

HISTORY OF GIRL CHILD EDUCATION IN BUGANDA KINGDOM 1925-1997

BY


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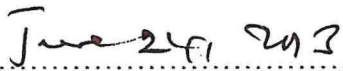
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APPROVAL

This dissertation has been submitted for examination with my approval as University Supervisor

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my parents and family. My father, Mr. A.M. Kambugu and my mother Ms. Rehema Nanfuka, my sons Leone and Louis Zziwa whose love, encouragement and sacrifice formed the foundation of my education career.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation is about the history and development of girl child education in Buganda from 1925-1997. It is mainly concerned with the development of girl child education from the coming of foreigners and the historical developments during the colonial period to the post colonial period to 1997 when the National Resistance Government introduced Universal Primary Education [UPE]. It mainly looks at the efforts towards improving the education of the girl child and challenges faced by the endeavour.

Chapter one of this dissertation deals with the general background of the study including a brief history of Buganda kingdom. It gives the general background of the coming of Arabs and Europeans to Uganda and the development of formal education in Buganda. It further covers the statement of the problem, scope of the study, objectives and significance of the study. It also contains hypothesis, literature review and research methodology.

Chapter two covers the nature of indigenous education given to the girl child in Buganda. It concentrates on where the teaching and learning was conducted. It discusses the curriculum and content, teachers and methods of teaching during the informal stage of education.

Chapter three discusses the coming of formal education. It deals with the coming of Arabs and the different missionary groups to Uganda. It further deals with their efforts to educate the girl child and the challenges they faced.

Chapter four of this dissertation deals with further historical developments of education. It mainly deals with the steps taken by the colonial government to improve the education of girls in Buganda including the different commissions instituted to look into the education system within

the period 1926-1961. It further deals with the challenges faced in improving the education of the girl child.

Chapter five discusses the historical development of girl child education during the post-colonial period and the challenges faced.

Lastly, Chapter six concludes that the process of girl child education has been a concern of all governments in Uganda. The education of the girl has not been totally achieved mainly because of the cultural beliefs among the Baganda.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACFODI	Action for Development
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CMS	Church Missionary Society
EPRC	Education Policy Review Commission
FAG	The Founding Agency Group.
FAWE	Forum for African Women Educationists
HIV	Human Immune Virus
MHM	Mill Hill Missionaries
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
PTA	Parents' Teachers' Association
UMEA	Uganda Muslim Education Association
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UPE	Universal Primary Education
WFM	White Fathers' Missionaries
YBA	Young Baganda Association
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background

Buganda Kingdom, one of the strongest Kingdoms in the interlucustrine region in the 17th and 18th centuries, was allegedly founded by Kato Kintu in the 14th Century¹. It is alleged that Kintu lead a group of thirteen clans who entered Uganda from the direction of mountain Elgon and passed through Busoga and settled in Buganda².

Originally, Buganda Kingdom had 3 counties, namely; Kyadondo (the capital of the kingdom), Busiro and Mawokota. With a combination of force and other factors the Kintu migrants conquered other areas to include Busujju, Gomba and parts of south Ssinga. After the Kintu migrations, Buganda attracted other immigrants from Bumogera (Kisumu) on the eastern shores of Lake Victoria led by Mubiru and Lwomwa of the lung fish and sheep clans respectively. However, Buganda was later to expand in the 17th and 18th centuries to include Buddu, Bulemeezi, north Ssinga, Kyaggwe, Bugerere, Buweekula, Kabula, Mawogola and Buluuli³. The islands of Lake Nalubaale especially Ssese, Buvuma, and Kkome became parts of Buganda in 1896 after they were conquered by the Imperial British East African Company. Buganda was not the only kingdom in the area hence the boundaries of Buganda and Bunyoro were in a state of flux for centuries, the stronger state expanded at the expense of the weaker one and vice versa.

Politically, Buganda Kingdom was a highly centralized society, with the Kabaka at the helm of the social, economic and political activities in the kingdom. He was assisted in the day to day running of the Kingdom by the clan heads (Bataka) and chiefs. The Kabaka could appoint and sack chiefs as he wished. On the contrally clan heads had their jurisdiction and their positions remained hereditary until the mid19th century. The Prime Minister (Katikiro) who was appointed

by the King remained very influential in the affairs of the kingdom. The role of queen mother was also influential in the politics of Buganda. Sometimes, the queen mother would influence the process that led the Kabaka to assume the Buganda throne⁴. Hence, sometimes the decision of a queen mother was not questioned by the Kabaka.

Economically, the Baganda were agriculturalists who supplemented this with other activities like hunting, backcloth making, fishing and so on.

With regard to social life, all the social events in Buganda had to be sanctioned by the King and he was supposed to attend such events in person. But the Kabaka could not attend all social functions in Buganda, henceforth where he could not preside over such functions; he delegated the chiefs. The social life of Buganda reflected all the norms and beliefs that the Baganda cherished. Thus, the cultural component of the Baganda was reflected in their social life. This included the traditional Ganda education system, a system of education that was woven around the Ganda culture. In context, female education reflected the social norms, values and customs the Baganda cherished.

This, in essence, means that Buganda did not first witness the experience of female education with the coming of western education as some western scholars have put it. Female education in Buganda was rooted in her political and social-economic environment. In fact, the uniqueness of Buganda's education compared with that of Europeans led some Europeans to believe and wrongly so, that the Kingdom (like elsewhere in Africa) had never had any education of any sort. Hence, as a result of this misnomer, European missionaries developed a philosophy that was oriented towards "civilizing" the "barbaric" yet "savagely" characters of Africa.

Surely Buganda Kingdom had already experienced indigenous education prior to the introduction of western school system, which was grounded in its cultural beliefs. This is so because according to Ssekamwa education is the transfer of knowledge, skills and attitudes from one person to the other.⁵ The above definition fits well into what was taking place in Buganda before the advent of western education. The transfer of knowledge, skills and attitudes to girls Buganda was carried out in the homestead and anywhere people engaged in economic, political and social activities. It could be done any time by anybody who was of sound memory in the society, especially elders who had gathered a lot of experiences and wisdom through the years.⁶ Nakawoya notes that Buganda society valued competition and as a consequence her education system stressed personal endeavors to do praise worthy work out of the ordinary to attract the attention of the Kabaka⁷

The coming of foreigners and Buganda's eventual submission to British Colonial authority led to a gradual but steady undermining of indigenous female education. The establishment of Western education was facilitated by the deliberate undermining of local institution by the missionaries who sometimes branded them satanic. Henceforth European missionaries labored hard to persuade local Baganda to give up their traditional education in favour of Western education. In essence, the cultural aspect of Baganda was unashamedly despised by the missionaries and later the British colonial masters. It is not surprising that in 1920s the British colonial regime passed a law banning traditional worship!

Buganda's contact with the outside world did not materialise until 1840s. This has been described as a period in which Kabaka Suuna met with Sheik Ahmed Ibin Ibrahim at his court at Banda Palace. This meeting with Sheik Ahmed Ibin Ibrahim marked the beginning of the introduction of foreign education in Buganda Kingdom. Though the Arabs were very much

interested in trade than anything else, they nevertheless did organize some lessons for Islam and Swahili⁸. Consequently, some Baganda got converted to Islam, including Muteesa I although the majority was not interested in Islam; no wonder Islam did not spread far and wide as was the case with Christianity.

