastern Region (primarily Busoga and Bukedi), and five per cent from the Northern Region (Acholi, Lango, Madi and West Nile). Fifty-four of the students were living with their parents in the Mukono area.

Students are chosen on the basis of grade school exams as has been mentioned. Some of them travel two or three hundred miles to the school. School fees are seventy-eight dollars per year, and include uniforms, books, note-books, and one meal per day. Students pay for rent, food, and other supplies in addition.

The headmaster had warned the teachers that the new students might not have seen so many buildings in one place, or so many white-faced teachers, before. Electricity would

also be new to many of them. The teachers should speak slowly, so that they could sort out the varieties of English spoken at the school. The students would be "shy and very sweet."

After this introduction some of the teachers were surprised to find that some new students talked incessantly, stole papers and text books from the teacher's desk, and refused to wear school uniforms. General insubordination was not characteristic of a majority of freshmen, however. Many did seem bewildered and lost when they arrived, as the Headmaster had suggested. A school practice of actively seeking to welcome newcomers had been gradually relegated to the members of the Christian Union. Others, especially sophomores, participated in hazing rituals with varying degrees of enthusiasm.

Hazing takes the form of beatings, with threats of more serious injury if it is reported. Less serious teasing takes the form of mimicry, insulting a student's appearance, asking him the same questions about his background over and over again. Some students thought that Baganda from more remote villages were harassed more than students from other regions. Older students from the Northern and Western regions would sometimes group together to defend a newcomer, if he was known to one of the older students, or was from the same area as one of them. Older students

did not defend a newcomer simply because he was of their tribe.

One of the girls from Buganda wrote this short description of the terror of the first day in high school:

> It was the fifteenth day of February, 1972, when I reached school. It was about seven thirty in the morning. I stood under a tree because I didn't know where the headmaster was. I stood there for about fifteen minutes. When the pupils started to come, some of them came where I was. They started to abuse me by saying these words, "Look at it! It is a school! What does it look like?" I kept quiet because I was frightened of their words. After those pupils have gone, then came three other pupils who also abused me in the same way.
>
> These pupils asked me these questions. What are you doing here? Where have you come from? What is your name? Why have you come late? All these questions which they asked me I didn't answer any of them. In a minute after those boys have gone, also came one boy who was very kind to me. He greeted me in a kind voice. Then he asked me that "What way can I help you?" I replied him that I want to direct me to where the headmaster's office was. Then the boy took me where the headmaster's office was.
>
> I think you can imagine what happened when I entered the headmaster's office. The headmaster asked me many questions but with the help of god, I answered all the questions. After that he wrote down my name on a piece of paper then I was sent to class.
>
> When the break time came, we went out of the class. Being outside the old pupils came and started to abuse us. For me I wanted to cry because I was frightened by those pupils. I remember there was a certain boy who came and told us to go and have a break. But for me I didn't go as I was frightened. When the break time was over, we went back in the class. When the luch time came the boys also did the same. I had no lunch on that day. When it was

time for home, as I got out of the class, I started to run from the school compound because I was fearing those pupils. Then I went home.

Namusoke Mary
S. 1

Namusoke lived with her parents four miles from the school. Girls are required to live with a relative while in Mukono School. Living with strangers is difficult for students. Some have to work for landlords, others share rooms with members of the family and some have to cook for themselves.

Sixty boys are given a place in the school hostel, at a fee of seventy-five dollars over the school fees. They receive meals and a place in the hostel with a bed and a locker. Disadvantages of hostel living are the high cost, crowded living quarters and occasional thefts but places in the hostel are still in great demand.

A former primary teacher, Mr. Musoke, allows twenty-two boys to stay in a mud brick house which stands behind the newer cement block house in which the Musoke's family live. Students staying in Mr. Musoke's hostel are sometimes reprimanded for dirtiness or being disrespectful, and they are not allowed to have friends visit them. Some of them complain that they are generally harassed in their daily living, but the cut-rate accomodations (three dollars a month) are considered a bargain.

Classrooms are open each night until 10:30 for students

living near-by to study in relative quiet. Walking to and from the school after dark is considered dangerous. Students tell of thieves carrying knives who will attack anyone even for a wrist watch or a shirt. They also fear night-time house thieves who might attack them or leave them without food, clothing, or books. During the year two attacks and numerous thefts were described to me. None that I knew of were reported to the police nor was any property recovered.

The subject of day school living is popular in debates and essays. Very few students had requested admission to that school, and some did not know it was a day school before they arrived. Ministry officials visiting Mukono have told them that attending a day school teaches them self-sufficiency and responsibility. Students sometimes agree, saying that students in boarding school are "parasites" on the community and taxpayers. Others say that they would be treated like prisioners if they were in a boarding school, but in every debate and most individual opinions, boarding schools were judged superior: they cost less for the students. They leave students with more time for study, clubs, and sports. Dormitories are safer places to live.

One of the sophomores told me about the disadvantages of day school life:

> When you are renting you are faced with so many problems. First of all, you have to look for food in the town or in the villages around. When doing this, you are spending your time for reading books a lot.

> Second, you have to cook. This also is not easy as some of us come from our homes where we have never cooked. Sometimes, the houses for hiring are very poor and when it rains heavily, you can find yourself completely wet, even your householdings. This means that you have to do something about them. Thereby, you are losing your time for reading or doing any necessary preparations. . .

A junior wrote about the advantages of day schools:

> . . . By cooking we get used to the future life. Because when we will leave school by then we will not find it difficult to cook. We are taught many things in the school. When we go home after walking our miles we do our home work. If we don't do it all we can wake up during the night and do the rest, because you have your own lamp. Nobody can say "don't use my lamp."

Student housing

Students' accommodations ranged from mildly unsatisfactory to distressing in their opinions. Rents ranged from two to five dollars each month. At least part of this was usually paid for in work. Cooking, sweeping the compound, gardening, carrying water, and baby-sitting were done by tenants. Adolescent boys in rural Buganda sleep in a separate house from their parents. For a student to share a room with boys who are not in school, and occasionally their friends, results in jealousies and accusations. Students complain of having no lamps to study by, noisy and quarrelsome roommates and critical landlords.

Thefts from poorly locked houses are common with students as victims and, frequently, the accused. Three students that I knew of were sent away from their lodging as

suspected thieves. If they had been caught with stolen goods, they were warned that they would be beaten. Landlords complained that students were rude; they did not do work which was promised; they kept bad friends, defecated in the yard, wrote on the walls, and were noisy.

About forty houses had been built in the Mukono area for renting to students. Rough mud and wattle huts were rented to a number of students for four or five dollars a month. Students complained that roofs leaked when it rained: "They disintegrate at the touch of one hand." In return, landlords complained that the high cost of building and repairs kept their profits low, and that students could not be held responsible for damages.

Mr. Manyolo, who ran the "Eastern Hostel," described the number of times he posted cholera warnings which had been circulated by the Ministry of Health. The students tore them down and continued with what he termed "uncivilized habits." Residents of the hostel complained that Mr. Manyolo was too strict about their behavior, infringed on their privacy, and "abused" them verbally. Mr. Manyolo replied that students "these days" have no respect for persons or property, and teachers at the school did little to remedy this. The teachers did not know how hard the townspeople had worked to establish the high school. Teachers and students should welcome visitors, he said.

They should respect their suggestions about the school. Mr. Mwangi, a friend of Mr. Manyolo's who had worked with him in beginning the school, thought that the teachers should be understanding "but not too lenient" and that they should teach discipline as well as school subjects. They should teach students to behave properly in the town, and in their lodgings.

Living was not very much easier for students who lived at home. One of the student's mothers complained of the expense of clothing and feeding a school girl, in addition to the terrible fees. The girl complained that baby-sitting and tending to visitors consumed too much of her time. Both agreed that they would prefer having her in a boarding school. Another girl that I visited lived with here father's second wife. Her own mother, the first wife, lived about twenty miles away on another farm owned by the father. The student was able to visit her mother about once every two or three months, and she lived with her during part of each school vacation.

Living in the school hostel also had its disadvantages. One of the students provoked suspicion when he was found in the hostel, "where he didn't belong." Students watched him for a few days. When he was caught wearing a belt that had been lost by another student, the students complained to the Hostel Master, Mr. Kasajja. He went to the boy's home where he found a stolen camera.

The student was beaten twice by students in the next week, while the teachers and headmaster discussed the case, trying to decide on a course of action. Several of the teachers defended the practice in Uganda of beating thieves to death on the spot, and they felt that the student would be punished enough by the others, and that it was his own problem. The students would not beat him to death, as they could be easily identified and reported to the police. They laughed at Mr. Bryant's worried suggestion that the beatings must be stopped. The more concerned he became, the more he was greeted with laughter, at this "typical European response." The headmaster interrupted, "This is very serious," and the teachers roared with laughter.

Finally Mr. Mpinga spoke about his trip to the boy's mother's house. She had divorced her husband for his "thieving ways." Then the conversation became heated. If the boy's father was a thief, it was no wonder that he was a thief. He should be expelled.

Then followed an argument over the sense in which it could be said that thieving was inherited. Mr. Sweeney, the head biologist in the school, was anxious to prevent anyone from implying this. One of the Ugandan teachers pointed out that his belief that thieving was inherited did not mean that he believed that there was a gene for stealing; rather, the genetic theory of inheritance did not cover stealing, because the genetic theory did not explain all kinds of

inheritance. Many thieves' parents are thieves, therefore, killing them is the only way to stop them.

The Headmaster intervened with a suggestion that we "take the sociological approach" and interview the mother and father and try to help the student, and in the meantime the students would be warned not to beat the boy. These interviews were not conducted.

Mr. Muwanga explained to me after the staff meeting that this problem had not been dealt with satisfactorily. Thieves in Uganda are very serious problems, and they are dealt with very severely. Ugandans believe that Europeans think that they are "barbaric" for beating them, but it is still considered a good solution. Having Mr. Sweeney and Mr. Bryant challenge the Uganda teachers on the issues of beating and inheritance had put the teachers on the defensive, he said. The Headmaster said later that the students must be stopped from beating the child as it set a very bad example, and it made them also guilty or breaking the law.

The school

At the school student leaders are elected by the students, and these positions include classroom monitors, club leaders, prefects, and student council representatives. The prefects, whom the students expect to represent their interests against the teachers, are subject to final approval by the teachers. Students remembered only

one prefect who had been turned down by the staff. During 1972 one prefect was removed from office for one month following three complaints from teachers about his behavior. He was then reinstated, in an elaborate ceremony to the amusement of his friends and fellow prefects.

Friendships within the school are not formed solely on a village or tribal basis. Students from outside the Mukono area are in most cases the only representatives of their village or neighborhood at the school, so there is little opportunity for old friends to reform new groups. Students' "best friends" and confidants usually come from the same district, or linguistic territory, but there is very little tendency for all those from one district to band together against the rest of the school. The greatest source of prestige among the students is the ability to speak persuasively and to be entertaining. Praise for a fellow student's recitation in class takes the form of shouts of "yes" and "well spoken" interspersed among his words.

One student was openly ridiculed by nearly everyone. This was a sophomore, Yahweh. Of the eight students who were lame or on crutches, Yahweh was the most severely crippled, and walked slowly and with great effort, aided by cumbersome braces and crutches. Yahweh also smiled a lot, and he talked a lot and loudly. He participated in debates and contributed to class discussion when he was not shouted down. Almost every remark was greeted with loud laughter.

If a teacher in his class accused "someone" of having broken something, or of misbehaving, the mournful cry would go up from the boys, "Yah-w-e-e-h." And if the crime was one which Yahweh could not have managed, such as unscrewing the light bulbs, this brought loud laughter.

Yahweh wrote an essay for English class in which he described his school:

> In this school everyone works and studies and plays together. The teachers are kind and answer all our questions. This school is truly wonderful because everyone befriends each other and no one is victimized in any way.

I asked the English teacher why Yahweeh would write something which was probably true for everyone else much more than for himself. The teacher Mr. Musisi said that Yahweh really enjoyed the attention and the ridicule he received. "If a person is crippled, he has to enjoy being crippled." I asked if I was correct in my judgment that the other students despised him, and the teacher replied, "Oh, no, they don't despise him. They just laugh at him--because he is a cripple." It seemed that life was neither so good to the fortunate nor so bad to the unfortunate that these categories determined a person's general outlook.

Besides the political concerns described later students also discussed life in Uganda and their concerns about their future lives. Dating was a constant concern. Having "smart" clothes, being able to dance well, and having a "fine style" were considered essential for pleasant relationships with

the opposite sex. In descriptions of "most embarrassing moments" the theme kept returning to the disgrace of falling down--tripping over one's partner on the dance floor, falling down on the curb of a street, falling over one's own feet. I talked to a small group of students about how this concern appeared in school plays and essays. They laughed when I asked, "Why this great concern with falling down? It keeps coming up. I haven't seen anyone fall down yet." They thought this was a very funny question but one which had or needed no answer. As I hobbled up the steep hill to my house each evening, on a narrow path which was often slippery and rough but always well travelled, I gradually understood the ever present threat of stumbling, and I laughed along with the howls that greeted me if I tripped.

Students have a deep understanding of the complications and responsibilities of which I had thought of in American terms as "simply" living at home and running a house. They are concerned over their ability to organize their future roles of husband and father or wife and mother; and they expressed appreciation for their mothers' and fathers' ability to run a home. "A man has to control his wife, raise well-disciplined children, and be respected by his neighbors." Traditionally in Buganda, men are responsible for clothing families while women cultivate fields and cook. This emphasis is still present. Bananas and vegetables

for the family are cultivated by the wife. Girls pride themselves on their ability to organize meals which are punctual and taste good, but many schoolgirls foresee themselves as having gardeners and cooks whom they will oversee, or they will live in a city.

Marriage is a serious concern: Women are fickle, the boys say, and will run off if they are attracted to someone else, and especially if they are mistreated by the husband. One of the school plays, "The Man Who Steals Your Wife," told of a man who pretended to be a chair with a blanket thrown over him when the husband arrived home. When the husband discovered him, he took the case to the village chief who decided that the stranger should leave the village without the woman. Then in a final irony just as all the men were about to drink together "to be at peace," the chief's son claimed to love the wife, too, and he was then chased away also.

Causes for wives' unhappiness are a husband's drunkenness, cruelty, laziness, lack of attention to his wife, or his spending too much money on himself while his wife and children lack clothing or a descent home.

In Buganda a traditional marriage required the girl's brother first to inquire of the parents of the boy as to his prospective brother-in-law's character. If the girl's family disliked the boy, the brother could relay a false report and prevent the marriage. The girl's parents then approached

the boy's family about bride price payments, perhaps a goat, several bark cloths, and some money, or, again giving them a chance to sabotage the proceedings, they could ask for much more.

Once the boy's parents set the wedding day the couple did not see each other until the wedding thus preventing their elopment to avoid payments. The bride wore a long dress at the ceremony and was smeared with butter. The bride carried a hoe to the ceremony at the groom's house to show that she was really "terrible at digging" (that means good), according to the students, and she was given knives and hoes during the ceremony.

Bridewealth payments and polygyny are practiced but are the source of controversy. Students agree that "bride price" (the common term for bridewealth) is necessary because of the loss of a woman to the wife's family, her value in bearing children for the husband, and because a family deserved a demonstration of a man's ability to maintain his wife at a reasonable standard of living and his seriousness in asking for her as a wife. Bride price negotiations take place between families with the father or senior male as chief negotiator. Elopment is frequently mentioned as a way of avoiding payment. Some boys said that families in the city might not demand a bride price, but that they would be expected to give the wife's family gifts at the time of the marriage. One boy described this saying that he would like to

give his wife's family a television set but could not imagine himself being able to afford this until he had worked for several years.

"Polygamy" (also local usage for polygyny) was also a source of controversy. A heated debate on this subject proceeded as follows:

> Pro Polygamy: If a man possesses several wives, when one leaves he will not be left lonely.
>
> Con: But if the man continues in his ways, the wives will all leave, one by one. Furthermore, as women depart they tell stories to other women, and if there are many story-tellers, the story will reach many women, and the man will be left lonely.
>
> Pro: If a man has several wives his home will be better organized, not only because the work will be shared, but also because wives work together to make each other's lives better.
>
> Con: If a man has many wives, he will have many more children. His land will not be enough and his expense of clothing children and wives will be too great.
>
> Pro: What if a man has only one wife, and she is dirty and quarrelsome?
>
> Con: Women will be more likely to leave their husband if there are several wives. They will not be loved equally. Some will be treated like slaves, and be given poor clothes.
>
> Pro: If a man has several wives, he can set up a market selling goods from all the gardens.
>
> Con: A man with many children can't pay all his sons' school fees.