However, though the Muslims did not embark on any serious process of establishing an education system that would last long, nevertheless, it was the arrival of Christian missionaries in 1877 that was to change the face of education in Buganda Kingdom. Faced with a number of threats to overtake his kingdom by Khedive Ishmael of Egypt, Muteesa I found it imperative to invite the Europeans/missionaries to his kingdom in order to embark on the process of teaching his subjects knowledge and skills, which he hoped they could apply to stave off threats from Egypt. Muteesa's decision to invite Europeans was informed by the fact that in 1873, Samuel Baker, who was employed by the Khedive of Egypt, arrived at the court of Kabaleega to forcibly take over his kingdom and place it under Egyptian dominion but the Egyptian forces were repulsed by Kabaleega's army. Egypt had taken over Northern and Southern Sudan and some parts of Northern Uganda. It should be noted that it was within Egypt's plan to take over the whole of East Africa as part of its wider campaign to control the Nile waters⁹.

As a result of the above developments, Muteesa I met with Henry Morton Stanley at Kasubi and requested him to invite Europeans to his kingdom. Muteesa's invitation was motivated by the fact that he wanted Europeans to assist in teaching his subjects the then latest military skills, which would be used to defend Buganda kingdom against the apparent Egyptian invasion. Stanley didn't disappoint Muteesa I and met his request. In November 1875, Muteesa's letter appeared in the British Daily Telegraph¹⁰. In response to the request, members of the Church Missionary Society, led by Alexander MacKay, arrived in Buganda in 1877. Two years later

missionaries from the Catholic White Fathers, a Roman Catholic group, namely Brother Amans and Lourdel Monpel, also arrived at the Kabaka's court. When the Church Missionary Society arrived, Muteesa offered them land at Natete to establish their headquarters from which to spread the gospel. The White Fathers were offered land at Lubaga hill.

The arrival of the Christian missionaries in Buganda sparked off the establishment of schools modeled on western formal education, this was especially so in 1898¹¹. Many Baganda embraced western education, because Muteesa I supported it for he thought the new knowledge and skills would benefit his people. People thought if they mastered the knowledge and skills, they would easily win the Kabaka's favour. Already one of the Arabic students called Mafuta was acting as an interpreter at Muteesa's court and was held with great respect¹². The schools established by the missionaries were based on the religious affiliations of their founders i.e. catholic founded schools were to be attended by only pupils/students who subscribed to Catholicism and the same was also true of protestant founded schools. It was not uncommon for a pupil not to attend a school in the neighborhood in preference for a school of their religious leaning, regardless of distance¹³.

From 1877-1879 people were taught religion, reading, writing and numeracy in the houses and compounds of the Missionaries. With this kind of arrangement, the missionaries sought to produce graduates who would help them spread the gospel in all parts of Buganda¹⁴. However, Ssekamwa and Lugumba assert that, in 1901 some prominent Baganda chiefs requested the missionaries to go beyond just the teaching of the 3Rs. They requested them to add onto the school curriculum the teaching of English¹⁵. As a result of this request, missionaries started seriously considering the need to establish an education system that was designed to build the character of the pupils and prepare them for a wider and changing world.

Motivated by the Baganda chiefs' request, missionaries started on the process for setting up schools across Buganda that would help transmit values to the young generation in preparation for their future roles as leaders, albeit based on religious affiliations. The first such school was started by the Mill Hill Fathers at Namilyango in 1902, later Namilyango College; Mengo High School was founded in 1903; Gayaza High School in 1905; Kings College Budo in 1906, St Mary's High School Rubaga later renamed St Mary's College Kisubi and moved from Kampala to Kisubi. These schools were mainly established to carry out the teaching of sons and daughters of chiefs under the assumption that they would grow up to take up the positions held by their parents¹⁶. These schools taught 3Rs as well as English Grammar, Geography, Mathematics, Music and Games.

Unfortunately, most of the educational institutions established by missionaries were made to promote boys education with little or no attention paid to girls' education. It follows that where efforts were made to cater for girls' education, the kind of education so offered to girls was later interpreted as emphasizing a woman's role as a mother and a wife. Henceforth, as observed by Nakanyike¹⁷, colonial education emphasized domesticity for girls. The subsequent governments did little or nothing to put right the wrongs of missionary/colonial education in relation to girls' education in Buganda and Uganda in general. Hence the very need to study the history and development of girls education in Buganda, specifically looking at the role of cultural beliefs in perpetuating the lack of access to education by girls as well as the steps that were taken by colonial and postcolonial governments in bringing about gender balance in education in Buganda.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

At the turn of the 20th Century, Buganda Kingdom saw the introduction of western formal education by mainly Christian missionaries. Whereas it's true that many of parents embraced western education, as many children were sent to missionary schools, it is also true that the majority of parents—stuck to Buganda's cultural norms, which tended to favour boys at the expense of girls—denied their daughters a chance to acquire western formal education. Although there were attempts by some parents to take their daughters to school, a good number was withdrawn as soon as they could read and write. The same parents largely embraced the education of their sons at the expense of their daughters' education

Attempts were made by the colonial government to address this cultural anomaly, but the problem persisted, as parents were reluctant to attach great importance to the education of their daughters. This sad state of educational imbalance—skewed in disfavor of girls—continues up to the present: girls are under represented at all educational levels across Buganda, despite purportedly having in place policies intended to remedy the gender imbalance in Buganda. Hence, this study seeks to examine the persisting imbalance in offering educational opportunities in Buganda education system. Besides, it seeks to assess the strategies taken to address the imbalance

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to examine the history of girls' education in Buganda Kingdom.

1.4 Specific objectives

The study sought to achieve the following objectives:

1. To establish the role of Ganda cultural values in influencing girl child education in Buganda Kingdom.
2. To examine the role of religion in influencing girl child education in Buganda Kingdom.
3. To assess the strategies employed by the colonial and post colonial governments in addressing the challenges of girl child education in Buganda Kingdom.

1.5 Research Questions

The study sought to answer the following research questions:

1. To what extent did the Ganda cultural values influence girl child education in Buganda Kingdom?
2. To what extent did the religious beliefs of parents influence girl child education in Buganda Kingdom?
3. To what extent were the strategies employed by the colonial and post colonial governments effective in addressing the challenges of girl child education in Buganda Kingdom?

1.6 Hypothesis

Subsequently, the study sought to verify the following hypothesis:

1. Ganda cultural beliefs and practices greatly influenced parents to put more emphasis on the education of the boy child than the girl child

2. Religious beliefs have made it difficult to address the challenges of girl child education

1.7 Justification of the study.

The study was motivated by the high educational disparities in which girls were poorly represented at both primary and secondary levels of education.

1.8 Scope of the Study.

The study focused on the history and development of girls' education in Buganda Kingdom. Buganda Kingdom was chosen because, on top of being a place where most educational institutions were established in Uganda, it is also one of the oldest kingdoms in Uganda. Besides, there were several reports in the region indicating high dropout rates, possibly linked to cultural beliefs. The study covered the period from 1925-1997. The study started from 1925 when the colonial government started directing the education policy in Uganda. Whilst the study ended in 1997 because it was the year the NRM government introduced the Universal Primary Education (UPE).

The study was specifically carried out in Mukono, Masaka, Wakiso, Kampala, Mityana, Kiboga and Mpigi Districts. These areas were chosen because they constitute the traditional counties of Mawokota, Busiro, Buddu, Kyagwe, Ssinga as well as Kyaddondo. These were chosen to include urban, semi rural and rural districts. They were selected because these were areas where the first educational institutions in Buganda were established. It was thought that they would provide more reliable data that would be generalized to other areas of Buganda.