After the debate the audience voted against polygamy eighteen to eight. One of the observers wrote a summary of the debate for me which was much more colorful than the above. His account contained references to "honorable"

members of the debate team alternately "airing their views" and then "warming their chairs."

Attempts to discuss religion with the students proved to be frustrating. Students invoke very pious Christain views about life in talking about religion in Uganda. One of the English teachers asked a class to write essays on Religion in Uganda and these essays included approximately equal numbers of essays mentioning Christianity, Islam, and traditional religions. Several Baganda and two Bagisu students described traditional religions as being out-of-date and "very weak" beliefs. They described gods (in Luganda, balubaale) which were associated with clans, each having shrines or small windowless huts with altars. Offerings are made everyday ("and enjoyed by the insects" according to one student). At times of celebration or crisis a fowl or goat is sacrificed. Sick people are taken there for healing. Clan gods are not necessarily one of the clan ancestors, but have appointed a prophet by possession within the chosen clan. Ancestral spirits (Luganda: Mizimu) are threats to the living in Buganda and Bugisu. They bring illness or death to descendants if they were mistreated before or after death.

One student from Buganda described the traditional beliefs as untrue but "tenacious," whereas people merely "pretend to believe in Christianity not wanting to make enemies among the priests and bishops." All of the religions in

Africa were accused of dividing people. Only Christianity was said to have both divided and united people.

One of the sophomores explained that old "superstitions" are valuable "even though people lose them through education." They help parents train their children without annoying them with punishments. Thinking back, some were able to remember, with some urging: "If a child sits on his mother's grinding stone he will stop growing." "If a child whistles at night he will bring snakes to the house." "If the umbilical cord floats, that chap belongs to the father." Traditional omens were easier to remember: the owl portends illness or death, meeting a dog at the beginning of a journey signals a bad journey; a rat is a good omen. Students particularly enjoyed telling me the taboos I had broken--If a woman ate chicken her voice would turn into a cackle. If she ate eggs, she would become immoral.

Job Aspirations

In discussions with students early in the year, I gained the impression that nearly everyone wanted to be a doctor, so I attempted to record aspirations more systematically. I asked forty-seven students in junior and senior years what their first and second choices for a job would be, and whether they felt that they would have difficulty achieving their goal. We discussed these problems briefly and I asked

them what they thought they would most likely work at either in place of or before attaining their first choice. Most predicted obstacles were lack of money. Some thought that they would have trouble finding jobs in civil service, since their families had no friends in government.

The differences between job choices and expectations were also revealing although several students indicated that they fully expected to be able to achieve their goals. At the time that I left I knew of three students who had found places in higher schools and seemed well on their way towards a relatively free choice of jobs. Eight others were in higher schools which would probably prepare them for well-paid jobs but not in their stated field of interest.

The most frequent job choices were Engineering (nine), Agriculture Officer (nine), Teacher (nine), Doctor (eight), Bank Accountant (seven), Veterinary Officer (six), Pilot (four), Professor (four), Army Officer (four), farmer (four), followed by politician, policeman, secretary, lawyer, laboratory technician, driver, architect, nurse, hotel manager, television broadcaster, fisherman, journalist, artist, surveyor. These results contrast sharply with a survey among seniors later in the year in which forty-two out of seventy-seven declared an intention to pursue careers in agriculture. This second survey was conducted by an agriculture teacher who recognized that his results

would give some emphasis to his field.

Job expectations included Farmer (twelve), Agriculture Officer (eight), Shopkeeper (eight), Teacher (ten), Veterinary Officer (seven), Driver (seven), Army Officer (five), Clerk (three), Fisherman (three), followed by Architect, Butcher, Medical Officer, Engineer, Landlord, Docter, Politician, Mechanic, Poultry-keeper and Priest.

In the survey done by agriculture teachers a second question asked was, "If you fail at your chosen occupation what career will you pursue?" Sixty-three out of seventy-seven seniors replied that they would then take up farming.

Student Views on Africa

High schools in East Africa have been changing over to a local syllabus and examination in the last five years. East African history and languages are now included as exam subjects. Text books referring to plants and animals indigenous to East Africa and to currency and agriculture of East Africa are used. Some English teachers at Mukono complained that as a result of these changes some students were refusing to read any non-African writers. The teachers themselves studied European history, Mathematics involving British currencies, biology of Northern Hemisphere life forms. Although they realized the value of localized texts and exams, the teacher's job is temporarily more difficult because of these changes.

The extreme parochialism of some students was brought home to me when I went with a group of thirty seniors to hear an Afro-American choir concert in Kampala. The choir consisted of black American boys in bright colored shirts and jeans. They talked and laughed between songs and sang a variety off songs--mostly spirituals and several from Nigeria sung in Ibo. The students from Mukono made no attempt to conceal their boredom and refused to applaud at any time. As we were leaving several of the Americans attempted unsuccessfully to talk to some Mukono students. The students overheard one of the singers remark, "They've got a freaky, limey accent, don't they?"

Afterwards I asked several students what had gone wrong at the concert. "They were too European." "We like African music." "We could not understand the words," they said. One of the Ugandan teachers who had accompanied the group joined us saying, "You cannot expect these chaps to enjoy American music. They have too much pride." I asked if they enjoyed the songs in Ibo, and I was told that they did not--being from Uganda they only liked songs from Uganda or songs like those from Uganda. "Music is like food you see. One can only enjoy what his stomach is used to."

Debates and discussions on the evils of colonialism, missionaries and politicians in general, and on the "Pan African movement" brought out views that colonial powers

were resented more for neglecting their half of treaties with Buganda than for forcing the "bargains" on Uganda in the first place. Students felt that Europe and America were neglecting their responsibility if they failed to invest money in Uganda; the emphasis on agriculture should be balanced with increased industrialization and foreign investment.

Student essays

The hazards of foreign contact are frequently found in student essays. A furor over mini-skirts brought forth a spate of indignant reminders:

> Not since the invention of woman herself has there been such an excuse for lust, rape, and other such kindred sins as the introduction of the mini-skirts, wigs, artificial fingernails and the like. The copying of these Europeans in modern Uganda is growing day and night increasingly. These girls and women are really defiling our beautiful, independent Uganda. (A junior)

> Comrades, isn't that shameful? One may say some whites do it, but don't think that what whites do is always good!

> When they have dusted and painted their faces, they look like elderly hyenas. The smell of those magics makes them smell like hell. (A senior)

> We are all fully aware that women are the mothers on this planet. Women today have achieved better standards of living compared with those of past years. Women have completely distorted most of our culture in acquiring the white peoples habits. This has made men hate women. For instance in Uganda some men have strongly hated our women because they wear mini-skirts. (A junior)

In other essays, students emphasized the contribution

of the school to the nation:

> Students in this school are ready to identify loyally with all religions of the Republic of Uganda. . . Obedience, loyalty to those in authority are what we want. (A senior)
>
> Since Uganda is an agricultural country, I am sure that most Ugandan students welcome the idea of learning agriculture in secondary school. (A sophomore)
>
> School uniforms cover up the gap between students coming from rich homes and those from poor ones. (A junior)
>
> By being hard-working and behaving well to everyone we shall not fail to be good citizens and to get wealthy. This will be of great use to us, our families, and our communities.

CHAPTER IV

ROLE EXPECTATIONS

National Expectations

The official expectations for teachers in the view of the Ministry of Education come from a number of spoken and written sources. The Uganda Teachers' Commission publishes a statement of teachers' "conditions of service." Official statements are sent to headmasters to read or post in the staff room. Informal reminders convey many of the formal expectations, as specific problems arise during the school term.

The Ministry requires that every teacher sign a contract agreeing to teach at the school to which he is assigned, and to obey the requirements of the job as set out by the headmaster at that school. He is to remain there until assigned to another school and to be available for assigned duties all year, including school vacations, with the exception of forty-five days of each year. Vacations are arranged with the headmaster. The Ministry can also order a teacher to cease "any activity which is thought to interfere with his job" at that school. Teachers can be suspended or discharged without notice.

Usually only very serious offenses, such as drunkenness on the job or grossly unethical conduct, cause a dismissal from teaching, but headmasters can request that a teacher be transferred out of the school because of personality problems or over-staffing.

The main responsibility of the teacher is meeting with assigned classes. This entails preparing lessons, assigning and correcting homework, interacting with students. Teachers' conduct is subject to annual inspection by the Ministry of Education. Teachers are obliged to give two months' notice before leaving their jobs, and then may be urged to postpone leaving until a substitute is found.

The formal statements of teachers' obligations emphasize the uniform requirements of teaching at any school. Teachers say that teacher training courses also imply that teaching in every school is the same, and that it is only in practice teaching that they begin to realize how much the job is altered by the headmaster's interpretation of national requirements and the particular conditions of the job. Another source of uniform expectations for teachers is the newspaper. An example of the type of article which appeared was a small reference to a speech given by the District Commissioner of a western district in opening a conference of headmasters. The article quoted the Commissioner's comparision between teachers and parents:

> Teachers as professional parents...bring up children as good citizens of a nation. (The job) is very important and tempestuous, because there is no hero like a teacher for a child to copy.

The article concluded:

> He therefore urged the teachers to impart to their pupils the virtues they expect future Ugandans to posess...and he thanked the teachers for their hard work as can be seen from the exam scores for the year (Uganda Argus, July 14, 1972).

A number of general admonitions that teachers should demonstrate high standards of behavior were included in such articles, speeches, and letters from the Ministry.

When the Minister of Education addressed one of the outstanding high schools in the country, he included some specific directives to teachers, and the speech was sent to other government high schools. Through this statement teachers first learned that they were no longer allowed to assign grass-cutting or any manual labor as a punishment, and that "caning" would not be allowed in high schools. The Minister urged students to take pride in working with their hands and not to associate manual labor with the uneducated. In another talk at Mukono, the Minister urged teachers to form a parent-teacher organization and to encourage parents to visit the school more frequently.

The most specific directives of the Ministry of Education came at the inspection of Mukono School in July 1971. A general report submitted afterwards urged teachers to be more punctual, attend school lunches, take

roll call more conscientiously, and to urge the students to wear school uniform, be more punctual, tuck in their shirts and "pull up their socks."

They also suggested that the teachers consider a new color for school uniforms, a topic which was already under much discussion. They reminded teachers to use more visual aids in their teaching, to put up neat displays, to be tidy in keeping records and correcting homework. The importance of appearance, a common theme in Buganda, was stressed in several paragraphs of suggestions for improving the school compound--tearing down old buildings, painting new ones, grading slopes around the buildings, trimming bushes, removing trees. One very large tree was removed because the dripping sap and the birds nesting in it marred the roof of the new building beneath it.

In becoming a teacher, a person in Uganda becomes increasingly involved in the national culture. After completing teacher training, teachers send their credentials to the Teachers' Service Commission, a union with offices in the Ministry of Education. A license to teach is sent by the union, signed by the Chief Education Officer of the Ministry. Teachers are urged to demonstrate their patriotism by attending governmental functions with students when possible. They are also urged to act as "patrons" to school clubs which contribute to an

understanding of the nation. The Geography, Current Events, Art and Drama Clubs, and the Uganda Voluntary Work Camps Association are active in travelling to other schools and participating in national projects and competitions.

Travelling outside the three nations of East Africa requires the approval of the Ministry of Education, for teachers, even during school vacations. A letter from the headmaster is also necessary if the travel takes place during the school term, even on a week-end. For married women, a letter from the husband permitting his wife to leave is also necessary.

The Ministry's constraints on teachers also become the headmaster's responsibility. He is responsible for maintaining the standard for their behavior. He reminds and admonishes, and arranges for national expectations to be met by assigning tasks outside of teaching classes and arranging substitutes for trips with clubs, and allocating school resources to fulfill Ministry directives.

Some national expectations for teachers fall directly on the headmaster. He is informed of available funds to be spent on supplies and projects. He and the school bursar allocate these funds to different "subject heads." He is finally responsible for carrying out Ministry directives from inspections--caring for the lawns and buildings, buying new uniforms.

He institutes school policies regarding teachers'

rights and duties. At Mukono, teachers were told to allow the students to elect their own prefects without teachers' final approval, not to allow a student to repeat a class for any reason, and to spend all the hours on the timetable lecturing rather than assigning study periods. These suggestions became school policies, to a greater or lesser degree.

The Ministry of Education also controls the growth of the school. An increase in school fees, amounting to seven dollars per year for a building fund, was approved by the Ministry and curtailed one year later. Requests were sometimes refused for increased supplies, teachers, or teaching new subjects. The school had made numerous requests to open a fifth and sixth year, a "higher school," and these requests were also turned down. The Chief Education Officer turned down license requests for some of the expatriate teachers the headmaster arranged to hire, from the nearby theological college. When the Headmaster at Mukono paid two part-time teachers from a school emergency fund, when they were not approved, the Chief Education Officer remarked, "These headmaster, they really have to be kept in their place."

New buildings are opened in ceremonies attended by Ministry officials. The Chief Education Officer laid the foundation stone for the new student hostel in 1972, and donated two cows to the school farm when it opened.

Some of the national expectations fall to specific teachers in the school. Patrons of clubs already mentioned are expected to accompany them on week-end and vacation trips. The "Library Master" is expected to over-see the selection of books and the students' access to the library. Heads of subjects, also appointed by the Headmaster, are given a number of additional responsibilities. They hold the immediate responsibility for the quality of teaching in their subject--seeing that teachers keep up with the syllabus, give monthly tests, keep neat records, assign homework on schedule, and use teaching aids in classes. These subject heads also write evaluations of proposed national exam questions each year, and after the exams they write reports on the results in their school.

Being a teacher also grants a number of rights, in the view of the nation. Teachers have the right to a job, once they are licensed. They are paid on the same scale, regardless of which school they are assigned to, and between assignments if there are delays in assignments. Regular increases in pay are also due. Subsidized housing is provided for teachers when it is available at the school, allocated on the basis of credentials. University graduates receive priority over teachers' college graduates. Teachers have the right to their forty-five days of vacation each year and to leave the job with two months' notice.

Teaching is also supposed to be a means of improving one's qualifications. Teachers attend "upgrading" courses in vacation times. Teachers' college graduates sometimes are given leave to return to school and earn a bachelor's degree. Outstanding graduates are sometimes sent to graduate school. Their salary is continued during these courses, with extra expenses paid and allowances for families.

Teachers also have the right to compalin about their job or to request a change in schools, subjects taught, or housing. These requests are made to the headmaster and are supposed to be forwarded to the Ministry when the headmaster considers it necessary.

Community Expectations

Mukono School started in 1910 as a boy's primary school. In 1956, parents and residents of Mukono town recruited and paid teachers to teach through the high school level. In 1960, seniors from Mukono were sent to another government school to take the Commonwealth school leaving exam. Two years later the Buganda government granted partial aid to finance some salaries and school supplies. With this government aid, students were assigned to the school from outside the area. In 1966, the school was taken over by the government and students and teachers were assigned to it from all over Uganda. A new headmaster, an Englishman, was assigned to Mukono to begin the agriculture course and school farm.

Farm buildings and supplies were financed by an International Development Association grant, and in 1968, the first agriculture teacher was hired from another job within the Minstry of Agriculture. Although Mukono does not have an outstanding record for senior exams and placing graduates in higher schools, the progress made in teaching agriculture is well known in the area and the government.

Assessing community expectations for the teachers at the school is more difficult than those at the national level. The community surrounding any government school does not influence the selection of teachers or students assigned to the school, nor does it influence teacher training or recruitment. Community expectations are not formally included in the school system. Nonetheless, the national requirement that schools should contribute to "nation-building" is often phrased and measured in terms of community contributions.

I interviewed people in the community surrounding the school and found that despite a lack of interest in the education system in general, or in educational philosophies, many of the townspeople have business dealings with the school and have a sincere interest in school operation. Those interviewed fall into these categories: parents, school employees, student employers, landlords, shopkeepers, and neighbors.

Parents' primary concern is that students be prepared for good jobs after leaving school. They also feel that students should be encouraged to help at home with farming and care of the home, and that they should bring home specific know-how in new techniques of planting, caring for, and harvesting crops. The grandparent generation in Mukono emphasizes the teaching of good manners, respect, a command of English and the inculcation of "wisdom," but parents, whose future welfare rests with their children, have more practical concerns. Most of the fifty-four students living with their parents are girls, due to school rules about girls without relatives in the area being prohibited from entering. Several of these parents said that education of women is an important function of high schools in any modern nation.

Other residents of Mukono expressed the opinion that the teachers are "snobs." They do not greet people or welcome visitors to the school. The school brings strangers to Mukono who do not display good manners as defined in the area. The assistance they bring to the town is off set by the dangers--students who have been accused of stealing from townspeople are cited again and again as evidence of the risks involved in having a school close by. No one accused teachers of stealing, but their manners were criticized, and one man did say that these teachers brought servants and family members who did steal.

A student riot had erupted in 1964, when a teacher left for lack of housing, while the grade school had refused to give up one of their houses for the new high school teacher. Students threw stones at the house concerned and the neighboring ones. They tore down a fence and destroyed shrubs. The residents asked the school for $2,000 in damages. The Ministry of Education intervened and reduced this claim to twenty seven dollars. The new headmaster in 1965 found this argument unresolved and paid over $1,000 in damages from school funds, but neighbors still harbor resentment about the handling of the incident.

In another dispute between townspeople and the school, a student was caught opening mailboxes in the local post office and taking stamps and letters. Normally this would have been a police matter, with the thief going to jail until it was settled. Because a student was involved, the postal clerk turned the student over to the headmaster. When nothing was done, as of several weeks later people complained that the teachers did not care if they trained thieves or that "these people from the West (the students), they will try anything." Finally the student was warned by the teachers that he would be treated severely the next time he caused any complaints, and further recriminations abounded about this leniency.

Several older people in the community who had helped

to establish the high school complained that their efforts had been forgotten, and they were not even recognized around the school which was true. They also wish that teachers would spend more time instilling "respect for people and things" in the students. As they say, students who are mischievous should be "cooled down." They believe that the teachers rely too heavily on the government for direction, and it is "very far away."

Landlords, who rent rooms or houses to students, also complain that teachers do not instill enough respect. They complain about personal habits and immoral conduct. "These boys, they write on the walls and defecate in the yard." They tear down notices from the Health Department about cholera. "Is this educated?"

One middle-aged woman who was divorced and childless rented a room to a school boy, and the neighbors together went to complain about this situation. The woman protested that she could not afford to return the rent he had paid in advance, and the neighbors took up a collection and paid his rent in another house.

Shopkeepers complain that students are sometimes drunk or rowdy in town. This is not blamed directly on the school, but there are complaints that the teachers do not make enough of an effort to instill good conduct. The shopkeepers also complain that teachers do not trade in their shops but most go into Kampala. School business

is supposed to balance the inconvenience of having the school so nearby.

School employees are one category of community residents who have very specific and immediate concerns about the school. The school employs sixty-two residents of the area, some of them immigrants from Ankole, Rwanda, Kenya, as well as some Baganda who live near Mukono. These employees point out that in return for just occupying the land it does, twenty acres, the school owes the town some income. Higher pay and reduced work loads are general demands, and some workers feel that they should have more say about who is hired.

Some of the workers feel that they are mistreated, "snubbed," or "abused" by the teachers, and that teachers should take a more active concern in the problems of operating the school. Disputes sometimes arise among the workers themselves due to language difficulties and personality conflicts. Teachers are sometimes asked to intervene in these disputes, in hopes that they will not draw the attention of the headmaster or bursar.

Students are sometimes rude to workers calling them "uneducated," "ignorant," or "peasants." Students walk across newly planted grass, break into locked buildings, refuse to leave classrooms at night, and generally act superior. Teachers are asked to use their authority to warn or punish students about this, and teachers

occasionally find themselves in the middle of a dispute about which they know nothing first hand.

Neighbors of the school look forward to the "Open Day" which is held each year. Displays and demonstrations are informative and entertaining, especially the agriculture and chemistry labs. During the rest of the year, neighbors expect to be able to buy produce from the school farm, and to seek advice from the teachers when necessary, especially in agriculture and home economics.

School Expectations

The headmaster

Implementing the policies of the Ministry of Education is primarily the headmaster's responsibility, so his expectations for teachers reflect those of the nation.. Valid requests by the headmaster are wide-ranging--the subjects to be taught, to whom, at what times, which texts to use, as well as housing assignments, how to care for the house, yard, furniture, how to dress. Mr. Buyongo, the Headmaster at Mukono, also set policies requiring teachers to take role calls at 7:30 and 4:00, by indicating on a sliding name slate, that they were in the compound. He also required them to attend the school lunches and work groups, when students were assigned to work in the school grounds. Homework was to be assigned on a schedule, two or three nights per subject, and teachers had to sign

a "Prep Book" indicating that they had made an assignment on the required night. These practices were in keeping with Ministry policies, but were not policies at many schools, and so received a lot of complaint from teachers.

Each month teachers are required to turn in their record books for each class showing marks for all homework assignments and for an exam covering the month's work. Comments made by the subject heads and the Headmaster comment on the form of the records or the number of assignments for the month but not the content of the records.

Less controversial requirements are that teachers accept appointments as patrons of clubs and meet with them at least once each week. Additional study sessions are also assigned and school maintenance duties are allocated on both a long term and an "ad hoc" basis.

Duties assigned to teachers generally fall into a ranking system. Being subject head indicates that one has a bachelor's degree, may have been at the school for several years, although this is superseded by the degree held, and the subject head is also patron of the club organized around the subject. Organizational tasks, form masters, allocating uniforms, over-seeing sports are all superior to maintenance duties. As organizational "sub-roles" are assigned, maintenance duties are transferred to new teachers. These include responsibilities for buildings, window repairs, grounds, and general tidiness.

hospital building, and helping arrange a games field at a near-by grade school.

The headmaster also urged teachers to teach at the adjacent primary school, in after school sessions concerning advanced topics chosen by the grade school teachers. Those who volunteered were able to delegate after-school responsibilities for one evening each week while they taught at the grade school. The headmaster himself set the example by teaching two afternoons each week at a grade school about a mile away.

The students

Students' expectations for teachers are primarily centered around two concerns. The most important is that teachers should be able to make themselves understood. There is little concern that teachers do not know the material they are teaching, although this was mentioned. Their ability to convey that material to the students is a source of frequent complaints. In a school drawing students from sixteen districts of Uganda and teachers from five districts and several other countries, this concern is based on the students' experience with a wide variety of spoken English. About five of the students habitually speak English at home with their parents, but they all are learning in their second or third language.

The second important concern among the students is that teachers should be considerate. They should welcome questions in class and be willing to discuss the subject out of class. They should not "hide away" in their houses from five o'clock until the next morning. They should be friendly.

Other concerns are that teachers should not hold grudges against students for old infractions. They should not favor particular girls in class, and they should dress smartly. Several students complained that one of the teachers was "rumpled." They also feel that teachers should have more consistent disciplinary practices and that teachers should be more active in teaching and helping to preserve elements of traditional culture.

The students put on a set of plays, in class competitions every year. The champions of the entire set of competitions win an enviable prize, usually a field trip to a place in Uganda that they may have read about but few have visited. Topics for the plays in 1971 were supposed to depict life in Uganda. None of the plays concerned school life at all, reflecting its secondary importance for these day school students. Topics were dating, marriage, home life, moving to the city, and politics in Uganda. Only one reference to a school in Kampala was that it was "the worst in the country."

As in the case of national policies, specific teachers are assigned additional tasks--the art teacher takes charge of displays, the librarian has additional responsibilities for organizing that room, the religion teacher leads prayers at assemblies. The most time-consuming responsibilities fall to the agriculture teacher. In addition to teaching thirty classes each week, he has responsibility for hiring and organizing farm workers. He checks on buildings and equipment each day, manages the sale of farm produce and meat in the community, and cares for animals. The farm is organized on a separate budget, managed by the teachers and a hired book-keeper, although the school bursar sometimes "borrows" money from the farm budget for school supplies. Farm equipment is bought out of income from sales. Each class also has a farm project that nets some profit to be shared among the students.

Some of the expectations for teachers combine two levels, from the nation, community, and school. The Uganda Voluntary Work Camps Association is an example. This is a national organization with over twenty branch clubs, with the goal of helping people within fifty miles of the school with community projects. The club at Mukono has helped level a driveway at a neighboring school, building a school library, making bricks for a

"The fees are very high but still there are no textbooks. And yet the headmaster has a new car." Everyone laughed, but this is considered an important responsibility of teachers and headmasters, they said, to provide them with good books and laboratories, to prepare for exams.

Students buy copies of the exam syllabus at book shops in Kampala, and some teachers complain that the students place so much emphasis on the exams that they will not pay any attention to any new material which is not listed. They also complain that students do not care about learning principles, but just want rote learning, memorizing notes that teachers write on the boards.

At Mukono, despite this strong belief among the teachers, one-half of the students in the first three years of the school disagreed with the statement that the exam preparation was the main responsibility of the teachers. In the senior year, all of the students agreed with the statement.

Regarding the organization of the school, the students oppose the suggestion that the classes be streamed on the basis of ability. Teachers, they say, can hold the interest and teach all of the students if they prepare well. Streaming would make students despise one another.

The students favor, by a ratio of four to one, the government policy of using English in all classes including practical subjects, although this is not always adhered to in the school. Half of the students believe that speaking English should be dropped from the sports and club activities. All students favor some school effort to preserve elements of traditional cultures, and forty per cent believe that this should be done through district clubs which would practice and teach music, dancing, and plays.

Regarding school discipline, freshmen and sophomores agree almost unanimously that school discipline is too harsh, while junior and seniors judge school policies to be "about right" (ninety per cent) or "too lenient" (ten per cent). Caning was used as a punishment until 1971, and manual labor, such as grass-cutting, until 1972. Students agreed with the Ministry directives prohibiting manual labor, although one-half of the juniors and seniors favored reinstating caning. They also expressed the belief that, if the teachers were given the right to expel students without Ministry approval, they would expel those they did not like or those from minority districts.

The teachers' expectations

With regard to their own job, the teachers almost unanimously consider their primary job to be preparing students for jobs. The exams determine the syllabus, but the exams themselves serve to qualify students for further education or jobs. Teachers also feel that teaching makes them appreciate the job of nation-building more than most other jobs would, and that it makes them more aware of what is happening in Uganda. They feel that discussions of national politics should be encouraged, rather than prohibited, as they are under present policies.

In most other areas, teachers tend to support present policies. For instance, teachers believe that they should not promote the idea of district clubs, for they lead to tribal rivalries. Classes should not be streamed, as this causes some students to become arrogant. The student council should be maintained, although it should be made more efficient and more accountable to the teachers. Teachers should approve the election of prefects, and caning should remain abolished.

The area in which teachers express disagreement with existing policies is in school discipline. They feel that the headmaster is too lenient, and they choose to ignore students' behavior rather than being inconvenienced having to deal with it. They also feel that they should take a more personal interest in the students,

however, providing part-time jobs and inviting them to their homes and spending more time at the school. They draw the line at lending students money, which is thought to lead to increased requests and fewer repayments, and general embarrassment for the teachers who become known as "an easy touch."

CHAPTER V

ROLE BEHAVIOR

The concept of "role behavior" is one of the most problematic in role analysis, since it combines the points of view of the actor and the observer, and does not exactly coincide with categories held by either. There is no clear signal of role behavior as distinct from "all behavior." A person occupies a number of social positions at one time and behaves in response to, or at least in relation to, a number of sets of expectations most of the time. Recognizing this, I still choose to refer to role behavior as a set of actions which appear to me to be related to one set of role expectations.

For the observer, the setting helps to place a boundary on role behavior. Behavior taking place on or near the school grounds bears some relationship to the role expectations--the officials who bear much of the responsibility for the role expectations believe this, even if the teacher should not. I believe that it is because of this influence of the bounded setting that role analysis has been applied to schools, rather than, as Margaret Coulson's criticism suggests, because teachers are frustrated dramatists (1972). Erving Goffman's analyses of role behavior in hospitals and

other total institutions share this same type of setting, a clearly bounded, task-oriented institution (1961a; 1961b). A person is recruited into the setting in terms of his contribution to the operation of the institution. Role functions are largely determined before a person acts.

A set of social positions is determined by the formal organization of an institution, and the positions are identified by the set of expectations which apply to them. Satisfying a minimum of these expectations is necessary just for continued occupation of that position. This "bare minimum" in the case of the teacher in Uganda is the set of general expectations--that teachers be at the assigned school, teach most of their assigned classes, and respond to the demands of the headmaster. These expectations of the national education system are met with general uniformity. Individual variation in role behavior is related to the formal organization of the school, too, as well as to the informal organization and to individual personalities.

Only three of the teachers at Mukono requested that they be sent to this school, but most found some things to appreciate there. In the year I was there only two of the Ugandan teachers requested transfers away from Mukono to other high schools. The teachers prefer day schools, in that they lack the problems of boarding schools. Teaching loads vary from twenty to thirty-two classes per week, in

from two to four different subjects. Pay scales range from $80 to $300 per month.

There is a great variation in the amount of time spent outside of class preparing lessons, from five to thirty or more hours per week. Teachers spend up to twenty hours with students outside of class. During vacations, most of the expatriate teachers leave for the entire vacation, unless they are specifically assigned "school duty" for a few days. Most of the Ugandan teachers stay at the school for most of the vacation, but some visit their parents, at least at the Christmas holiday. Vacations are approximately the months of April, August, and December. Several of the Ugandan teachers put in many hours of work at the school during the holiday.

A typical school day at Mukono proceeds like this: the fifteen classes assemble at 7:30 in the morning in their "home" classrooms or one of the eight laboratories or workshops. Three forty minute classes are held, with a three minute break for the teachers to change classes. The compound is large, including the farm, so the signal to begin classes is a very loud siren in the center of the compound, complements of the International Development Association. (It contrasts sharply with the theological seminary just over the hill that uses drums to signal church services and assemblies.)

At 10:00 an assembly is held out on the grounds, with

the headmaster, speakers, and school choir standing on a hill. The assembly includes prayers, hymns, and announcements, and then the students have tea and maize porridge. At 10:30 three more classes are held, and there is a break for lunch. At least two teachers attend lunch with the 650 students. Meals consist of the Baganda staple, bananas, with sauce and vegetables, or meat stew, or occasionally fish. Students complain about the food. Places are assigned by class, with monitors for each table.

During the lunch break, teachers check classrooms for neatness and meet with organizers of the day's club meetings when equipment has to be handed out. Sometimes club meetings are held at noon, or debates are held. Classes resume at 2:00, with three more classes in the afternoon. More meetings, staff meetings, and maintenance duties occupy most of the teachers' time after school until about 6:00. A few students, mostly seniors, return to school after 7:00 to study, but most live too far away to walk back, even for movies or meetings. In June, 1972, this routine was changed to eight classes in the morning, with lunch at 1:00 and a long study session in the afternoon. This change had been requested by the teachers and headmaster over a year earlier, and had been only tentatively approved by the Ministry in June.

Teachers are brought into the national culture through the demands of their job, but they are also kept at a

distance from the government. The Headmaster frequently reminds them that their school equipment belongs to the government--grade books, texts, supplies, even desks and chairs. This requires extra care, the Headmaster says, to see that everything written down, such as grades, roll call, class lists, is accurate. Communication with the Ministry must go through the Headmaster, as all notices are received first by him. The Board of Governors consists of Ministry appointees, that meet with the Headmaster, but only five teachers have met any members of the Board. Visits of Ministry officials are ceremonial--preceded by admonitions to dress nicely and behave well. One of the limitations on any discipline attempts by the teachers is the headmaster's warning that the student will go to the Ministry or even the President's office, where they will receive a sympthetic hearing and possibly bring the wrath of the national government down on the school.

This formality had not always characterized interaction between Mukono School and the Ministry. Less formal contacts had come through the former Chief Education Officer who attended Mukono grade school and was a member of the Board of Governors until 1971. A brother of one of the teachers was Minister of Education until earlier the same year. Both of these officials gave some special attention to the needs of Mukono and discussed the problems informally with teachers they knew.

Delegations of students and teachers are sent to national events and celebrations. There is confusion at times like this, for teachers and students disagree as to whether it is a privilege or a duty to attend. At the time of the President's speech in November, 1971, sixty students were assigned to attend, and their classes were called off. Some teachers felt that their classes would want to attend, so they just went off to the speech themselves. Others felt that the students should be required to go and, when ordered, the students insisted that they wanted classes. Another source of controversey was the Republic Day parade, celebrating "Internal Independence." Students were required to be there, and teachers were required to take roll call. Students who attended the parade but did not march in the parade were counted as absent, and assigned to cut grass for several hours as a punishment. Then those who did not attend the grass-cutting were pursued for several days afterwards.