Primary and secondary schools were visited. The schools were sampled according to ownership that is government aided, religious or privately owned. The type of school was also considered, that is, boarding, day, and single sex or coeducation institutions. The following schools were visited Namagunga, Buddo, Gayaza, Nabbingo, Nabisunsa, Mityana ss, Busubizi Demonstration school, Mityana Public school, Ngogwe SS and Kabukunge were selected for the study because they were some of the schools opened to cater for girls education. Nabisunsa and Kabukunge were specifically chosen because they were started to cater for the education of Muslims, especially Muslim girls. Bwala Islamic Primary School, Kimaanya Primary School, Butambala Islamic Primary Schools were chosen because they were one of the primary schools that were constructed at the inception of formal education in Buganda

1.9 Review of Related Literature.

The need to prioritize female education in Uganda has, for a long time now, been daunting various stakeholders, stretching from parents/households caring for girls, women activists, government and societal stakeholders in general. In the media, the problem has been and remains a hot topic. This section, therefore, reviews literature related to the objectives that were involved in the study, with a view to expose pertinent concepts, variables, developments and knowledge gaps that motivated the study. For clarity, it is arranged by the three concerns that comprised the focus of the study i.e. the effect of cultural values on the education of the girl child in Buganda; the role of religion in influencing girl child education as well as strategies employed by the colonial and post colonial governments in addressing the challenges of girl child education in Uganda

1.9.1 The Role Cultural values in influencing girl child education in Buganda Kingdom.

Culture is defined as a system of beliefs and social behavior constructed by a given society within a given cultural context across time and space¹⁸. Culture is composed of values, beliefs as well as customs; and a community that holds a very strong cultural belief system may resist any attempts aimed at changing their cultures. Henceforth, this can be true of attempts to educate girls if the culture of a given society value boys more than girls. Nevertheless, it was not known at the time the study was undertaken whether or not the cultural values of the Ganda impinged on the education of girls. This study was required to ascertain the extent to which cultural values had affected the education of girls in Buganda, hence the justification of this study.

Ssekamwa¹⁹ noted that the Ganda cultural traditions rested on the following practices: early marriage for girls; virginity before marriage; greeting of elders by girls while kneeling down; the value of boy child at the expense of girl child. That the above cultural traditions impinged the education of the girl child in much of the missionary and colonial times in much the same way that some parents discontinued the education of their daughters on grounds that they were old enough for marriage; or because parents feared that their daughters would engage in sexual relationship while going to school in which case they would cease to be virgins. According to Ssekamwa, some parents, especially females, believed that a right full place for girls was the kitchen. Nevertheless, his study did not specify whether these problems were restricted in secondary schools and primary schools or even tertiary institutions. It is possible that he could have analyzed these problems at a level other than primary and secondary. Yet, this study focused on how Ganda cultural traditions affected the education of the girl child at both primary and secondary levels. Hence the very reason to carry out an investigation into the history of girl child education in Buganda.

Indeed, Muranga noted that women education in Uganda had lagged behind that of men, even when the population of women outstripped that of men. She attributed the problem to the belief that the roles ascribed to women were considered to be met by the informal education at home²⁰. On the other hand, Subbaro in a World Bank Report cites similar cases in Malawi where the education of girls/women was given less attention compared to the education of boys. He notes that women were worse off than men with a literacy rate standing at 35% compared with 60% for men²¹.

Much as Muranga may be credited for pointing out the reasons behind the low enrollments for girls in Uganda, it can be rightly argued that her findings were based on recent events whereas this study did unravel the historical factors that created the problem of low female enrollment. Besides, the scope of the study was limited to Buganda unlike Muranga whose scope was areas of Busoga and Acholi sub regions. This can also be said of Subbaro et al. While he attempted to explain what caused the low female enrollment—which this study also attempted to address—the scope of his study was entirely limited to Malawi, yet this study’s scope specifically covered Buganda and besides, Subbaro looked at primary education while this study looked at the history of girl child education at both primary and secondary levels in Buganda.

Wandira noted that some ‘tribes’ in western Uganda preferred not to send their children to school because of the inherent fear that they would lose weight yet weight gain was a very big advantage for girls to get husbands, this was especially true in Toro. This apparently forced parents to restrict their daughters from attending school in order to feed them on milk to gain weight as a gate way for the culturally cherished marriage institution. Wandira reported that a fat girl in Toro would fetch ten cows unlike a thin girl who would fetch only one cow. This practice forced many parents to withdraw their daughters from school because they thought they would

not be fed on milk to get fat, a license to the institution of marriage²². It can be urged that Wandira's study was based on the experience of Toro cultural belief with regard to marriage, whereas this study was on the Baganda cultural beliefs and how they impinged on the education of girls.

Kwesiga attributed the low levels of girls' education in Africa to social customs. She noted that if social customs placed more responsibilities on sons than daughters and if sons were expected to look after their parents in old age, then parents had stronger incentives to educate their sons even if the net returns from education were the same for both boys and girls. She noted that the above was true in Nigeria and Kenya²³. Kwesiga's findings were based on the experience of African countries, notably Nigeria and Kenya. The little she writes about Uganda concentrates mostly on communities outside Buganda, which were the focal point of the study. The only attempt to cover Buganda is based on experiences in higher education. This study moved a step further to cover the history of the girl child at primary and secondary levels in Buganda.

Similarly, UNESCO observed that sometimes girls were forced out of school by their parents for marriage. For in marriage, their parents discerned their future. This in away impinged on the education of girls.¹⁸ In 1996 India had 30% of girls aged between 15-19 married. UNESCO further established that in rural areas of Albania and Tajikistan, it was not uncommon for poor families to endorse the early marriage of girls to lighten the family's economic burden. That in 1998, the Indian state of Madhya Pradesh, 14% of girls' between ages of 10-14 was already married. In Nepal, 40% of girls at that age were already married. In Ethiopia and some West African States, marriage at 7 or 8 was not uncommon²⁴. Maleche stressed that the undue emphasis laid on marriage for girls and the roles expected of them when they grew affected their opportunity for learning and on the other hand this did not affect boys in any way²⁵. However,

Maleche's study seemed to be based on rhetoric than empirical findings. This is so because he did not attempt to indicate the scope of his study. Hence, this study attempted to provide a scientific study into the problems of female education, specifically dwelling on Buganda.

Kwesiga further pointed out that traditional cultural practices and values were impediments to girls' education. This was reflected in the parents' unwillingness to send their daughters to school because they thought formal education would not make girls good wives. They would not observe the cultural customs of respecting their husbands; they would not be willing to do work otherwise done in villages if they went to school. She acknowledged that mothers were opposed to girls' education than fathers to the extent that mothers would hide their daughters whenever a local mission teacher came along in search of them²⁶. At the time of review of her writings, it was not clear whether the same were true of Buganda. Hence this study had to be carried out to find out if this was equally true in Buganda.

The cultural aspect of large families may affect the education of the girl child. This was based on an understanding that with large families resources were bound to be inadequate. In fact in the study carried out by Barooah and Lyer in India, it was discovered that families that were polygamous had low levels of educational attainment hence high levels of illiteracy. They further discovered that the low levels of educational attainment hinged on the low income. That the income could not meet the educational needs of children from large families. Though the findings of Barooah and Lyer were in position to serve as an indicator of what had happened in Uganda as well, the researcher could not rely on them because these authors generalized their finding to all levels of educations as well as across gender. Yet, this study intended to study both primary and secondary school levels. Besides, the study focused on the effect of culture on the

education of girls contrary to the authors in question whose focus was on boys and girls. Thus, it was imperative that a study of this nature be undertaken.