Teachers reinforce ideals of national loyalty and cooperation in written assignments and the school magazine. Most of the students, in this school in Buganda, were sincere in their praise of the government, but a few cynically said that they write what the teacher wants to read. These are two excerpts from student essays and poems:

> Rejoice everybody, tyranny is dead!
> Peace! Peace and real Uhuru! Oyee!
> Obote is no more, for you is Amin,

Christians down on your knees and say Amen!

- Senior from Buganda

> What is making life more difficult for young people is that they stand little chance of replacing old people who have worked for many years but do not want to retire. Some of them are too old to carry out their work effectively. Is this good for the development of the nation? Also such things as nepotism should be rectified so that people who are brainworkers can serve in the development of the nation.

- Senior from Western Region

The activities of school clubs have already been mentioned as contributing to national goals. The Current Events club aims at promoting a spirit of good citizenship, making students aware of what is happening in Uganda and the rest of the world, and widening students' fields of knowledge through a discussion of history. The club was just started in 1971, one year before the Ministry proclamation prohibiting teachers from political discussions. While most of the teachers reacted with great concern to the announcement, Mr. Mayanja, the club patron, just said that he sould schedule discussions towards events outside Uganda until the ban was lifted. Shortly before this, Mr. Mayanja himself had addressed the group on the need for military take-over of corrupt politicians' offices in Africa.

The Goegraphy club toured Uganda, with twenty-three members and three teachers, during one school vacation. They went to the western border of Uganda, where most of the Baganda had not travelled before, and saw Murchison

Falls, the Art club visited the National Museum and several art galleries showing Ugandan artists' work, in Kampala.

The Drama club visited other schools in the area, and gave a performance of Everyman which the patron, Mr. Leyton, said "held universal truth." The Music club was proud to point out that a graduate of the school had composed the music to Uganda's National Anthem. They learned songs from England and Buganda led by Mr. Mpinga and Miss O'Neill.

Core Teachers: Mr. Mpinga

One of the most active teachers in the school left to go to Makerere University soon after this project began. Mr. Mpinga was twenty-seven years old and graduated from high school in Kampala and Kyambogo Teachers' College before coming to Mukono to teach math in 1968. His father, from Bunyoro, had died when he was young, and his mother, a Muganda, worked as a nurse in Kampala. He taught twenty-seven classes each week and supervised the hostel and its sixty residents. Each evening he would go over the hill to the Theological College grounds, on which the hostel had been built, and check on problems there, or just chat. He also worked with the choir two or three hours each week, and helped them prepare for a national competition between schools each year. As "Head of Mathematics," he worked with seniors studying for exams and prepared syllabuses and teaching guides.

As "Timetable Master," Mr. Mpinga spent many hours during school vacations preparing a timetable of the school's six hundred classes taught each week. He also attended student selection meetings for the Headmaster, in December, and ran errands at the Ministry. During the school term, he arranged a daily "substitute table" and appointed himself to substitute for someone nearly every day. As "Master in Charge of Furniture," he inventoried and allocated furniture for staff houses, and arranged for furnishing houses for new staff as they moved in.

Outside of school, students who did not know Mr. Mpinga from any of these official duties knew him as the only owner of an Anglia, a particularly popular model car. He was an active participant in the Bible Study, made up of teachers from Mukono School and the Theological College. He never drank anything alcoholic. Mr. Mpinga was well enough respected on Mukono Hill that he was one of the very few people that I saw, or heard of, stopping a crowd from beating a thief, without being beaten himself.

Mr. Muwanga

Daudi Muwanga is thirty years old, from Busoga. He lives at Mukono School with his wife who teaches at the grade school and his two children, and sometimes a grandmother, an aunt, and two or three other relatives. As a child, Mr. Muwanga had participated in a custom which s is said to be dying in Eastern Uganda, spending several

years as a child living with one's paternal grandparents. He explained the long-term visitors at his house, "I used to live with my grandmother. Now my grandmother lives with me."

Mr. Muwanga came to Mukono in 1966 after high school in Busoga and in Kampala, and training with the first class at the National Teachers' College at Kyambogo. Daudi's uncle was an education official in the Ministry in the 1960's, and Daudi had been one influential student in the class, being sent with delegations to the Ministry to complain about the organization of their training and the terms of their contracts. In six years, Daudi had changed from one of Uganda's most highly trained high school teachers to one whose opinions were frequently slighted in favor of a university graduate. Teachers encouraged him to return to university but he protested, "I am too old."

Mr. Muwanga is also a very hard working teacher. He teaches twenty-five classes a week, in English and Geography, and spends two or three hours each week with the geography club. Until April, 1972, he arranged all inter-school sports events and supervised athletics after school three days each week. He takes charge of teachers' housing, as "Chairman of the Housing Committee," which sometimes involves house-cleaning for prospective teachers. Two students were able to attend an Outward Bounds course in Tanzania with his help.

Mr. Muwanga and Mr. Mpinga worked together on many school projects. They both quietly made tremendous contributions in time and effort to projects which would be ultimately credited to the formal leaders of the school or, in the past, one of the expatriates.

Both the expatriate teachers and the Ugandan university graduates ignored or ridiculed many of the suggestions of these two teachers. Mr. Mpinga is soft-spoken and unassuming and does not argue for his ideas. Mr. Mwanga speaks enthusiastically in favor of his suggestions, but is criticized for growing to excited about things, digressing from the point of an argument, or introducing irrelevant topics into the staff meetings. Being disorganized is a severely criticized fault in the school, more so by the expatriates than the Ugandans, and Mr. Muwanga's history of allowing sports events to begin late was frequently invoked as evidence of "botching up."

Both of these teachers complained that their position under the new Headmaster had become confused. The duties which they had volunteered to do, outside of their regular responsibilities, had become requirements, and additional requirements, like the time clock routine or the "neatness check" of their grade books, did little to contribute to the running of the school.

One of the incidents that served to alienate them somewhat was brought about when the new dining hall was finally

built, after months of waiting. This meant that the boys living in the school hostel would be able to sit at tables for their supper. They paid an extra fee each term for this meal, and the food was cooked in the school kitchen and carried over the hill and eaten outside the hostel in the yard. The Headmaster announced that the dining hall was ready and that supper would be served in it. He did not remind the students once again that this was "what we've been waiting for," nor that it would be more comfortable, better lighted, warmer food served closer to the classrooms where those who wanted to study could go afterwards. Evening came, the siren sounded, and the cooks waited. The students refused to walk the distance from the hostel to the dining room. They felt that they had been imposed upon, that supper should be served outside the hostel as usual since some of them did not want to go to school at all. Some were suspicious that the kitchen staff were just refusing to walk the extra distance.

Mr. Mpinga went to the dining hall for the routine "supper check" at 7:00. No one arrived so he drove over to the hostel and found the students sitting on their beds complaining. They refused his appeal to come and eat. He returned to the school and summoned Mr. Muwanga. They returned and apologized to the students for not having announced the dining hall to them ahead of time, and explained that it was really their convenience that was

being considered. They added that the dining hall would be locked up after fifteen minutes, so that the kitchen staff could go home. After one-half hour, no one had arrived. They appealed to the Headmaster and found that in the meantime, the students also had sent a delegation to him. The Headmaster assured the students that they should have been notified more politely, and that they had contributed to the building of the dining room. He also urged the teachers to wait a little while before locking up the dining hall. The delegation of students returned to the hostel and after another half hour, students began appearing at supper. Most of the kitchen staff had already gone home so the meal was an unhappy one for all, and Mr. Muwanga and Mr. Mpinga returned to their houses at 9:30.

Several days later the two teachers approached the Headmaster about his handling of this incident. They were not entirely satisfied with his explanation: he said it was part of his job to win the approval and cooperation of the students. Rather than setting a dangerous precedent for acceding to student demands, he had shown his ability to overlook an occasional unreasonable demand. He would remind the students of this when their cooperation was needed. The teachers objected to this as an indication of a pattern rather than as an isolated incident.

Mr. McComb

Dennis McComb arrived at Mukono in 1968. He had taught high school in England and had been hired at a "deputy headmaster's" salary since that was the job he left. He was "Master in Charge of Physical Sciences" and taught twenty-eight classes in chemistry and physics until Mr. Buyongo appointed him deputy headmaster at Mukono in 1972. Even after that, he taught twenty-one classes, supervised the senior exams, worked with the science club, and arranged most of the demonstrations in science for the "Open Day."

As deputy headmaster, Mr. McComb conducted school assembly many mornings when the headmaster was at the Ministry or away on school business, and he was able to influence school policy more than any of the other teachers. Although Mukono was his first teaching post in Uganda, his previous experience was frequently called upon. He explained the "proper" organization of a school, attributing most of the responsibility for the internal operation of the school to his post, as the headmaster was "busy with politicians and such." This view coincides approximately with the view of the Board of Governors that the Deputy Head is the "head teacher," appointed from within the school, rather than an administrator.

Mr. McComb was often seen striding about the school, "checking," as it came to be called. He checked to see

that the classes all had teachers, that students were not wandering around, that everyone was punctual. He ate lunch in the school dining hall every day, bringing his own spoon like the students did. He monitored detentions which he imposed more than anyone else for infractions such as tardiness or not doing homework, and he occasionally complained that teachers did not take their responsibility for the students' behavior seriously. He cautioned teachers to be wary of the seniors "who like to assert their authority, now that they're leaving."

The Headmaster praised Mr. McComb very highly. He said that he respected Mr. McComb for always being busy, for getting things done "efficiently and properly." The Headmaster had attended teacher training collge in England and had taught there and frequently compared the British penchant for doing things properly with the American tendency to do things "the quickest way and then get on with it."

Five months after Mr. McComb was appointed deputy head, three of the teachers raised a complaint in staff meeting from which he was absent, saying that they had been abused and ridiculed in front of other teachers and students. They objected to this conduct as being "unprofessional" and contributing to the disruption of the school. Two other British teachers rose in his defense, saying that his criticisms were always of extreme

negligence, and that they were probably deserved. They returned the accusation of being unprofessional, in that the accusers had attached someone who was not there to defend himself. Not all of Mr. McCombs accusers were Ugandan but the British teachers who disagreed with his manner towards the teachers did so apologetically and quietly. One of them had been insulted, it seemed, with an oblique compliment, "You're as bad as the African teachers."

For the next few days, there was a sudden increase in the number of blatantly racial accusations between teachers. The Ugandan teachers complained that the "Europeans" looked down on them, ridiculed them in front of the students and received priority in pay and promotions by Ministry officials (virtually all Ugandan). The expatriates argued that the Ugandan teachers did not take enough interest in their jobs, they used "bad" teaching methods, they did not take care of school equipment. The teachers said that this problem did not reach real "crisis" proportions. Some teachers on each "side" maintained throughout that the accusations against the other "side" were exaggerated. A week later, a particularly vehement accusation against "British spies, thieves, and dissidents" by the President of Uganda appeared in the newspaper, and the school seemed to return to its former good humor.

Mr. Kagumo

Until Mr. Kagumo arrived at Mukono, Mr. McComb was the oldest member of the staff, forty-four years old, and he derived some of his authority from this. Most of the teachers were between twenty-six and thirty-three years old. Mr. Kagumo arrived in February, 1972, and brought eighteen years of teaching experience at grade schools and training colleges in Uganda. He had served for a few months in the army just before coming to Mukono.

Mr. Kagumo was confident and enthusiastic about the school. Taking charge of the hostel and uniforms, since Mr. Mpinga had gone to Makerere, he was immediately accepted by the students. He talked with them freely and did not act superior. He also said what he meant. When the government ban on mini-skirts took effect, he announced, "Girls, unhem your frocks. We don't want you to be beaten by some uneducated people." Several women in Kampala had been beaten severely for allowing their knees to show.

Mr. Kaguma wanted to return to teaching in a training college. Students in Mukono, he said, were not really interested in what they were doing. After all, they knew they might not even get jobs when they graduated. And the teachers, he complained, were afraid of the headmaster. This was evident from the fact that they changed whatever they were doing when the Headmaster came into the staff room, and that they would not speak up in staff meetings,

but waited until afterwards to express their opinions. The Headmaster, in return, he said, treated the teachers with no respect. He showed this by having them punch a time clock and by constantly checking up on them.

Community Interaction

The teachers generally agree that a problem with the education system in Uganda is that schools are isolated from the surrounding communities and from the students' parents. There are few balances built into the system, however, and they feel that finding the time for community projects detracts from their job rather than contributing towards it.

Although teachers correctly estimated parents' expectations for their children's education--good job preparation, support in the parents' old age, abilities for further education--very few teachers knew any parents of students. Only eight teachers out of twenty-six said that they had met more than ten parents, and of these only four knew any of the parents well enough to visit at their homes.

The teachers made these suggestions when asked how the school could contribute to the town, in decreasing order of popularity: teach adult literacy, offer assistance to the poor, sick and to widows, help with the care of lawns and gardens, and teach agriculture. All but

three of the teachers felt that the school need not make attempts to contribute to the community. But, at the same time, only three of the teachers were involved in an adult literacy project, six were teaching at the grade school, and only one, the patron, was involved with the Work Camps voluntary projects. Other community interaction was practically limited to the seven teachers who attended the church services and bible study with the theological college and five teachers who said that they know people in Mukono well enough to visit their homes. Thirteen of the teachers said that they did more than one-half of their shopping in Mukono. Only two of the expatriate teachers shopped in Mukono at all.

Much of the community interaction involves the school farm. The income from selling meat and produce in Mukono and Kampala was slightly over $4,000 in 1971. Students sell products of class projects by going from door to door around Mukono. The teachers arrange some sales with merchants in Kampala.

The farm invests about $500 per year in students' individual projects. Theoretically, these are loans to be paid back when the products are sold, but most are not repaid. Most of the students who volunteer to work on the projects need money for rent and food. From ten to twenty students also work for the school,

earning an average of twenty dollars during the year.

The first agriculture teacher in Mukono left the school in 1971 after four years there. He described the history of the farm, starting out with only one mud brick building and two cows, with two classes of students caring for the animals and a few crops. He was proud that the farm was self-supporting and that students had done quite well on the first senior exams in agriculture, but he did not foresee the school turning out high school graduates who would take up farming. He saw the goals of the farm as giving students a knowledge that they could use, farming in addition to other jobs, or working in agricultural offices, and secondly, that the farm helped foster respect for manual labor. Having an unusually broad cultural perspective made his job of consulting with local farmers and helping people buy and sell farm products an enjoyable but exhausting one.

At the "Open Day" demonstrations, most of the agricultural demonstrations were given in Luganda. This caused several farmers to remark that the Baganda students must be outstanding--they were chosen to give the talks.

One of the policies of the teachers in agriculture met with disapproval of the townspeople. Mr. Green,

visited several farms in the area in which elaborate animal pens had been built leaving no money for animals. The appearance of the farm conflicted, though, with the Baganda emphasis on appearance, and the feeling that a school should set an example for neatness and good care.

The school as an employer

The school pays over $1,000 each month in wages to forty-eight non-teaching staff members, including grounds keepers, office personnel, laboratory assistants, five watchmen, a nurse and a librarian. The groundsmen have no official responsibilities to the teachers but the others interact with teachers and influence the teacher's role. The workers observe a strict ranking system, with the status of a few emphasized by their receiving school housing. The bursar, farm headman, farm manager, head secretary and accounts clerk receive housing. Some of the others rent rooms near the school and a few walk or ride bikes as much as ten miles to work.

The bursar is the superior among the staff, having the responsibility for hiring and organizing workers. He works with the headmaster but with a great deal of autonomy. Teachers' requests for repairs in their homes or classrooms are acted upon at the bursar's discretion. Ten teachers are appointed to deal with some of the

workmen in some capacity, but when conflicting orders come from a teacher and a bursar, the workers act on the bursar's request.

At Mukono, the bursar receives the same pay as a training college graduate, having studied at business school after high school. His house is superior to a number of the teachers', though, and his status is enhanced by his attendance at all meetings of the Board of Governors and frequent conferences with the Headmaster.

Workers who regularly work with teachers include the librarian, who has worked at Mukono for several years, being promoted from kitchen worker to "head caterer" to librarian. His history of work in the kitchen causes students to ridicule him. The kitchen workers report problems to Mr. Musisi, a geography teacher, and he reports to the bursar or headmaster. The farm workers ostensibly take direction from the farm headman but frequently work with the agriculture teachers and students.

Teachers as employers

Each term about twenty students are part-time employees of the teachers, working in their homes or yards. This causes some resentment among Mukono residents which is even worse for the employees of the

six teachers who bring cooks or gardeners with them from other districts. Teachers from the northern districts often bring a relative with them to work in the house, partly because of the language difference between Buganda and the north.

The expatriate teachers experience vast cultural as well as linguistic differences with their employees, and some of them devote a great deal of their time to establishing or mending their relationships with them. One example of a fairly common pattern in East Africa was Miss O'Neill, an English teacher recruited by the Church of Uganda, through the Anglican Church in England. Her parents were missionaries in Rhodesia. She was educated at Oxford and Cambridge and had taught for five years in England before coming to Mukono. When I first visited Miss O"Neill three young people walked in and out of the house and worked in the kitchen, They were the cook, gardener, and houseboy. Two were students in the school.

Miss O'Neill was patron of the Christian Union and took an active interest in the religious welfare of the people working for her. She compared them to a family, sharing the same spiritual goal. They cooperated with one another in working for more immediate goals--the students being very quiet or leaving when

Miss O'Neill was correcting papers. Kaggwa, the house-boy, used one room of the house to study for his exams, and when Miss O'Neill went to England for vacation, Kaggwa lived in the house, protecting it from theft and saving himself some rent.

After Miss O'Neill's vacation, she invited the housegirl-cook, Kinyua, to move in with her. Kinyua was eighteen years old, from Twanda originally, although a few relatives lived in Buganda. She moved in with Miss O'Neill, causing some comment by other housegirls on Mukono Hill. Then Kinyua disappeared for several days. Miss O'Neill and Mr. Mpinga searched for her going to hospitals and the police and, finally, to her aunt's home in the next district to tell her that Kinyua was missing. Two day later Kinyua returned, saying that she had been at the aunt's house but had asked the aunt to deny this. She revealed that she was pregnant.

Miss O'Neill insisted that she move out of the house, and the comments by Kinyua's co-workers increased. This was no time, they said, to leave her without a home. Her aunt was very poor and needed Kinyua's income. Another teacher offered her a job but she left the school and left her friends worrying about her.

Comments among the workers on the hill varied.

Some blamed her for being pregnant; others blamed Miss O'Neill for giving her a home better than any of the other workers and then breaking her commitment to Kinyua. Some commented that this was typical Christianity--judging others harshly while wearing a "pious expression" and having no pity. Still others said that this was the best thing that Christianity had brought to Africa--setting a good example, strict discipline, and not compromising one's moral standards.

More controversial misunderstandings marked the brief teaching career in Uganda of Mrs. Smith. An American divorcee, Mrs. Smith had worked at the Department of Agriculture in Washington, D.C., for over ten years, and she was assigned to assist Mr. White, who was at that time, February 1972, "Head of Agriculture." Mrs. Smith brought four of her children with her. She caused embarrassment among the other teachers with children and embarrassed the Headmaster too when she refused to put her children into school. They ranged in age from seven to sixteen, and Mrs. Smith could not afford to pay the school fees. An avowed agnostic, she had been recruited by a Catholic volunteer agency, and the size of the pay check to come was somewhat uncertain. Mrs. Smith was finally able to quiet these complaints about marring the image of the school by assuring the

Headmaster that she intended to bring a tutor from England for her children.

The first clash with the school bursar came when Mrs. Smith received the Headmaster's permission to organize a large agricultural fair in the town of Mukono. She proceeded through the other bureaucratic permissions necessary and found after two weeks that the bursar would only promise her "as much money as is available at the time of the fair." It was cancelled. Mrs. Smith found that the farm workers were coming to work at 7:00 a.m. without breakfast, and she thought that this contributed to general inefficiency in the mornings. She instituted the practice of feeding them breakfast--maize porridge--at a cost of forty-two cents per week from the farm budget. The bursar and the other workers objected.

Mrs. Smith objected to the Banyankole workers' refusal to work inside a house or kitchen (their work was only with cattle) even when the project involved, such as hooking up a water main, was for the livestock. Mr. White supported the workers. Amid the general bad feeling of those few weeks, Mrs. Smith discovered that the milk being sold by the school farm was one-half water. One work foreman and three of his milking crew were suspect, so Mr. White charged the foreman with the responsibility for finding out who diluted the milk.

Whether the foreman was guilty or whether he would not report other Banyankole, he made no report to Mr. White and he was fired. When the foreman refused to leave the house he had been provided with, Mr. White ignored him and promoted one of the other workmen to his responsibilities; but the police made several visits to the school, saying that they had received reports of a drunken workman prowling about the night with a spear. The report was that he was "looking for" Mr. White for firing him, and Mrs. Smith for influencing Mr. White.

Mrs. Smith also hired George, a young man who had left school for lack of fees, to work on her yard. After a few days she realized that he was ill--he had serious anemia. She had him eat lunch and supper with her family and when he did not seem to improve, she took him to a clinic in Kampala. They found that he also suffered from parasites. On the next visit to the clinic, Mrs. Smith offended George by asking him for urine and stool samples, and he refused further meals, employment, and medical treatment.

Undaunted, Mrs. Smith hired James, a sixteen year old neighbor, also an ex-student. James was a congenial worker and became good friends with Mrs. Smith's youngest son. James travelled with the Smiths when they went shopping or visiting and acted as an interpreter and

guide. He was also a talented mimic and entertained them with imitations of most of the people on the hill, including the Smith family.

James's brothers came to Mrs. Smith several times asking for money for food for the rest of James's family. When these requests were refused, James's mother requested money, and she was also turned down. The next request came from the brothers who wanted kerosene to keep a lamp burning for James who often returned home after dark and some money to hire someone to do the work that James left undone. Mrs. Smith again refused but asked James if he wanted to stay at their house overnight rather than walk home, and James accepted.

After a month at Mukono, Mrs. Smith left the job of teaching to work in Kampala as an agricultural advisor. James moved to the crowded suburb of Kampala with them, enjoying the fun and the travel. Mrs. Smith said that she was sure that she could care for James until he could find a job in Kampala. James said that he did not ever want to return to live in poverty with his family.

The phenomena of broken families and increasing urban migration are discussed in the media and in informal gatherings of people. Mrs. Smith was not contributing to the breakdown of James's family through

ignorance of the local culture as foreign social scientists claim is so often the case. Mrs. Smith had lived for several years in Egypt and in India. She had an appreciation of cultural differences, and she worked at learning about the cultures of Uganda. As she pointed out so many of the people in a modern developing nation appear to be exceptions to generalizations about their cultures. As a human being rather than an item of culture, she said, James chose to live with the Smiths.

The Teachers at School

Much of the role behavior as described for specific teachers responds to role expectations generated at the level of the school. Teaching classes, preparing lessons, working with students occupy most the school term. Students pass though four years of high school relatively unhindered by teachers' demands. Grades do not determine whether a student is promoted or repeats a class since no one is allowed to repeat classes due to crowded conditions. A poor grade is an indication that a student would probably fail that section of the senior exam if it were given at that time.

Teachers can help students to learn by conscientious teaching and giving extra time to students who are having difficulty or they can refuse to give any more

than the minimum requirement of their time but a teacher can do very little to actually slow a student's progress. They can "earn" student cooperation or sometimes frighten them into obeying orders in class, but teachers have very little authority outside of class.

Expulsion of a student requires the approval of the Board of Governors which is sought only after the teachers have agreed to request it. Weeks or months often elapse between the staff meeting and the discussion by the Board. One such case involved a student striking a teacher and the staff voted fifteen to two to have the student expelled for that and a number of other incidents. Three months later the Board approved a one month suspension of the student, and they warned the teachers not to provoke such incidents. The teachers found this situation very demoralizing and referred to it in many discussions of disciplinary matters for the next several months.

CHAPTER VI

ROLE CONSENSUS AND CONFLICT

Role Consensus

I am indebted to Gross, Mason, and McEachern for their study which emphasizes the variability of consensus between different positions in a role set and within one status (1958). Their study tests hypotheses concerning concomitants of varying degrees of consensus regarding the role of high school superintendent. Several predictions tested in this study were derived from their Explorations in Role Analysis (1958).

The most complete consensus in expectations for teachers exists between the expectations of the nation and the school itself, but a striking lack of consensus exists between the community and the national requirements. Most of the seventy-three government high schools in Uganda were originally missionary schools, set up near a church and staffed by missions or their employees. As the schools developed into four year institutions which produced School Certificate holders, they were given increased government aid. The churches have had an increasingly difficult time staffing the

schools, and government subsidies have been increased. As in the case of Mukono, the change from a private school with some government aid to a government high school is not marked by a sudden turnover in staff or a drastic change in policies. The founding body is usually allowed to hire some of the staff and to hold religious meetings as long as government policies are also adhered to. These schools are gradually losing their denominational tone as more teachers are assigned by the Ministry of Education.

People living near the school include those whose families were given land in the 1900 Agreement, others who came to live on land owned by the church or a church member, and some without land who have come to live near Mukono and work in the shops. The older residents have noticed the increasing alienation of the school from the church and the immediate neighbors. This ill-feeling is perhaps more acute than around other schools because at Mukono the transition from church grade school to government high school was facilitated by residents of the area, who paid the teacher salaries between 1956 and 1960 and appealed for government aid after they had established the high school.

The teachers accurately perceive that the students'

parents want them to be prepared for good jobs when they leave school, but few parents live near the school. The residents of Mukono want more immediate economic benefits in return for putting up with the school. They want assistance, advice on farming, baby-sitting, gardening help, mail delivery, rides in teacher's cars, the loan of school equipment, films to be shown, and medical treatment. Teachers can not do it all, they admit, but they can be more cooperative and organize such efforts.

These community concerns are not part of the official definition of the teacher's role, and the teachers feel that such efforts would interfere with their jobs more than they would contribute to it. Their time is already consumed with school demands, they say, and social welfare organizations could be organized in the communities.

The official view of the teacher's role is gradually incorporating the demands of the community. In July, 1971, the school inspectors' report contained a suggestion that the teachers start a parent-teachers organization and try to talk to the parents several times a year. In July, 1972, the Minister of Education suggested that the student council should be expanded to include non-teaching representatives of the school

staff, to be a school council with greater influence. It was also at the Ministry's suggestion that the Headmaster started the grade school teaching program and urged the teachers to take some time to teach adult literacy or contribute to the community in some way. The Headmaster himself spent two afternoons teaching at another nearby grade school for several months. Working with the grade schools made sense in terms of community contribution, for although few residents of Mukono had relatives in the high school, the grade schools are local institutions and many young people in the area attended them.

The school as an employer was also subject to criticism for poor pay scales and favoring people from other districts for jobs. Some near-by residents complained that young people who worked at the school "fell in with bad company" or got in fights with other workers. The Ministry of Education is taking an increased interest in non-teaching employees, too, though. There are rumors of unions being established and increased suggestions that workers' housing, medical problems and families must be given more consideration.

Consensus within the school

After two months of talking with and interviewing

students at Mukono, I asked the teachers about their job. After a number of conversations, I was able to enumerate a set of priorities of the "goals of teaching" which are listed here. These were not suggested by me, but arose out of conversations with the teachers. These goals are:

1. Helping qualify students for good jobs.
2. Helping students gain high scores on senior exams.
3. Teaching practical subjects and vocational training.
4. Imparting general knowledge, wisdom, "education for life."
5. Preparing good citizens to help in developing our nation.
6. Giving students a good command of English.
7. Setting examples for students to bring up their children by.
8. Decreasing tribalism by placing students and teachers from different districts in the same school.

The different emphases in the teachers' definitions of their job has been mentioned with regard to role expectations in Chapter Four. The Headmaster emphasizes good interpersonal relationships with students more than

the teachers do, and he urges community involvement. The students wish that the teachers would be more accessible for questions and discussions. The teachers judge their success primarily by students' exam results.

A number of questions concerning the teacher's role were asked of both students and teachers, and the teachers were also asked to predict student responses. The range of variation in teachers' responses was very wide with two noticeable trends. Teachers generally tended to underestimate the proportion of students who agreed with them regarding discipline problems. Students surprised them in their support for suspension of disruptive students and even policies involving manual labor and caning as punishment.

A second generalization that arose from the teachers' predictions of student opinion was that the British teachers felt that this bore no relationship to their responsibilities. They either refused to estimate student responses, saying that they had no way of knowing how students felt about specific issues, or they gave the most erroneous estimates of student opinion. Mr. McComb expressed the view of the British teachers, saying that the point of having students in school was for them to learn what was on the teachers' minds, not vice-versa.

Role consensus among teachers

One set of expectations which show high consensus among Mukono teachers concerns their authority (See Table 2). Teachers worry about the lack of support they receive from the Headmaster and Ministry officials. Teachers believe discipline policies in the school are too lenient, and they believe that they should have more influence over policy decisions.

A second area in which consensus among teachers is high is in the general support for present school policies where school discipline is not concerned. They support decisions not to stream classes, having teachers give final approval on prefects, not having district clubs, requiring English to be spoken at all times. One disciplinary policy which received approval from most of the teachers was the decision in 1971 to abolish caning.

A third high consensus issue is the belief that teachers should actively attempt to preserve elements of traditional culture, although very little is done in the school to further this goal.

Low consensus issues (less than 65 per cent agreement) among the teachers are those concerning national politics and the school (See Table 3). Consensus is also low on the few issues in which a

majority of the teachers oppose present national or school policies, specifically the time-clock, monthly testing policy, and abolishing manual labor as a punishment.

The disagreement among the teachers about these policies may be partly due to the fact that teachers come from a wide variety of backgrounds and hold different views of the role of education in Uganda. The general respect for authority in Buganda and the perceived disagreement among the teachers appear to increase teachers' uneasiness about discussing these policies. National politics are discussed with glances out the windows and at teachers who enter the room. Mr. Musisi, a geography teacher, who has since returned to university, read history and historical novels outside of school even neglecting his work to read about World War II and Winston Churchill. Then in the staff room, he would disclaim any interest in politics and say nothing as he listened with interest.

Quantification in ethnographic description

The extent to which results can be quantified is still a controversial problem in anthropological research. Ethnographers very frequently make generalizations which imply quantifiable results although the proportion of the population to which the generalization

applies may not be known. The assumption of consensus for which role analysts are criticized is found throughout anthropological descriptions. A statement like, "The people of the village believed that Mwangi was a witch" implies consensus. If the statement were modified to read "Two-thirds of the people believed that Mwangi was a witch," it would be only slightly more informative. Anthropologists who express generalizations in such quantified terms are sometimes criticized in a form of backlash against quantification: "They surround their generalizations with mystical numerical quantities to lend them a spurious 'scientific' quality." In my opinion, implying consensus through descriptive generalizations is no more honest than citing the number of instances on which the generalization is based.

Whether data are quantified or not, it is assumed that specific actions and words can be compared. The assumption of comparability is based on a number of ultimately questionable notions, such as the belief that informants hold the same referents for specific symbols, that the ethnographer's questions are understood as he intends them, and that the categories used in ethnographic description have some basis in reality.

I do not believe that data are enhanced by affixing

numbers to them. "Sixty per cent" does not say much more than "most," and "ninety per cent" adds very little meaning to "nearly all." Knowing this, I have chosen to include simple percentages in this analysis. In accordance with ethnographic tradition, I am still assuming that instances of expressed agreement with particular statements are equivalent, despite the different conditions under which this agreement has been expressed.

This is still very different from a set of percentages which might be reported by a team of researchers who have conducted wide-ranging surveys in several schools over a period of a few months. I lived at Mukono almost a year before recording quantitative responses. By becoming well acquainted with the teachers, I was able to evaluate my ability to communicate with each of them and to try to improve communication where possible. I was able to compare responses to a set of formal questions with informally expressed opinions and with routine behavior.

The ability of the ethnographer to compare words with actions, and to compare actions at different times, is one strength of anthropological research. The fact that these comparisons are made by a necessarily biased observer, one who is enculturated into the

thought patterns of his own society, is a weakness of ethnographic description, lessened by our awareness of it. I believe that my observations are more reliable than they would have been without long-term acquaintance with the school personnel and the comparisions I could make with other schools in East Africa.