Similarly UNESCO pointed out that more complex sets of issues affecting girls' education were traditional practices that made adolescents and rites of passage. Rites of passage for boys and girls reflected gendered norms and beliefs about appropriate roles for adult life. In Ghana, Nepal and Nigeria, girls could be enslaved to atone the sins of male relatives or to provide security for the family. In Ghana, the practice of Trokosi involved offering young virgins, sometimes as young as 5 to shrines where they were kept in servitude to priests in preparation for the atonement of sins of family members. It was estimated that in Ghana there were over 4700 girls in bondage²⁷. Nevertheless, it was not known whether the above practices were true of Buganda besides it was largely unknown whether they had the same impact on female education as it was in Ghana, Nigeria as well as Nepal. Hence, the need of this study.

From the demand side, the low level of manufacturing and service activities would discourage parents from sending their girls for University education as they did not see prospects for absorption in the labour market. Low secondary education greatly reduced the scope for progress in higher education. Women were forced to pursue 'simple subjects' irrespective of market conditions. Lack of marketability of women with post secondary education could act as a deterrent, discouraging women from securing higher education. Higher education facilities in developing countries were established in relatively well developed urban areas. Most people, especially from rural areas, had limited access to higher education because of the distance to higher education institutions.²⁸ Subbaro et al study attempted to highlight factors affecting the access to higher education by women in developing countries whereas this study specifically

dwelt on access to secondary and primary education by girls in Buganda, from a historical point of view.

White²⁹ observed that India was facing a problem of unprecedented drop out of girls to engage in domestic work and/or commercial sex. She observed that due to high costs of education combined with massive poverty afflicting the majority in the Indian subcontinent, parents had no choice but to allow their daughters to withdraw from school and take on careers as commercial sex or domestic workers. This was especially true on the understanding of the fact that in India boys were preferred to girls³⁰. Barooah and Lyer emphasized that the preference for boys that many families in India displayed highly impinged on the education the education of girls.

While the author in question focused on the problems responsible for female dropout in Indian primary schools, this study was concerned with the historical factors motivating female drop out in Buganda. Besides, the author in question attempted to study the problem with primary education as her target, where as this study attempted to look at both primary and secondary education.

Meanwhile, the International Labour Organization confirmed that in Nepal and Vietnam boys spent most of their time in shambas³¹. That a whole lot of them were engaged in the worst forms of child labour. The organization further noted that there were no deliberate attempts by the authorities to address this problem. In fact, the illiteracy rates were high in Nepal and Vietnam largely because children irregularly attended classes. Much as there was universal primary education in the countries in question parents were yet to embrace the policy. ILO's study focused on Vietnam and Nepal, whereas this study focused on Buganda; besides this study

attempted to study the causes of female dropout rates while ILO seemed to have studied male dropout rates.

No doubt cultural values can impinge on the education of the girl child as clearly analyzed in the above. Nevertheless, other factors as well can have a bearing on girl child education—notably religion. Defined as a system of beliefs and rituals concerned with supernatural beings, powers as well as forces³², religion's powerful influence over people can affect them both positively and negatively. This is much true with Islam. Kottak reported that the Taliban practiced a more extreme brand of Islam, so much that women were often barred from appearing in public, and if they did they often had to cover their heads. In fact the Taliban's version of Islam barred girls from attending school. Indeed according to UNESCO education statistics, Afghanistan represents 15% of the world's female illiteracy rates. Much as Kottak's findings were true because they were empirically tested, nevertheless his study was based on the experience of school girls in Afghanistan, while this study sought to understand how religion affected girl child education in Buganda. Besides, Kottak did not specify the scope of his study while this study focused on the impact of religious beliefs among girls in secondary and primary schools in Buganda. Thus this study was to find out if religion equally affected girls in Buganda.

The influence of religion on educational attainment is very great in the Indian Subcontinent. Assadullah et al³³ confirmed that in India the literacy rate among Muslims was far below the national average; 25% of Muslim children in the 6-14 year age group have either never attended school or have dropped out; Dropout rates among Muslims were higher at the level of primary, middle and higher secondary school. The educational disparity was widening since 1970s

between Muslims and all other categories in post- secondary level. In premier colleges only 4% of under-graduate students and 2% of post-graduate students were Muslims.

It had been maintained for long time now that in India, for instance, the educational backwardness of the Muslims was partly owing to their preference for religion (over secular) education. This assertion however ignored the fact that in some Indian States with a large Muslim population, there were a sizable number of Islamic religious schools that were state-recognized and hence official enrolment statistics accounted for attendance in these Islamic faith schools³⁴.

Another popular explanation for low schooling of Muslims related to the treatment of women in Muslim societies. Compared to households of other faith groups, Muslim households would discriminate against the education of girls. If true, then an educational gap would prevail between Muslim and non-Muslim communities. However, available evidence using data from other countries with large Muslim population was not conclusive of a systematic female disadvantage in school participation. For instance, using Lebanese data, Hajj and Panizza found out there was no significant difference between the education gender gap of Muslims and Christians. Rather, both Muslim and Christian girls received more education than their male counterparts. Similar trends of reverse gender gap in school participation and completion were documented for Bangladesh- another country with a large Muslim population in South Asia³⁵.

The findings of Assadulah et al could not be relied upon. This was because the study was carried out in India and besides it was a comparative analysis of how Hindu and Muslim children fared in access to educational opportunities in India, whereas this study intended to establish the influence of all religions on the education of girls in Buganda. Besides, Assaddulah's study

covered all levels of educational strata, whilst this study concerned itself with only secondary and primary levels. Further still, this study delved into the impact of religion on girls' education contrary to Assadulah's which explored the effect of religion on both girls and boys in India.

It is conventionally argued that the status of women in Islam implies that Muslim parents may invest less in the education of their daughters than that of their sons. In India, Muslim parents were reluctant to send their children to government funded schools owing to the existence of alternatives in the community based schools (in form of Madrasas) and most particularly on account of lack of Urdu language teaching in the formal system³⁶. In this study it was the interest of the researcher was to find out whether the same applied to Uganda, and specifically Buganda. This was because it could not be taken for granted that what happened in India could be taken to be true in Uganda. Hence the justification of the study.

In the same vein, King asserted that religious ideas and teachings exert a powerful influence on shaping society's values in general and its views on female education in particular³⁷. He notes that Islam discourages female education. He cites Malaysia and Indonesia, two Moslem countries that have low levels of female literacy and the highest gender gap in literacy. He says that Islam viewed female education as unimportant. He continues to say that the education of girls in Nigeria was hampered because northern Nigeria was the only area in Sub-Saharan Africa that observed *pudah*, and the only one that observed it strictly. Western education was regarded as a threat to both Muslim and Hausa values, a threat seen as especially dangerous for women whose duty was to protect traditions. King's findings were based on the experience of Indonesia and Malaysia, while this study intended to provide Buganda's experience.

The gaps have no doubt led various stakeholders to propose let alone adopt strategies aimed at plugging them. This is so because of the realization of the importance of women in fostering national development. Kwesiga acknowledged that the education of the girl child was likely to have more social returns than the education of a boy child. In fact she stressed that boys' education had more of private benefits than social benefit. Henceforth the community as well as the nation was likely to benefit more from the education of the girl child than the boy child³⁸. Indeed the realization of the importance of girls' education led to various governments and non state actors to devise strategies to address the loopholes in female education. This section presents the strategies in question with a view to exposing the pertinent gaps within them.