Background factors and consensus

Home region. The first prediction tested in this study was that teachers from the same home region would tend to share greater consensus in expectations concerning their job. The teachers at Mukono were from six districts of Uganda and three other countries. Only one or two teachers represented each of the districts, except Buganda. Table 4 shows the breakdown of answers to some of the questions concerning expectations according to home area.

The most significant differences between opinions expressed by Baganda and non-Baganda teachers are in the areas concerning school discipline and organization. More of the teachers from Buganda favor the use of manual labor as a punishment, but oppose caning. They favor having the teachers make the final decision on expulsion but oppose the practice of suspending students more strongly than other teachers.

The Baganda teachers are more willing to agree with,

or avoid objection to, decisions which were made by Ministry personnel whom they knew or who identified with them. The decision against caning was made at a time when the Minister of Education was a Muganda and the Chief Education Officer was a graduate of Mukono School. Later, manual labor was prohibited by the new Minister of Education, at a time when the new C.E.O. had refused several of Mukono's requests for teachers. The teachers felt that they were being forced into a position in which their only recourse in dealing with difficult students was to suspend them, which they believe to be ineffective since students enjoy their vacation and have their status among the other students enhanced.

The Baganda also differ significantly from the remainder of the teachers in their relative support for the Headmaster's policies of monthly tests and time-clock efficiency, but they express less support for political discussions being held in class.

In their relationship with the people of Mukono town, the Baganda teachers emphasize the school's role in "instilling wisdom" in the eyes of the parent generation, and the need for helping the poor or under-privileged people in the community. They are less anxious to have the school teach literacy or agriculture.

In addition to these apparent relationships between home region and expectations, the degree of consensus in these expectations also bears some relationship to home region. Consensus is greater among Baganda teachers with regard to disciplinary policies and the place of traditional culture in the high school. Prediction (1) based on Gross's hypothesis is supported by data regarding these expectations.

Teacher training and consensus. The second prediction tested was that teachers who have received their teacher training in the same college tend to share greater consensus concerning their job. Seven of the teachers had been trained at the National Teachers' College at Kyambogo, near Kampala, seven had received post-graduate training at Makerere University, seven had not trained as high school teachers at all, and the remainder had received their teacher training outside of Uganda.

The teachers who are university graduates place greater emphasis on exam preparation and on academic preparation of teachers. They also favor political discussions in the schools more strongly than others.

The university graduates also share some values which are increasingly identified with the educated in Africa. These more fully acculturated graduates are

more aware of the value of traditional cultures. They emphasize the need for including traditional beliefs in the school program, including "respect for elders," "character training," and allowing students to speak in the vernacular languages outside of class. In a form of "acculturation backlash," the university graduates urge students to interview their grandparents and write down folktales and to read about the history of their own culture.

Teachers trained at Kyambogo Teachers' College are more authoritarian in their outlook. They favor the use of manual labor, caning and suspensions as punishments, and giving the teachers the final decisions on expulsion. They are also less willing to invite students to their homes.

Although similar training for the job of teaching appears to influence some attitudes toward teaching, the degree of consensus in these opinions varies widely among university trained teachers and among teachers' college graduates. On an issue in which one group shows a high degree of consensus, the other frequently shows a relative lack of consensus. Teacher training appears to bear a positive relationship to the expectations held by a majority of teachers from a training program, but not the size of the majority that

holds any expectation.

This prediction receives the least amount of support from these data, in comparison with predictions (1) and (3). Further research in teachers' training programs would be useful for assessing methods and aims of each program and their relationship to national goals.

Teaching at Mukono and consensus. The third prediction tested was that the teachers who had been at Mukono for a longer time would tend to share greater consensus regarding their job. There are significant differences between the newcomers at Mukono and those who have been there longer. Those who had taught longer generally feel that teaching makes them more aware of national issues, as is the case with older teachers in general. Senior members of the staff also feel that the student council should work more closely with the teachers, but that the students should be trained to elect good leaders. Controversial policies such as the time-clock, monthly reports, manual labor, and caning receive more support from senior teachers, too.

The subjects taught influence some expectations as well. The belief that the school could contribute more to the community was widely held, but the suggestion

that this contribution should include teaching agriculture came from teachers of other subjects. The belief that politics should be discussed in school was common to the teachers of practical, vocational subjects. Science teachers complained more than others about the inconveniences of day schools, as students did not seem to have time to spend in the labs or extra sessions. Newer teachers place less emphasis on the importance of learning English.

The length of time that teachers have worked together appears to bear a relationship to their views on traditional culture and on the use of manual labor as a punishment, and also on the degree of consensus in these opinions. However, the amount of consensus surrounding other disciplinary issues appears to decrease as teachers work together over a long peiod of time. Organizational issues--streaming classes, district clubs--also demonstrate an inverse relationship between time spent at Mukono and the degree of consensus. Further study would be valuable, testing whether and in what area co-workers' attitudes towards organizational issues diverge.

Role Conflict

Two alternate predictions, also derived from Gross, Mason and McEachern (1958), were also tested in Mukono:

(4) Role conflict tends to be resolved according to the expectations of the higher authority.

and

(5) Role conflict tends to be resolved according to the expectations of the teachers' peer group.

Part of the study conducted by Gross concerned role conflict in the case of the high school superintendent. The responsibility of recommending teachers' pay increases was used as an example of a role conflict, in the views of all superintendents in the study. Expectations of taxpayers, teachers, politicians, parents and a number of others conflict. The researchers classify respondents as "moralists," "expedients," or "moral-expedients," on the basis of their priority of either the "legitimacy" or the "threat of sanctions" in a separate set of hypothetical expectations. The moral-expedient type responds to a set of expectations by balancing the consideration of their legitimacy and the threat of sanctions.

The researchers predicted the responses of superintendents, as being compatible with one of the three types. In ninety-one per cent of the cases tested, the responses of the superintendents to questions about pay increases corresponded to the predictions. The

study shows an interesting pattern of role conflict resolution in a form that could be tested in further studies. However, the categorization of people into "moralist" or "expedient" types could not be applied to cross-cultural studies, and the responses to questions about role conflict situations could not be taken as indications of actual behavior in all cases.

In my study in Uganda, I did not attempt to describe people in personality categories, although a complete study of role conflict resolution would need to combine some psychological variables with role analysis. I did start out by observing actual behavior and seeking patterns in this behavior without presenting formal questionnaires regarding role conflict.

The term role conflict, here, includes the type of conflict presented by impossible demands on an individual, termed "role strain" by William Goode (1961). Other types of role conflict include situations in which teachers perceive conflicting expectations regarding either their rights or duties. Conflicts which exist without being noticed are excluded. "Legitimacy" here does not determine whether role conflict exists, although it influences a teacher's choice of means of resolving it.

Four common types of situations contribute to role

conflict among teachers in Mukono. Demands of the Headmaster or school bursar are sometimes considered impossible to fulfill. Second, student expectations conflict with a teacher's own views or those of other teachers. Third, expectations on which the teachers share a high degree of consensus are sometimes denied by the Headmaster, and fourth, the teachers themselves sometimes share very low consensus in expectations for their job.

An example of the first type of role conflict is a set of expectations of the Headmaster which appear to conflict with each other. The emphasis on good classroom teaching and good exam results seem to conflict with his increasing encouragement that teachers spend at least one afternoon a week teaching at the grade school nearby. When this suggestion was first made, a group of teachers after the meeting complained of the demands that this would make on their time. These complaints increased whenever the topics of exam scores and grade school teaching were mentioned in the same meeting. After the initial response to the teaching project was not enthusiastic, the headmaster tended to discuss exam scores and prospects for the year with the subject heads. The reasons given were that the staff meetings were too long, and that this

was really the subject head's responsibility. The effect, apparently unintended, was to separate role demands through the delegation of the subject heads to emphasize good teaching.

Miss Namulagayi, a history teacher, first rejected the notion of grade school teaching saying that the headmaster of the grade school probably was not really in favor of the plan or he would have appeared in person to ask the teachers to help out. After a few weeks, she volunteered to teach, nonetheless, saying that it was best to go along with a plan which had such enthusiastic support from the Headmaster.

Several teachers from outside of Buganda reasoned that they would be unable to communicate with the grade school pupils when an English explanation failed, since they did not speak Luganda. Two of these later volunteered, too, saying that it would appear uncooperative if they did not at least make an attempt.

Another conflict involving demands of the Headmaster was the matter of "clocking in" at 7:30 and "out" at 4:00. The policy of the Ministry of Education is to pay teachers in a boarding school between five and ten dollars a month more than their counterparts in a day school, since teachers in a day school have no dormitory responsibilities. When the Mukono School had become a

high school, some of the teachers, including Mr. Mpinga and Mr. Muwanga, had volunteered to check the compound in the evening despite their understanding that they were not being paid for this. The practice gradually became a requirement. When Mr. Buyongo instituted the practice of clocking in during 1972, he reminded the teachers that they were being paid for hours at school, and not for being at their houses "drinking tea."

The teachers discussed this unusual practice at length. The legitimacy of this request was questioned, since the teachers were not being paid for the extra time they had agreed to work. Some of the teachers chose to take the "letter of the law" approach too. They stopped checking the compound at night, and complied with the time-clock policy. The night watchmen found that doors were left unlocked and that students defied their requests to leave buildings. One teacher complied with both expectations that he clock in and check the compound at night but he arranged for all of his homework assignments in math to be corrected during class time. These responses gave priority to the clocking in expectation, although the last teacher said he also checked the buildings at night "to be cooperative." Others recognized the hierarchy of expectations to be weighted in the

opposite direction and arranged for other teachers to clock in for them at 7:30 each morning.

A second type of role conflict involved the expectations of students for teachers, when the teachers either felt they could not meet these demands or that it would conflict with expectations held by other teachers or the Headmaster if they did so. The school clubs were a problem at times in that the elected club leaders made some decisions for the group and informed the club patron after the plans had been made. A common conflict in scheduling was that projects or meetings of a club would conflict with a teacher's staff meeting or subject meeting, called by the subject head. The teachers' meetings nearly always took precedence and this situation arose frequently enough to cause misunderstandings and resentment among the students.

Another situation of conflict between student and teacher expectations, far less common, was resolved in favor of the students' interests. Mr. Bryant, an American, found out about an opportunity for students to spend three weeks during a school vacation receiving extra classes in preparation for senior exams, which were scheduled in just two months. Only a few students would be admitted, so this was a coveted opportunity

for seniors. No one else at the school had learned of this plan yet, and Mr. Bryant had to make a choice. On the one hand, it was in the interest of the students in his homeroom to learn about the classes first and get the small number of application forms to share in that class. On the other hand, his class was composed of juniors, who could be admitted to the program, but who were not taking exams for another year. A second consideration in the interests of the other teachers was that his class was one that many teachers complained about. They were the best organized class where breaking a rule was concerned. They were also the class that had threatened to beat Mr. Mpinga for giving them last place in the drama competitions. Twice that year, they had also "shouted a teacher out of class," a practice which involved simply "humming" very loudly until the teacher walked out. Mr. Bryant spent many evenings in the science labs with his class, organized volleyball matches, and showed films on the week-ends. He had won some cooperation from the class, and he hoped to maintain it. He chose to offer the applications for the extra classes to his homeroom class first, even though they would, and did, take all of the applications leaving none for the rest of the school.

The rest of the teachers were appalled that he would

offer such an unruly group, they said, extra privileges. It was like "rewarding them for being bad." He had "sacrificed the seniors" for his own peace of mind.

Miss Namulagayi also experienced conflict between student and teacher expectations. She agreed to act as patron for the Uganda Students' Association for Friendship to Foreigners, a newly formed club. The request came a few days before they had arranged to have a dance, to recruit more members, and they needed a patron to "officially" sponsor the dance. She was asked to be the patron and to provide a record player for the dance. She agreed to the first request, but in accordance with discussions with other teachers, refused to guarantee them a record player. She suggested places they might ask about renting or borrowing one, but as the dance approached, their requests that she find one became more urgent and more frequent. All of the other teachers that they asked said that their record players were too large or could not be carried down the hill from the houses, or were not working.

The day of the dance was filled with chaos for Miss Namulagayi. Students skipped her classes, saying that they had gone on a search for the record player. One half hour after the dance had been scheduled

her house was surrounded by angry students demanding that she meet her responsiblity as a club patron. She remained adamant, and the dance began one hour late with one of the record players that had needed repair.

In most cases of conflict between teacher and student expectations, students' expectations were judged as less legitimate and as having less of a threat of sanctions. In the classroom however, this was less the case than with club activities. The threat of a student strike, based on complaints about classes was a serious one. The Headmaster, Mr Buyongo, frequently warned teachers that students would receive a sympathetic hearing at the Ministry of Education and the President's Office. Avoiding a strike was cause for considerable inconvenience on the teachers' part, for strikes usually resulted in investigations and condemnation of some teaching practices, and bad publicity for the school which influenced future entrants.

The most severe threat of strike during 1972 came in Mrs. Bowie's class when the students demanded that she write out the notes for her lessons on the board. This is a fairly common practice in high schools but Mrs. Bowie was convinced that students rely too heavily on rote learning in preparing for exams. After several

refusals the students walked out of her class and stayed outside milling about through two more classes.

The other teachers were alarmed and persuaded the students to return without disturbing the school routine, with the promise that a new teacher would take the class. Mr. Mayanja took over the class and wrote a few lectures out on the board but did not have serious complaints after that when he chose not to. Students said they trusted him to make sure that everyone understood the lesson. The teachers, on the whole, blamed Mrs. Bowie for either not making the lessons clear or not making the students believe that she was teaching them valuable material. Most of all, they were alarmed that she had just walked out when the students left her class.

A third type of role conflict situation is that in which the teachers share a high degree of consensus among themselves, but their opinions are not supported by the Headmaster. The most obvious was the area of discipline. The majority of teachers agreed that school discipline policies were too lenient, that teachers had no alternative but to suspend students, but that they should be allowed the final decision on expulsion. They also felt that they should have the final decision on student prefects and more direct

interaction with the student council. Each of these opinions was openly opposed by the Headmaster. The response of the teachers was an avoidance pattern of refusing to deal with student behavior at all or not admitting in discussions in the staff room that there was any problem with discipline in the teacher's classes. Mr. Leyton, who agreed with the Headmaster's expectations, chided those who had discipline problems saying that a good teacher could win students over. Discussions of discipline problems in the staff room decreased while two teachers went so far as assigning prefects to sit with their classes rather than face those they found unruly.

One opinion, held by seventy-three per cent of the teachers but not supported by school policies was the value of preserving traditional culture in the school. The Headmaster did not express opposition to this idea in the staff room but privately he wondered if this were the role of the high school in a society. Suggestions by teachers were given vague approval but not actively encouraged. Teachers from districts outside of Buganda were hesitant to suggest any activities with students from their districts since they were in such a minority. By the end of 1972, the only "traditional" projects in the school were the choir practices of Kiganda songs and dances.

In the fourth type of role conflict situation, teachers experienced the confusion of role conflict when they perceived that the other teachers disagreed widely. As in the cases mentioned above of high consensus issues such as the "time-clock" and student discipline, even a few outspoken teachers can cause the others to be embarrassed about disagreeing with school policy. The teachers themselves disagreed about turning in grade books to be checked each month, and giving tests at the assigned interval. Mr. Muwanga was the most outspoken about his belief that his testing policies and his grade book organization should be his own responsibility. In discussing this with the Headmaster in the staff room Mr. Buyongo insisted that the grade book was government property, and it was not to be treated as a teacher chose and that students were entitled to a test every four weeks to judge their own progress. The practice also enabled subject heads to keep track fo the progress made by each class in their subject. When the heads of subjects together brought up this complaint in a staff meeting, and many of the teachers agreed with the policy, the subject was generally dropped.

A topic which was thought to be potentially more disruptive was the area of politics in classes. The

diversity of cultural background of teachers made a wide range of opinions on most political issues available for any staff room discussion. The uneasiness about political discussions was so great that some teachers expressed relief when the government banned political discussions in schools.

These four types of role conflict situations do not include the unusual situation in which the teacher might find the perceived expectations of the Headmaster and the Ministry of Education in conflict. Mr. Mpinga and Mr. Muwanga both had the experience of running errands for the Headmaster to the Ministry, and being told to return with a message to the Headmaster that an important request had been denied, or that the Headmaster was to report immediately to the Ministry. Both of these situations caused uneasiness but the expectations of the Ministry overrode the usual respectful demeanor towards the Headmaster. Both the legitimacy and threat of sanctions of the Ministry requests were greater than the general expectation of deference to the Headmaster.

Prediction (4) was stated: role conflict tends to be resolved in accordance with the expectations of the person in greater authority. The prediction is supported by the data from Mukono. The expectations of the Ministry, Headmaster, teachers, and students are viewed

as possessing decreasing legitimacy and threat of sanctions. The exception to this was Mr. Bryant, an American, who placed the interest of his homeroom class above that of the teachers. When conflicting expectations exist among teachers, behavior usually conforms to existing school policies.

Prediction (5), that role conflict tends to be resolved in accordance with the expectations of the peer group, was not supported in the case of Mukono school. A general lack of peer group solidarity may have been related to a high turnover in teachers and the diversity of teacher backgrounds. Another consideration would be that for several teachers who are now at the University or acting as Headmasters at other schools, the recommendation of the Headmaster, Mr. Buyongo, was extremely important.

CHAPTER VII

ROLE DIFFERENTIATION AND ROLE FUNCTIONS

Role Differentiation

The role of an individual should be related to the entire social system of which it is a part. One of the perspectives within role analysis which incorporates a role into an entire social system is that of Nadel, stressing the functions of role behavior (1957). The social structure is viewed as a role structure. Within the entire system, a role can be viewed as a sub-system, as in the writings of Ingersoll (1963) and Hughes (1967, 1970). Here the role is viewed as a subsystem, consisting of the interrelated elements of relationship, expectations, behavior, and values. The role functions are the observable consequences of these interrelated elements for the larger system.

One of the functions of roles is to separate behavior and attitudes which are appropriate to different situations in any society. This separation of roles from one another is termed "role differentiation" by Michael Banton, in his book entitled Roles (1965). He suggests that viewing society as a system of roles designates the

role as the unit of social processes. An objective comparison of societies could compare roles, as the "Culture free" unit that evolutionists have sought. Cultures differ not only in the content of roles and role relationships but also in the bases of role allocation and differentiation. Role differentiation is defined as "the extent to which the incumbency of one role is independent of the incumbency of other roles" (1965:30).

"Basic" roles, according to Banton, are those which are more closely tied to the social structure of a society, in that they restrict social participation through other roles. These are the least differentiated roles. "General" roles are more differentiated, although still having extensive implications regarding other roles. "Independent" roles do not influence a person's freedom to occupy other roles in the society, except in the context of the role itself.

Banton hypothesizes that societies progress in the direction of increasing differentiation between roles, from an emphasis on basic roles to an increasing emphasis on, and proliferation of, general and independent roles. Within the Mukono School, the process of increasing specialization and differentiation of roles was evident even in the short period of one year.

Aidan Southall described two mechanisms by which roles are proliferated. One aspect of the context of

a role can be elaborated into a separate role without affecting the original role. Or, the content of one role can be divided to form several roles (Southall 1959). Both of these processes were taking place at Mukono. The proliferation of sub-roles among teachers is evident in this report in the many titles which apply to teachers, in their capacities as club patrons, maintenance "masters," homeroom teachers as well as instructors.

The proliferation and subdivision of maintenance sub-roles was related to the national economy, somewhat circuitously. Increased problems with repairs and equipment were being felt all over Uganda as strict import restrictions made minor machinery breakdowns into major repairs. Machine parts were unavailable, and import costs doubled or tripled in some cases. Other economic factors were the rapid increase in the size of the school, and the decreasing budget for non-teaching employees.

The care of school buildings and equipment became more important and more difficult. The "Master in charge of electrical repairs" found that light bulbs were increasingly expensive. A new "Master in charge of light bulbs" was one who could buy them more reasonably. The school carpenters were fired, so the "Master in charge of furniture" (there were two--one for school and one for houses) had to arrange transportation for broken furniture to a carpenter. In 1972, there were forty-five

organizational sub-roles and nineteen maintenance sub-roles shared by a varying number of twenty-three to twenty-six teachers. Teachers tended to give up maintenance duties when assigned new organizational tasks, such as clubs or projects. Newer teachers found themselves in unfamiliar positions of responsibility for care of equipment and buildings.

Role Functions

Observable consequences of the teacher's role are most evident in terms of organizational duties. The teachers contrast their training on giving lectures with their most time-consuming activities in other sub-roles. The teachers qualify students for jobs, in some cases instilling new values of punctuality, neatness in written work, and the ability to express one's ideas in writing. They provide examples of adult behavior and bring together students from different regions in cooperative activities.

They also keep young people off the labor market for a number of years, temporarily easing the unemployment bottleneck. Teachers instill values which are incompatible with traditional ones, such as the desire for cars, televisions and Western clothing. They contribute to the postponement of the age of marriage for students, and to the separation of families.

Although teachers contribute to national goals such as increased literacy and a greater number of university graduates, they also contribute to some obstacles to national unity. At Mukono, about one-half of the teachers are Baganda. In granting students loans and jobs and in approving student leaders, the teachers seek each other's recommendation regarding the students. One result is the general preferential treatment of Baganda students. This is also made clear to the other students when a teacher explains a confusing idea in Luganda, if there are questions about his English explanations. Boundary maintenance between tribal groups is also one function of the teacher's role.

Another function of teaching in East Africa is termed the "cooling-off function" by Burton Clark (1970). Taking the phrase from Goffman, Clark describes the process in education of helping a student "scale down" aspirations held in the early years while avoiding alientation from the entire system. The premise in East African education systems is that the cooling-off process takes place between institutions. Only about ten per cent of the grade school pupils attend high school. Students scale down their expectations as they find that doors are closed to them.

The philosophy does not apply precisely to high

schools in Uganda, though. Students who are not admitted to high schools know that their opportunities for skilled jobs are very limited, but those admitted to high schools have steadily decreasing opportunities for good jobs. The goal of increasing Uganda's 330,000 full-time jobs by 15,000 per year is very ambitious, and the high schools alone are graduating 10 - 12,000 young people per year. The "bottle-neck" in employment affects high school graduates the most as jobs are often reserved for graduates of university or specialized training programs.

The cooling-off process also takes place within the high school, although there is no official mechanism by which teachers contribute to the process. The "warnings" that are built into American schools--entrance exams, remedial courses, repetition of courses, academic warnings, and "flunking"--are absent in Uganda high schools. The cooling off process takes place informally within the school[2].

Teachers give grades that are discussed widely among the students. Students respond to each other's perceived ability with loud encouragement or heckling.

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[2]Everyone was upset by the widespread rumor that one of the 1970 graduates was seen in Kampala, begging.

Conclusion

In traditional Ugandan cultures, kinship, political and social roles each performed some educational functions. The teacher's roles contrasts with the traditional role inventory in that it is defined primarily in terms of educational functions. The national goals determine the primary emphasis of the teacher's role and the highest priority in expectations. Recently, educational policy statements and the 1972 Development Plan reflect the growing concern that schools should contribute to the needs of the community. National expectations are reinterpreted and implemented at the level of the school.

Consensus between levels of expectations varies. Different role expectations held for teachers by the nation, the community, and within the school by the Headmaster, the teachers, and the students complicate the teacher's role by making it more than the simple presentation of lectures.

Role consensus among the teachers also varies. Background factors influence the teachers' orientation toward authority and traditional values. In matters related to the day to day running of the school, the length of time spent at the school bears an inverse relationship to consensus in expectations. Training appears to influence the content of role expectations--

teacher's college graduates hold a more authoritarian view of their job whereas university graduates place greater emphasis on the need for study of traditional values in schools.

Role expectations for teachers at this school leave the teachers with an ambivalent understanding of the authority structure of the school. They are encouraged to hold a highly authoritarian view of their relationship with the Headmaster and the Ministry personnel and a much more egalitarian one with their students. Role conflict tends to be resolved in accordance with the formal authority structure. Teachers recognize a hierarchy of role obligations, and they give descending priority to the expectations of the Ministry of Education, the Headmaster, the other teachers, the students, and the community. The system of sub-roles within the school tends toward increasing differentiation, as teachers take on more non-academic duties in addition to their classroom responsibilities.

Further research possibilities

This project is a contribution to two growing bodies of literature in role analysis and educational anthropology. School studies in Uganda still require reports on rural boarding schools and on schools which are completely "Ugandanized" as is the present trend in

East Africa and other developing nations. A comparison between role consensus on specific issues would be useful as would an analysis of the informal organization of the school and its effect on role functions.

In Uganda, the relationship between a school and the surrounding community is being studied by affiliates of the Institute of Social Research. One aim of further study will be to bring national and community expectations for teachers into greater agreement.

The "cooling-off function" in formal education is important in developing nations. Although many Americans view universal high school education as a desirable end in itself, limited budgets for academic training in developing nations are allocated according to projected employment prospects.

Role analysis needs a study of the relationship between the degree of consensus in expectations and the length of time a group of individuals have worked together. The effects of different degrees of consensus on the functioning of an organization are also in question. Foskett suggests that conflict in school organizations may depend on "triggering events" rather than dissensus (Foskett 1969:111).

Gross's hypotheses regarding background factors and consensus could be tested in organizations other than schools and in communities of different types and

and sizes. John Foskett suggests that the average amount of consensus among members of the teacher's role set might be the same for all schools in any one culture, and that as a cultural characteristic rather than an organizational one, consensus might be unchanged by regional school policies.

L.W. Doob suggests interesting research possibilities concerning different degrees of consensus as expressed in different languages among bilinguals (Doob 1957). The extent to which language affects consensus, and the issues in which the effect is greater, would be of value in role analysis and in nations such as Uganda which have a colonial *lingua franca*.

APPENDIX

TABLE 1

TEACHERS AT MUKONO SCHOOL

BETWEEN SEPTEMBER, 1971, and JULY, 1972

	Name	Home Region	Subjects taught
1.	John Wasswa	Buganda	Art
2.	Enoch Musoke	Buganda	Math, Biology
3.	John Lwanga	Buganda	Chemistry, Biology
4.	John Mutebi-Kawere	Buganda	Agriculture
5.	Joseph Mayanja	Buganda	History, Religion
6.	Moses Kintu	Buganda	Math, Chemistry
7.	Sarah Namulagayi	Buganda	History, English
8.	John Mukasa	Buganda	Geography
9.	John Kiwanuka	Buganda	English
10.	Brian Kule	Buganda	Biology
11.	John Kagumo	Buganda	Geography, English
12.	Patrick Musisi	Busoga	English, Geography
13.	Daudi Muwanga	Busoga	English, Geography
14.	Elias Kabale	Ankole	Mathematics
15.	Henry Kityo	Ankole	Agriculture
16.	John Odongo	Lango	Wood-working
17.	John Olowo	Bukedi	Physical education
18.	John Bashabe	Kigezi	Home economics
19.	Dennis McComb	England	Chemistry, Physics
20.	Fred Leyton	England	English, Religion
21.	Martin Sweeney	England	Biology
22.	Vivian Leyton	England	English, Religion
23.	Mary Sweeney	England	English, Religion
24.	Margaret O'Neill	England	English, Religion
25.	Malcolm White	England	Agriculture
26.	Diana Bowie	Australia	English, Art
27.	Neal Burton	Australia	Agriculture
28.	Virginia Gearing	U.S.A.	English, Religion
29.	Roger Bryant	U.S.A.	Physics, Math
30.	Jane Smith (one mo.)	U.S.A.	Agriculture

[3]Names of teachers and the school have been altered.

TABLE 2

HIGH CONSENSUS ISSUES AMONG TEACHERS

Item:	Agree:		Disagree:	
	No.	%	No.	%
1. Ugandan high schools should attempt to preserve elements of traditional culture.	20	77	6	23
2. Discipline at this school is too harsh.	2	8	24	92
3. Discipline at this school is too lenient.	20	74	7	26
4. Caning should be allowed in schools.	7	27	19	73
5. Teachers should be allowed to expel students without consulting the Ministry or Board of Governors.	17	65	9	35
6. Suspension is unfair as a punishment, since it wastes valuable study time for the student.	6	24	19	76
7. Students should elect their own prefects without teachers' approval.	3	12	22	88

Table 2, HIGH CONSENSUS ISSUES AMONG TEACHERS, cont.

	Agree:		Disagree:	
	No.	%	No.	%
8. Students should be required to speak English at all times during classes.	23	96	1	4
9. Students should be required to speak English at all times during sports and club activities.	19	73	7	27
10. The school should have student clubs representing each of Uganda's districts.	2	8	24	92
11. Each class should be divided into streams according to ability.	7	29	17	71

TABLE 3

LOW CONSENSUS ISSUES AMONG TEACHERS

Item:	Agree:		Disagree:	
	No.	%	No.	%
12. Political discussions should be held in high school classes.	15	62	9	38
13. Teaching increases one's awareness of national events in Uganda.	14	61	9	39
14. Teachers' approval of prefects should depend upon their discipline and good behavior.	8	53	7	47
14a. Teachers' approval of prefects should depend upon their initiative or sense of responsibility.	7	47	8	53
15. Teachers should give tests each month in every class and have reports checked by the Headmaster.	7	37	12	63
16. Teachers should be required to punch a time clock at school.	6	40	9	60
17. Manual labor is an appropriate punishment in high schools.	15	58	11	42
18. Teachers are one of the most important sources of information for students, concerning national events.	12	48	13	52

TABLE 4

BACKGROUND FACTORS AND CONSENSUS

1. Ugandan high schools should attempt to preserve elements of traditional culture.

	Agree:		Disagree:	
	No.	%	No.	%
HOME AREA				
Buganda	9	82	2	18
Busoga	1	50	1	50
Bukedi	1	100	0	
Lango	1	100	0	
Kigezi	0		1	100
Ankole	1	50	1	50
England	4	100	0	
Australia	1	100	0	
U.S.A.	1	50	1	50
Buganda	9	82	2	18
Outside Buganda	10	71	4	29
Ugandan	13	73	5	27
Expatriate	6	86	1	14
TEACHER TRAINING				
Kyambogo T.T.C.	4	57	3	43
Makerere Univ.	6	86	1	14
Outside Uganda	4	100	0	
No training	5	72	2	28
TIME AT MUKONO				
Up to 18 months	14	82	3	18
Two years or more	5	63	3	37
SUBJECTS TAUGHT				
Arts	9	82	2	18
Sciences	5	72	2	28
Practical	5	72	2	28

Table 4, BACKGROUND FACTORS AND CONSENSUS, cont.

2. Discipline at this school is too harsh.

	Agree:		Disagree:	
	No.	%	No.	%
HOME AREA				
Buganda	0		10	100
Busoga	0		2	100
Bukedi	0		1	100
Lango	1	100	0	
Kigezi	0		1	100
Ankole	0		2	100
England	0		5	100
Australia	0		2	100
U.S.A.	1	50	1	50
Buganda	0		10	100
Outside Buganda	2	12	14	88
Ugandan	1	6	16	94
Expatriate	1	11	8	89
TEACHER TRAINING				
Kyambogo T.T.C.	0		7	100
Makerere Univ.	0		7	100
Outside Uganda	0		5	100
No high school training	2	28	5	72
TIME AT MUKONO				
Up to 18 months	2	11	7	89
Two years or more	0		17	100
SUBJECTS TAUGHT				
Arts	1	9	10	91
Sciences	1	12	7	88
Practical	0		7	100

Table 4. BACKGROUND FACTORS AND CONSENSUS, cont.

3. Discipline at this school is too lenient.

	Agree:		Disagree:	
	No.	%	No.	%
HOME AREA				
Buganda	8	73	3	27
Busoga	1	50	1	50
Bukedi	1	100	0	
Lango	1	100	0	
Kigezi	1	100	0	
Ankole	1	50	1	50
England	5	100	0	
Australia	1	50	1	50
U.S.A.	1	50	1	50
Buganda	8	73	3	27
Outside Buganda	12	75	4	25
Ugandan	13	73	5	27
Expatriate	7	78	2	22
TEACHER TRAINING				
Kyambogo T.T.C.	5	72	2	28
Makerere Univ.	4	57	3	43
Outside Uganda	6	86	1	14
No high school training	5	83	1	17
TIME AT MUKONO				
Up to 18 months	16	84	3	16
Two years or more	4	50	4	50
SUBJECTS TAUGHT				
Arts	8	67	4	33
Sciences	6	75	2	25
Practical	6	86	1	14

Table 4, BACKGROUND FACTORS AND CONSENSUS, cont.

4. "Caning" should be reinstituted in high schools.