The high illiteracy rates among girls in India forced the government to abolish school fees in primary schools. This policy was massively welcomed as the enrollment rates of girls increased from less than 30% to over 50%. Nevertheless, the completion rates of girls remained worrisome to the authorities. Girls would abandon school for domestic labour as soon as they enrolled in school³⁹. The findings of this study could not be relied on because they were based on the experience of India, which was not the focus of this study. Yes, it is true that Uganda as well implemented the Universal Primary Education, which also led to mass enrollment of children in school. However this study wanted as well to study the strategies adopted at secondary school level to alleviate the problem of low female enrollment. Besides, this study was not restricted to the year 2000; it sought to study the problem giving it a historical perspective yet the studies under question were based on recent experience, which is why the study very urgently needed to be undertaken.

In the same vein UNESCO⁴⁰ acknowledged that making education free and compulsory was the keystone of any national plan to eliminate gender disparity in education and achieve universal

education. Faced with an economically driven choice between sending sons or daughters to school, poor families often send their sons. Removing fees or offering financial support to families with daughters in school, as well as explaining the advantages of sending girls to school, can make a real difference. In Malawi, for example, the initial result of abolishing school fees in 1994 led to an increase in enrolment of almost 70 per cent, majority of the teachers were gender-sensitive in their teaching methods, there was a specific need in some areas to recruit more female teachers who could serve as role models for girls and would make girls' parents feel more comfortable.

UNESCO further noted, Countries that achieved higher enrolment in primary education tended to employ a high proportion of female teachers. In Kenya, the Strengthening Primary School Management project, funded by the United Kingdom Department for International Development, required one of every two head teachers or principals receiving training to be a woman. As a consequence, the proportion of women head teachers was boosted from 10 per cent to 23 per cent over a 10-year period, and female teachers at primary school level accounted for 41 per cent of the total.⁵ The primary school completion rate also improved over the same time: the completion rate for 1994 to 2001 was 46 per cent (boys 48 per cent and girls 43 per cent). The rate improved in 2002 to 56 per cent for both boys and girls. The percentage of trained primary school teachers had increased from 70 per cent in 1990 to 97 per cent in 2002.

UNESCO further proposes different strategies which can lead to improved female education, which included:

Many girls dropped out of school at the onset of menstruation, partly because there were no separate toilet facilities. Sometimes it was not enough simply to provide the latrines. Girls'

involvement in identifying their location and type could be critical in determining whether they would be used. UNICEF helped provide 1,400 schools in Pakistan

Girls can be the most effective and inspiring advocates of child-friendly education if they are given the chance. The Girls' Education Movement is a dynamic pan- African girls' organization supported by the Forum for African Woman Educationalists as well as by the Governments of Norway and Uganda. Launched in 2001, the Movement aims not just to galvanize action for education for all, but also to change the character of school systems so that "they offer rich, rewarding and friendly learning experiences for all children." Through the process of school mapping and the use of indigenous knowledge, the clubs were able to identify homes with out-of-school children develop a list of all the children who were not going to school within the school's catchment area and take the initiative in bringing them to school. As a result, not only has girls' enrolment increased, but there has also been a shift in the way girls are perceived, from passive victims to active, vocal and engaged participants. The Movement has made a point of involving boys as active advocates of gender-sensitive Education for All.

It was found out that parents highly feared for the safety of their daughters to walk for long distances to school. Governments tried establishing small, unit grade or multiage schools in remote rural areas. Girls were less likely to be able to make long journeys from home to school, not least because of concerns about their safety en route. Burkina Faso, for example, had developed a network of 'satellite schools'. These were small schools that accommodated only the first three grades, allowing the youngest children (who start school at the age of 7) to gain their first experience of school in or close to their own villages. Since their establishment in 1995, 229 satellite schools had reached over 100,000 girls and boys. Compared with pupils in the conventional school system, children who graduated from satellite schools performed at a higher

level in all subjects including reading, writing and mathematics, with performance rates one-and-a-half to two times as high. Satellite schools also had a remarkable retention rate of almost 95 per cent. These positive results could be explained by a number of factors including the use of local language that made learning quicker; parental engagement; and a lower average student-to-teacher ratio of 29 to 1 in satellite schools compared with 48 to 1 in conventional schools. This study sought to find out if similar strategies were put in place in Buganda and if they had similar impact on the education of the girl child.

Research Methodology

1.10 Research design.

The study was carried out following a qualitative design because both self-report and interviewer-elicited (in-depth) data was required from various respondents and its effective collection necessitated a triangular approach hence the design was most appropriate.

1.11 Population of the study.

The study was conducted in Buganda and thus the study population included secondary and primary schools in Buganda. Key informers were also considered. One hundred respondents were interviewed. Some were given questionnaires while others were interviewed.

1.12 Main Respondents Involved.

The study involved data collection from a number of respondents. The main respondents included key informers like former and current Head Teachers, officials at the Ministry of

Education and Sports headquarters, the districts as well as some collaborating agencies and household persons. Some pupils and teachers were also interviewed. The following schools were sampled: Namagunga, Budo, Gayaza, Nabbingo, Nabisunsa, Kabukunge secondary schools; Bwala Islamic Primary School, St marys' Nabbingo, Mityana Public School, St Theresa Namagunga, Kimaanya Primary School, Butambala Islamic Primary Schools and Busubizi demonstration school. The respondents in these schools were purposively selected for involvement in the study because, given their jurisdiction and experience, they held authoritative information and opinions about the variables that were involved in the study.

1.13 Data collection methods and Instruments.

Semi-structured interview comprised the main data collection instruments. Secondary sources of data relevant to the study were also utilized extensively.

1.13.1 Semi-Structured Interviews.

They were used because in-depth information, which necessitated probing (the respondents to even divulge data), was sought from the respondents in this category. The interviews also enabled the researcher to understand the environment under which the responses were made and provided the opportunity of observing and evaluating the emotions, gesticulation and truthfulness of the respondents let alone pointing to need for (and sources of) further data, especially secondary, with which the various respondents in the category were conversant. They were conducted with a cross section of respondents from key informants in Rakai-Kalisizo; Masaka

Town; Head teachers of Mt St Mary's Namagunga and Trinity College Nabbingo; the founder member of Uganda martyrs SS, Namugongo; Mzee Kulambiro Yozef of Namasenene-Masaka; Hajat Mayimuna Nakabiri-Butambara; education consultants, some of oldest educated women, members in MoEs, female respondents in women studies Makerere university, female graduates from different disciplines, respondents from members of organizations working towards girl child education in Uganda, respondents from Kyazanga-Masaka district; Mzee Ndagire Magdaleine-Bisanje Masaka; various respondents from Mityana, Mukono, Kampala, Mpigi and Wakiso districts. These respondents were purposively selected from rural areas, semi rural and urban centres.

1.13.2 Secondary Sources of Data.

Secondary data was derived from textbooks and publications got from Makerere University Library, Kyambogo University Library, Uganda Management Institute Library, National Archives at Entebbe, Journals, and Periodicals, Seminar papers, News papers and the internet. The documented information got was crosschecked with information from interviews and vice versa.

1.14 Research procedure.

The study typically progressed through three major stages: preparation for data collection; data collection; and data analysis and reporting as explained here below:

1.15 Data Collection.

This involved the actual collection of data. Interviews were conducted and cassette record, which helped to preserve the discussions, for analysis, verbatim selected respondents. Secondary sources also provided a handy source of data on the research and were utilized at all stages of the study. The Internet was particularly important source of useful reading materials and was utilized intensively.

1.16 Limitations of the study.

Even though a very assiduous effort was made to produce a comprehensive and reliable report on the history and development of girl child education in Buganda, utilization of the report are:

Respondent honesty was only assumed, which was an important consideration here, given the sensitivity of the concerns of the study and subsequent likelihood of self-serving biases. That the respondents were abreast of the variables under investigation was also only assumed;

The conclusions of the study were based on the subjective views of the respondents about the research topic, as they had been conceived through their personal and/ or professional experiences; hence they may not be generic even though they are used as a basis for generalization in the study.

1.17 Ethical Considerations in the Study.

Effort was made to confine the conduct of the study to the realms of academic research ethics. In general, ethics pertaining to identification, disclosure, understanding, deception, informed

consent, voluntary participation, confidentiality, right to privacy and anonymity were pertinent and upheld. Questioning was cautious of embarrassing the respondents; even with probing, the interviews conducted were soft and responses were not electronically recorded, except with the respondent's permission.

1.18 Problems Encountered.

The researcher was constrained financially so she could not reach out to all key informants as had been anticipated, especially respondents from rural areas. This was overcome by reaching out to respondents whose views were believed to be credible so as to be generalized for the entire study.

Some respondents were reluctant to furnish the researcher with data relevant to the study. However, they were able to provide the required data after assurance that the data provided would be kept confidential; and was to be used for academic purposes only. This was through the production of letter of introduction from the Department of History of Kyambogo University.

1.19 Conclusion:

From the above it can be concluded that while a lot was written that cultural values as well as religion impinged on the education of children in Buganda, research into the same had not been undertaken. Attempts to highlight the problems were based on foreign experience. Amidst evidence of low female education in Buganda, therefore, research was necessitated into history and development of girls' education in Buganda, especially looking at the role of cultural values.

The role of religion in hindering the education of the girl child in Buganda had to be done. The strategies adopted by colonial and post independence governments to plug the gaps in female education in Buganda had to be unearthed.

END NOTES

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CHAPTER TWO

2.0 INDIGENOUS GIRL CHILD EDUCATION IN BUGANDA DURING THE PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD.

2.1 Introduction.

This chapter analyses girl child education in Buganda Kingdom during the pre-colonial period. It further highlights the major skills and attitudes passed on to girls in the period under review. Nevertheless, before analyzing the nature of education in pre-colonial Buganda, it is very important to get a working definition for education.

Education is the process by which one generation purposely transmits culture to the young, to the adults and to the old for social, cultural and economic benefits and for the benefit of the whole society¹. Indeed without education, no society can boast of progress. In other words, the progress of any society reflects the nature and quality of its education. An education process takes place within a given cultural context and certain aspects of it may be subject to change across time and space in order to suit the challenges of the time. Therefore, without education a society cannot transmit its cultural values to the young generation. The Baganda had an elaborate system of education that enabled them progress enviably. Values and customs were passed on from generation to generation in a systematic, deliberate and purposeful fashion. Different values were passed on to the girls and boys in line with society's expectations. To the girl child, the Baganda imparted a lot of knowledge and skills to help them handle the challenges that lay ahead of them. Good manners were emphasized while the non-acceptable ones were strongly condemned and in some cases taboos were in place to control the occurrence of unbecoming practices.

Teaching was not arranged in terms of specific subjects to be taught at a particular hour. Education went on all the time about different subjects but with a lot of breaks in between. During the teaching specialized knowledge and skills were not taught at a particular time. It was not like today when children begin school at 8.00 am and end at 4.00pm. The more skills one learnt the better because society was not specialised like today

Indigenous education was result oriented. In other words what was imparted to the child was based on society's expectations of the grown up male or female. It is, therefore, important to briefly point out what society expected of a woman in order to internalize the nature of girl child education.

2.2 SOCIETY'S EXPECTATIONS OF A WOMAN IN BUGANDA:

The cultural expectations of the Baganda served as a standard of judgment that could condition their ethical standards, moral norms and taste their legal standards. Thus there were a number of expectations and values that a woman was expected to have. A woman was expected to be a role model. She was expected to serve as an example to the young ones in society. Besides, she was expected to be knowledgeable in all aspects of Ganda cultural norms and values. In the interview with Nakayiza Musisi² there was a revelation that a woman in Buganda was the epitome of morals. Indeed Ssekamwa³ rightly argues that the Society of Buganda emphasized good behavior for every group and more so for the grownups. Among the behavior women were expected to have included practicing hygiene, greeting people, expressing gratitude, sympathizing with people in difficulties, helping others, turning up for burials, being apologetic for wrong doings, being warm to visitors, sitting decently among others. On the other hand behaviors considered to

be anti social such as sneezing in public without holding one's mouth, eating with dirty hands, spitting in public, careless use of latrines, backbiting, adultery, stealing were unacceptable among women. In an interview with Nakayiza Musisi, she told the researcher that any woman who went against the acceptable Ganda cultural norms would be severely punished by way of social excommunication in as a way to communicate to others that they would suffer a similar fate in case they misbehaved⁴.

2.3 ACTORS IN THE TRAINING OF THE GIRL CHILD IN BUGANDA.

Girls in Buganda were oriented into acceptable behavior by different people, who were most times culturally mandated to handle the responsibility of teaching the young girls the values and norms that were expected of Ganda girls. As already mentioned in chapter one, the responsibility of teaching the young girls lay on the whole society. That is, anybody of sound mind in Buganda could teach as well as discipline a child. Nevertheless, certain aspects of girls' education were left to be handled by the paternal aunts, the mothers as well as paternal grandparents and elders of the community as clearly analysed below.

Paternal aunts were popularly known as the *Ssengas*. They had to be married with children and with a good reputation. The girls confided in the aunts more than anyone else. They often played a very vital role in preparing their nieces for marriage and ensuring the sustainability and continuity of the marriage. The aunts always taught young girls how to treat their husbands and how to behave in marriage. Girls were particularly taught to behave well so that they avoided the misfortune of embarrassing their families. The aunt's responsibilities were to prepare the young girl for marriage, teach her how to walk, how to sit, how to welcome visitors, how to prepare

food, and the virtue of “visiting the bush”. Mpalanyi⁵ notes that the aunt was very influential in advising the young girl about the right partner for marriage. The auntie would teach the girl child about being submissive to the husband and warned her against peer grouping. This rhymes well with the findings from the interview with Nakayiza Musisi, who further revealed that on leaving her parents’ home for marriage, a girl’s bed was dismantled in symbolic gesture that she was not supposed to divorce the husband whatever the conditions in their relationship⁶. The auntie provided sexual and reproductive education to her niece. Some authors claim that she went to the extent of witnessing the first consummation and physically illustrating intercourse to her virgin niece by having sex with the new groom.⁷

Other than the *Ssenga*, the mother too played an influential role in the education of her daughter. The mother trained the daughter right from a very tender age up to the time when she was to get married. The mother was the core of the family and all children’s bad behavior would be blamed on the mother and good behavior attributed to the father. Hence she would go with her daughter to carry out all the house chores. She would demonstrate how house work was done after realizing that her daughter was of age to learn the skills of doing such work. The mother instilled in the children, especially girls, good manners like respecting elders, being humble, kind and honest. Girls were often taught against accepting gifts from strangers; were taught against arrogant attitude and pride as well as against disrespect of their husbands⁸. The Mother shouldered more responsibility of raising children more so the girl child. The Baganda had a saying related to this that ‘*Omwana omubi avumya nnyina*,’ meaning the indiscipline of the child is blamed on the mother. Hence mothers labored to ensure that they raised well behaved children.