	Agree:		Disagree:	
	No.	%	No.	%
HOME AREA				
Buganda	1	10	9	90
Busoga	1	50	1	50
Bukedi	0		1	100
Lango	0		1	100
Kigezi	0		1	100
Ankole	1	50	1	50
England	4	80	1	20
Australia	0		2	100
U.S.A.	0		2	100
Buganda	1	10	9	90
Outside Buganda	6	37	10	63
Ugandan	3	18	14	82
Expatriate	4	44	5	55
TEACHER TRAINING				
Kyamoogo T.T.C.	2	28	5	72
Makerere Univ.	0		6	100
Outside Uganda	3	60	2	40
No high school training	2	25	6	75
TIME AT MUKONO				
Up to 18 months	3	18	14	82
Two years or more	4	44	5	56
SUBJECTS TAUGHT				
Arts	4	33	8	67
Sciences	2	28	5	72
Practical	1	14	6	86

Table 4, BACKGROUND FACTORS AND CONSENSUS, cont.

5. Teachers should be allowed to expel students without consulting the Ministry of Education or the Board of Governors.

	Agree:		Disagree:	
	No.	%	No.	%
HOME AREA				
Buganda	8	80	2	20
Busoga	1	50	1	50
Bukedi	1	100	0	
Lango	1	100	0	
Kigezi	1	100	0	
Ankole	1	50	1	50
England	2	40	3	60
Australia	1	50	1	50
U.S.A.	1	50	1	50
Buganda	8	80	2	20
Outside Buganda	9	56	7	44
Ugandan	13	76	4	24
Expatriate	4	44	5	56
TEACHER TRAINING				
Kyambogo T.T.C.	5	83	1	17
Makerere Univ.	4	57	3	43
Outside Uganda	3	50	3	50
No high school training	5	72	2	28
TIME AT MUKONO				
Up to 18 months	13	73	5	27
Two years or more	4	50	4	50
SUBJECTS TAUGHT				
Arts	5	42	7	58
Sciences	5	72	2	28
Practical	7	100	0	

Table 4, BACKGROUND FACTORS AND CONSENSUS, cont.

6. **Suspension is unfair as a punishment, since it wastes valuable study time for the student.**

	Agree:		Disagree:	
	No.	%	No.	%
HOME AREA				
Buganda	4	40	6	60
Busoga	0		2	100
Bukedi	0		1	100
Lango	1	100	0	
Kigezi	0		0	
Ankole	0		2	100
England	0		5	100
Australia	0		2	100
U.S.A.	1	50	1	50
Buganda	4	40	6	60
Outside Buganda	2	13	13	87
Ugandan	5	31	11	69
Expatriate	1	11	8	89
TEACHER TRAINING				
Kyambogo T.T.C.	0		5	100
Makerere Univ.	1	14	6	86
Outside Uganda	0		6	100
No high school training	5	72	2	28
TIME AT MUKONO				
Up to 18 months	5	29	12	71
Two years or more	1	12	7	88
SUBJECTS TAUGHT				
Arts	3	25	9	75
Sciences	1	14	6	81
Practical	2	33	4	67

Table 4, BACKGROUND FACTORS AND CONSENSUS, cont.

7. **Students should elect their own prefects without the final approval of the teachers.**

	Agree:		Disagree:	
	No.	%	No.	%
HOME AREA				
Buganda	1	10	9	90
Busoga	0		2	100
Bukedi	0		1	100
Lango	1	100	0	
Kigezi	0		1	100
Ankole	0		2	100
England	0		4	100
Australia	0		2	100
U.S.A.	1	50	1	50
Buganda	1	10	9	90
Outside Buganda	2	13	13	87
Ugandan	2	12	15	88
Expatriate	1	12	7	88
TEACHER TRAINING				
Kyambogo T.T.C.	0		6	100
Makerere Univ.	1	14	6	87
Outside Uganda	1	20	4	80
No high school training	1	14	6	86
TIME AT MUKONO				
Up to 18 months	3	18	14	82
Two years or more	0		8	100
SUBJECTS TAUGHT				
Arts	1	8	11	92
Sciences	1	17	5	83
Practical	1	14	6	86

Table 4, BACKGROUND FACTORS AND CONSENSUS, cont.

8. **Students should be required to speak Engl ish at all times during classes.**

	Agree:		Disagree:	
	No.	%	No.	%
HOME AREA				
Buganda	10	91	1	9
Busoga	2	100	0	
Bukedi	1	100	0	
Lango	1	100	0	
Kigezi	1	100	0	
Ankole	2	100	0	
England	4	100	0	
Australia	2	100	0	
U.S.A.	2	100	0	
Buganda	10	91	1	9
Outside Buganda	15	100	0	
Ugandan	17	94	1	6
Expatriate	8	100	0	
TEACHER TRAINING				
Kyambogo T.T.C.	7	100	0	
Makerere Univ.	6	86	1	14
Outside Uganda	5	100	0	
No high school training	7	100	0	
TIME AT MUKONO				
Up to 18 months	17	100	0	
Two years or more	8	89	1	11
SUBJECTS TAUGHT				
Arts	10	91	1	9
Sciences	8	100	0	
Practical	7	100	0	

Table 4, BACKGROUND FACTORS AND CONSENSUS, cont.

9. **Students should be required to speak English at all times during sports and club activities.**

	Agree:		Disagree:	
	No.	%	No.	%
HOME AREA				
Buganda	9	82	2	18
Busoga	2	100	0	
Bukedi	0		1	100
Iango	1	100	0	
Kigezi	1	100	0	
Ankole	1	50	1	50
England	3	60	2	40
Australia	1	50	1	50
U.S.A.	1	100	0	
Buganda	9	82	2	18
Outside Buganda	10	67	5	33
Ugandan	14	78	4	22
Expatriate	5	63	3	37
TEACHER TRAINING				
Kyambogo T.T.C.	6	86	1	14
Makerere Univ.	4	57	3	43
Outside Uganda	4	80	1	20
No high school training	5	72	2	28
TIME AT MUKONO				
Up to 18 months	12	71	5	29
Two years or more	7	78	2	22
SUBJECTS TAUGHT				
Arts	9	75	3	25
Sciences	5	72	2	28
Practical	5	72	2	28

Table 4. BACKGROUND FACTORS AND CONSENSUS, cont.

10. This school should have student clubs representing each of Uganda's districts.

	Agree:		Disagree:	
	No.	%	No.	%
HOME AREA				
Buganda	1	9	10	91
Busoga	1	50	1	50
Bukedi	0		1	100
Lango	0		1	100
Kigezi	0		1	100
Ankole	0		2	100
England	0		4	100
Australia	0		2	100
U.S.A.	0		2	100
Buganda	1	9	10	91
Outside Buganda	1	7	14	93
Ugandan	2	11	16	89
Expatriate	0		8	100
TEACHER TRAINING				
Kyambogo T.T.C.	1	14	6	86
Makerere Univ.	0		7	100
Outside Uganda	0		5	100
No high school training	1	14	6	86
TIME AT MUKONO				
Up to 18 months	0		17	100
Two years or more	2	22	7	78
SUBJECTS TAUGHT				
Arts	1	8	11	92
Sciences	0		7	100
Practical	1	14	6	86

Table 4, BACKGROUND FACTORS AND CONSENSUS, cont.

11. Classes should be divided into streams according to ability.

	Agree:		Disagree:	
	No.	%	No.	%
HOME AREA				
Buganda	5	50	5	50
Busoga	0		2	100
Bukedi	0		1	100
Lango	1	100	0	
Kigezi	0		0	
Ankole	0		2	100
England	0		3	100
Australia	1	50	1	50
U.S.A.	0		2	100
Buganda	5	50	5	50
Outside Buganda	2	8	11	92
Ugandan	6	37	10	73
Expatriate	1	14	6	86
TEACHER TRAINING				
Kyambogo T.T.C.	2	33	4	67
Makerere Univ.	2	28	5	72
Outside Uganda	1	25	3	75
No high school training	2	33	4	67
TIME AT MUKONO				
Up to 18 months	4	27	11	73
Two years or more	3	37	5	63
SUBJECTS TAUGHT				
Arts	3	27	8	73
Sciences	2	33	4	67
Practical	2	33	4	67

Table 4, BACKGROUND FACTORS AND CONSENSUS, cont.

12. Political discussions should be held in classes in high schools.

	Agree:		Disagree:	
	No.	%	No.	%
HOME AREA				
Buganda	4	44	5	56
Busoga	1	50	1	50
Bukedi	1	100	0	
Lango	1	100	0	
Kigezi	0		1	100
Ankole	2	100	0	
England	3	60	2	40
Australia	1	100	0	
U.S.A.	2	100	0	
Buganda	4	44	5	56
Outside Buganda	11	73	4	27
Ugandan	9	56	7	44
Expatriate	6	75	2	25
TEACHER TRAINING				
Kyambogo T.T.C.	3	43	4	57
Makerere Univ.	5	100	0	
Outside Uganda	3	60	2	40
No high school training	4	57	3	43
TIME AT MUKONO				
Up to 18 months	10	67	5	33
Two years or more	5	56	4	44
SUBJECTS TAUGHT				
Arts	6	60	4	40
Sciences	4	57	3	43
Practical	5	72	2	28

Table 4. BACKGROUND FACTORS AND CONSENSUS, cont.

13. Teaching increases one's awareness of national events.

	Agree:		Disagree:	
	No.	%	No.	%
HOME AREA				
Buganda	5	63	3	37
Busoga	1	50	1	50
Bukedi	1	100	0	
Lango	1	100	0	
Kigezi	0		1	100
Ankole	1	50	1	50
England	4	100	0	
Australia	1	50	1	50
U.S.A.	0		2	100
Buganda	5	63	3	37
Outside Buganda	9	60	6	40
Ugandan	9	60	6	40
Expatriate	5	63	3	37
TEACHER TRAINING				
Kyambogo T.T.C.	4	67	2	33
Makerere Univ.	5	83	1	17
Outside Uganda	3	75	1	25
No high school training	2	28	5	72
TIME AT MUKONO				
Up to 18 months	9	56	7	44
Two years or more	5	72	2	28
SUBJECTS TAUGHT				
Arts	6	50	6	50
Sciences	4	100	0	
Practical	4	57	3	43

Table 4, BACKGROUND FACTORS AND CONSENSUS, cont.

14. **The most important consideration for teachers in approving students' selection of prefects should be discipline and obedience.**

	Agree:		Disagree:	
	No.	%	No.	%
HOME AREA				
Buganda	4	57	3	43
Busoga	1	50	1	50
Bukedi	0		0	
Lango	0		0	
Kigezi	0		0	
Ankole	0		0	
England	3	100	0	
Australia	0		1	100
U.S.A.	0		2	100
Buganda	4	57	3	43
Outside Buganda	4	50	4	50
Ugandan	5	56	4	44
Expatriate	3	50	3	50
TEACHER TRAINING				
Kyambogo T.T.C.	1	33	2	67
Makerere Univ.	2	40	3	60
Outside Uganda	4	80	1	20
No high school training	1	50	1	50
TIME AT MUKONO				
Up to 18 months	4	50	4	50
Two years or more	4	57	3	43
SUBJECTS TAUGHT				
Arts	6	55	5	45
Sciences	1	33	2	67
Practical	1	100	0	

Table 4, BACKGROUND FACTORS AND CONSENSUS, cont.

14a. The most important consideration for teachers in approving students' selection of prefects should be the prefect's initiative and sense of responsibility.

	Agree:		Disagree:	
	No.	%	No.	%
HOME AREA				
Buganda	3	43	4	57
Busoga	1	50	1	50
Bukedi	0		0	
Lango	0		0	
Kigezi	0		0	
Ankole	0		0	
England	0		3	100
Australia	1	100	0	
U.S.A.	2	100	0	
Buganda	3	43	4	57
Outside Buganda	4	50	4	50
Ugandan	4	44	5	56
Expatriate	3	50	3	50
TEACHER TRAINING				
Kyambogo T.T.C.	2	67	1	33
Makerere Univ.	3	60	2	40
Outside Uganda	1	20	4	80
No high school training	1	50	1	50
TIME AT MUKONO				
Up to 18 months	4	50	4	50
Two years or more	3	43	4	57
SUBJECTS TAUGHT				
Arts	5	45	6	55
Sciences	2	67	1	33
Practical	0		1	100

Table 4, BACKGROUND FACTORS AND CONSENSUS, cont.

15. **Teachers should give tests each month in every class and have reports checked by the Headmaster.**

	Agree:		Disagree:	
	No.	%	No.	%
HOME AREA				
Buganda	3	50	3	50
Busoga	1	50	1	50
Bukedi	0		1	100
Lango	0		0	
Kigezi	0		0	
Ankole	0		1	100
England	2	40	3	60
Australia	0		2	100
U.S.A.	1	50	1	50
Buganda	3	50	3	50
Outside Buganda	4	31	9	69
Ugandan	4	40	6	60
Expatriate	3	33	6	67
TEACHER TRAINING				
Kyambogo T.T.C.	3	50	3	50
Makerere Univ.	1	33	2	67
Outside Uganda	2	33	4	67
No high school training	1	25	3	75
TIME AT MUKONO				
Up to 18 months	2	18	9	82
Two years or more	5	63	3	37
SUBJECTS TAUGHT				
Arts	3	33	6	67
Sciences	2	33	4	67
Practical	2	50	2	50

Table 4, BACKGROUND FACTORS AND CONSENSUS, cont.

16. Teachers should be required to punch a time clock at school.

	Agree:		Disagree:	
	No.	%	No.	%
HOME AREA				
Buganda	3	50	3	50
Busoga	1	50	1	50
Bukedi	0		0	
Lango	0		0	
Kigezi	0		1	100
Ankole	0		1	100
England	1	33	2	67
Australia	0		1	100
U.S.A.	1	100	0	
Buganda	3	50	3	50
Outside Buganda	3	33	6	67
Ugandan	4	40	6	60
Expatriate	2	40	3	60
TEACHER TRAINING				
Kyambogo T.T.C.	2	50	2	50
Makerere Univ.	2	67	1	33
Outside Uganda	1	25	3	75
No high school training	1	25	3	75
TIME AT MUKONO				
Up to 18 months	2	25	6	75
Two years or more	4	57	3	43
SUBJECTS TAUGHT				
Arts	4	50	4	50
Sciences	1	25	3	75
Practical	1	33	2	67

Table 4. BACKGROUND FACTORS AND CONSENSUS, cont.

17. Manual labor is an appropriate punishment in high school.

	Agree:		Disagree:	
	No.	%	No.	%
HOME AREA				
Buganda	7	70	3	30
Busoga	2	100	0	
Bukedi	0		1	100
Lango	1	100	0	
Kigezi	0		1	100
Ankole	1	50	1	50
England	4	80	1	20
Australia	0		2	100
U.S.A.	0		2	100
Buganda	7	70	3	30
Outside Buganda	8	50	8	50
Ugandan	11	65	6	35
Expatriate	4	44	5	56
TEACHER TRAINING				
Kyambogo T.T.C.	4	67	2	33
Makerere Univ.	3	43	4	57
Outside Uganda	4	80	1	20
No high school training	4	50	4	50
TIME AT MUKONO-				
Up to 18 months	7	39	11	61
Two years or more	8	100	0	
SUBJECTS TAUGHT				
Arts	7	58	5	42
Sciences	6	86	1	14
Practical	2	28	5	72

Table 4. BACKGROUND FACTORS AND CONSENSUS, cont.

18. Teachers are one of the most important sources of information for students concerning national events.

	Agree:		Disagree:	
	No.	%	No.	%
HOME AREA				
Buganda	5	45	6	55
Busoga	1	50	1	50
Bukedi	1	100	0	
Lango	1	100	0	
Kigezi	0		1	100
Ankole	0		2	100
England	2	50	2	50
Australia	1	100	0	
U.S.A.	1	50	1	50
Buganda	5	45	6	55
Outside Buganda	7	50	7	50
Ugandan	8	44	10	56
Expatriate	4	57	3	43
TEACHER TRAINING				
Kyambogo T.T.C.	2	40	3	60
Makerere Univ.	6	86	1	14
Outside Uganda	1	17	5	83
No high school training	3	43	4	57
TIME AT MUKONO				
Up to 18 months	8	50	8	50
Two years or more	4	44	5	56
SUBJECTS TAUGHT				
Arts	6	60	4	40
Sciences	2	25	6	75
Practical	4	57	3	43

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