Meanwhile, the grandmother supplemented the advice given by the auntie and mother. Just like the auntie, she had to be the paternal grandmother. She mainly gave advice on caring for a home and sustaining a marriage. The grandmother always gave her lessons through oral literature, mainly through stories, myths and legends at a fire place. During the teaching, she emphasized good behavior. Mpalanyi provides a compelling case of a one Zansanze who was living with her grandmother, and one day, she stole meat that was being roasted. When her grandmother identified her, she was punished severely for stealing and promised never to do it again⁹.

Besides, in every village all elders of sound knowledge always had a duty to teach the young ones. These had the basic knowledge and basic technical skills necessary to be known by every person in society. In case a child was away from home and an elder happened to identify that such a girl did not know some events of the history of the Ganda, he taught her immediately. If a girl behaved in a manner contrary to the desirable social behavior, she was taught the right way to behave. The girl would accept such correction without questioning the adult person¹⁰. It was not uncommon in Buganda for a parent to beat up any child they found doing anything that was regarded wrong. This was not a responsibility of parents only; the whole community was obliged to inculcate good morals to the children. For instance, if someone found children who were not his fighting along the way, he/she would be obliged to discipline the children in question without informing their parents.

Among these categories of teachers, there were such teachers who possessed particular knowledge and skills. Specific knowledge and skills were not taught by everyone because not every adult person among the Baganda had the knowledge of performing certain social and religious ceremonies of administering the laws and medicines and how to treat the sick. Therefore, only those adults who possessed those special technical skills and knowledge taught

to those few girls and boys who had the aptitude for learning specialized knowledge and technical skills. Such skills taught to girls included mat and basket making¹¹.

2.4 METHODS USED IN TEACHING THE GIRL CHILD.

Now that the main teachers have been identified, it is important to analyze some of the methods that were used in training the girl child in Buganda. There were mainly two methods of teaching children in indigenous Buganda including the min lecture and practical hands on methods.

2.4.1 Mini Lecture Method.

With regard to mini lecture method, it was combined with instant practice and further min lectures. Under this a girl was taught straight way knowledge which she was expected to know. For example teaching the girl child how to greet people. She was made to repeat the same until the greeting was grasped correctly. According to Nsimbi, parents used that method in training their children good manners¹². After sometime, the parent or an elder of the community would create a situation which required the child to repeat what she had been taught. If the child said or did it correctly, then she would be encouraged to continue doing it that way. However, if she did it wrongly again, she would be corrected and told to say it again until she learnt¹³. To make learning easy, children were taught through songs, plays, poems, stories, proverbs, riddles and idioms. This kind of teaching and learning took place at a fire place. There was no trained teacher, organized classroom and writing. The parents and elders taught their children and when the children grew up, they also taught their children. This was carried on from generation to generation. The lectures were introduced depending on what was going on in society. For

example, economic practices of the day, politics, sports, religion, culture, and wars. Some of the important ways through which mini lecture methods were conducted include the following:

Prose tales: These were very popular. Prose in the African oral tradition is that which tends towards ordinary speech as opposed to chanting or singing. It contained elements of myth, legend and history. In these tales, cunning overcomes power or advantage. The trickster is either a person or an animal¹⁴. The famous tale among the Baganda was the hyena and hare. These tales explained behavior such as that of a hen scratching the earth or geographic detail of rainbow. Other tales posed a problem rather than giving a clear moral lesson. They also explained the foundation of a kingdom such the famous Kintu and Nambi story and the one describing the origins of death.

Riddles: Delivering the content was made more interesting for girls by using riddles. These stimulated mental awareness. In the evenings many families played collective riddle games, which involved men and women of all ages. Some examples of the common riddles and the meaning attached in bracket were:

I have a wife who made many mats but sits down (a pumpkin still in the garden)

I have a wife who looks where she is coming from and where she is going at the same time (a bundle of fire wood, since the two ends are similar).

I have a razor blade which I use to shave hills (meaning fire that is used to burn the grass for planting).

When my friend went to get food for his children, he never come back (meaning water in a river).

My man is always surrounded by spears (meaning the tongue, surrounded by teeth)

Poems: This was another way through which the mini lecture method was made interesting. Poems were recited during leisure mainly for relaxation and knowledge. These were mainly told by grandparents and parents. Most poems rotated around the importance of a family and King. Children were also expected to recite the poems later to their off springs, hence emphasizing how knowledge was passed on from one generation to another¹⁵. Many poems taught counting, environment and desirable behavior.

Proverbs: Learning was made more interesting through proverbs which gave additional knowledge encouraging people to be hard working, sustain their marriage, cautioning them how to avoid and overcome trouble, and instill desirable behaviors.

Proverbs encouraging desirable behavior and their meaning included among others.

“*Omwana mubi avumya nyina*”—(meaning indiscipline of the girl child is blamed on the mother.) This taught the child to always behave well to avoid shaming the mother.

“*Amazina amayigirire gamenya mugongo*”—(meaning copying is bad.) This taught children not to copy their friends in everything, as indeed emphasized by Mpalanyi through a case in which one girl went to live with her paternal auntie, who cautioned her against groups, because they would yield to bad influence¹⁶.

“*Munno Mukabi ye munno ddala*”, (meaning a friend in need is a friend indeed). This taught the girl that in times of sorrow, depression and problems show you are a true friend. Help friends and relatives in times of danger.

“*Ssekawuka kaali Kakulumye, bwokalaba okadduka*”, (meaning that source of trouble should be avoided.)

“*Okubeera nakifanjagala nga omukazi omubi ateeyonja*”

This taught girls to maintain hygiene and smartness in their marriage.

“*Lwoya lwa munyindo, olwejjamu wekka.*”

This proverb encouraged the girl child to work hard. That nobody would help her with house chores.

“*Enyonyi enkeeze yerya olusiringanyi*” (meaning an early bird catches the worm.) It taught children to always be good time managers. Avoid last minute work.

These proverbs would be developed as time and circumstances changed.

Idioms

The Baganda lessons were also drawn from idioms. They acted as avenues for motivation, and cautioning people. For instance “*Okulya nga eyasimattuka kkunsa*”, this taught girls and boys not to be gluttons.

“*Okkudda mukulya nga Katonga ajjula.*” It taught girls to do things at the right time and in the right place. All these were recited around the fire place, and in the day to day conversations between peers, parents and children.

Stories/Myths

The most significant story told was giving the history of Buganda. This involved Kintu, believed to be the first King of Buganda Kingdom. He is believed to have married a woman called Nambi.

First Nambi had to return to heaven (Gulu). Gulu (her father) objected to her marriage because Kintu did not know how to dig but only obtained food from cattle¹⁷. Through this the history of their country, clan and lineage would be taught.

2.4.2 Practical Methods.

This was the second method of teaching and it concerned the teaching of technical skills of doing things or making them. By using this method the parent or an adult member of society with the required skill, demonstrated to the child or an adult person, the skill of making something. The learner was given chance to practice the skill over and over again until the learner perfected it. For example, if a girl had to be taught how to make a mat, she was shown the way to hold the palm leaves in both hands. She would make a small mat while observing very carefully what the teacher was doing. At first she would do it incorrectly but after practicing several times, she would perfect the basic designs of making a mat. As the girl grew older, more complicated designs would be introduced and taught through similar procedure. All these skills particularly took a long time to be learnt and mastered. The girl had to always work with the mother, her elder sisters or other grown up women within the society. She was always shown the right skills, until when she took a turn at practicing the right skills. Therefore, acquiring skills correctly took a longtime. In the end they passed an examination to show that they had acquired particular skills. They would then be trusted to use the skills on their own to teach other members of society¹⁸.

2.5 SOME OF THE VALUES/SKILLS TAUGHT TO THE GIRL CHILD.

There were quite a number of values and skills which were taught to the girl child during the indigenous traditional education in Buganda. These ranged from good behavior, hard work, child care among others as noted below:

2.5.1 Good behaviour/Morals:

Good behavior was a very important aspect of the Baganda society. Hence the Baganda taught the expected behavior to girls from when they were as young as three years until when they left their parents homes for marriage. Some of the desirable behavior included greeting elders while kneeling, obeying elders, being kind, patient, honest, selfless, respectful, and appreciative¹⁹. While instilling desirable behaviour, a lot of oral literature was used. Proverbs such as “*Olidde eggi okwesubya omuwula*”, Taught girls to exercise the value of patience. There were also proverbs for cautioning girls against bad influences. Bad behavior was strongly condemned by society. Parents taught their children how to avoid bad behavior. For instance, they taught them not to sneeze in public without holding one’s mouth, not to touch mucus, not to eat with dirty hands, not to belch loudly in public, especially at meal time, not to spit in public, and not to urinate in public²⁰.

The above finding further rhymes well with the findings from another respondent that participated in the study. In an interview with her, the respondent revealed that one day she was found stealing neighbor’s sugarcane by a friend to her family. She went on to lament that

unluckily she was arrested by their family friend. She went on to reminisce how the friend to her parents took it upon himself to discipline her without having to refer to her parents for disciplinary actions. She went on to inform the researcher that she was instructed by the person who was disciplining her to leave the sugarcane behind and leave for home. She further said that her case was reported at home by the very person who had punished her, and, subsequently her parents disciplined her again; and thanked the family friend for disciplining their daughter²¹. Parents, especially mothers, were usually blamed if their daughters were found misbehaving. Indeed the respondent in question said that after receiving her punishment, her parents went to the family whose sugar cane was stolen and held reconciliation talks with the affected family. Thus, parents as well as the community at large formed a group of traditional teachers whose duty was to guide girls in a way that they could develop values, beliefs and manners acceptable in the society.

2.5.2 History of lineage.

The history of Buganda was yet another important aspect that was taught to children and grandchildren. The myth surrounding the origin of Buganda was known to everyone. Further more children were taught about their clans. A clan was defined as a group of people belonging to the same lineage²². A clan was one of the strong pillars that made Buganda because every Muganda had to belong to a clan. Children were taught their clans, how those clans fitted in the whole ethnic group and the place of these children in the clan and the ethnic group. That knowledge helped them fit in their clans and ethnic group and identify themselves.

The identification consisted of speaking the Luganda language with a correct accent and intonation, through the knowledge of the history and customs of the clan to which they belonged. Among the Baganda it was the clan which entitled a person to belong to the Baganda society. Children were further taught their lineage right from the great grand parents and their responsibilities to the Kabaka. In fact the social organization in patrilineal clans fostered cultural identity²³. Worth mentioning is that in the past lineage lived together in the homesteads where various households linked through patrilineal ties which cohesively provided the environment of a visible extended family structure which had the responsibility of socializing Baganda children²⁴.

During the teaching, many proverbs were used to emphasize the importance of a clan such as “*Nnyoko abeeranga omunyoro nakuzaala ku kika*”; literally meaning that your mother had rather be a Munyoro but gives you a clan among the Baganda. This meant that belonging to a clan was very important in Buganda. Clans preserved the cultures and customs of Baganda. For instance, it was a taboo for a Muganda to eat his/her totem. This was for respect purposes. People of the same clan were not supposed to marry each other because they were believed to be relatives. In addition, when one got married, the clan in which she got married into would be added to her clan. Hence children would cherish all clans hence creating unity and brotherhood.

2.5.3 Preparing for a decent and lasting marriage.

Marriage too was accorded great respect in Buganda Kingdom, especially in the training of the girl child in informal education. The marriage institution was very important to the effect that a

woman or man who didn't get married was always seen as a social misfit. Thus basing on that fact sex education was paramount and systematic among females than it was for males.

In the preparations for marriage, when a girl reached puberty at the age of 12 to 14 years, just at a time when she had just started developing breasts, she would leave her parents' home and go to live with the paternal grandmother or aunt. During this time, she would be taught the ritual of visiting the bush; herbs were identified to speed up the process. According to Sir Apollo anyone who failed to visit the bush while still young would face problems in marriage²⁵.

Among the Baganda virginity was held in esteem to the extent that all girls tried to avoid sex before marriage. And in the early days if the defiler was found guilty of the offence, he would be charged with a fine of a goat and two backcloth pieces given to the father of the defiled girl. This took a different twist during the reign of Kabaka Suuna when the defiler could even be killed if found guilty²⁶. During the training of the girl child much emphasis was laid on the importance of virginity. Girls were cautioned against moving alone and trusting any man. Mpalanyi further alludes to Zansanze, whose paternal aunt and grandmother Bwomu and mother cautioned her against sex before marriage as it would bring shame to her parents²⁷.

In their preparations for marriage, the Baganda society promoted decency as this would earn women a lot of respect. In early days women wore a busuuti. (Traditional out fit for women) Traditionally the busuuti was strapless and made from back cloth. It was worn on all festive and ceremonial occasions. Girls were taught to be smart and decent, especially in marriage. Mpalanyi still emphasizes this when Zansanze's grandmother (Bwomu) taught her the importance of being decent and smart in relation to respect a Muganda woman would command from the husband and public at large.²⁸

Decency was highly emphasized to the extent that at the advent of western education, many Baganda were very much worried of it, fearing that it would produce graduates who would shun such cultural teachings.

During preparations for marriage, girls were warned against giving birth before marriage. Conceiving while still at parent's home was taken as a curse among the Baganda (*amawemukirano*). It was shameful, and anybody who conceived while at home was severely punished. This was not the case with the partner. Certain rituals were carried out to cleanse the culprits and their family.

Among the punishments given included; chasing the girl from the parents' main house or excommunicating her (that she would build a small house near the forest), stopping caring for such a girl, she would never again mix with her siblings or even relatives until rituals that cleansed the family were performed.

After birth, her parents would never carry the baby until a ritual was performed. All these punishments were done to scare other young girls from being lured into having sex before marriage.

After birth, the father of the baby was required to bring a young goat that would be eaten at once, a piece of bark cloth and a calabash of local beer to the girl's parents.

The whole goat would be slaughtered and prepared with some food. The food was mainly eaten by people at home including the man and girl. However the bones would be buried to prevent dogs from enjoying them²⁹.

Having that ritual meal meant cleansing the family and the parties involved. The girl would later hand over the baby to her parents who congratulated her for giving birth but no present would be given for the girl had ashamed her family very much³⁰.

In all this the girl child was much more punished than her counterpart, because in Buganda women carried the responsibility of bearing children. Girls were therefore warned against accepting gifts from men and being tempted into having sex with any man before marriage as this would ruin their lives.

Body decorations were cherished especially among the married women. Hence during the sex education, girls were taught the importance of body decorations in marriage. These included among others beads (*obutiiti*) worn around the waist line during sex. These beads were mainly given to the girl by the paternal auntie just before marriage. The bride to be would be taught that the beads would only be used during sex and never to be seen by anyone else apart from her husband, other decorations included ear piercing.

Respect for husband was highly emphasized. Girls were always told never to argue with their husbands. During marriage preparations, Mpalanyi pointed out a number of virtues which girls were emphasized. Among these included to love and care for the husband, to be patient and a good listener, keeping family secrets, being careful of hypocrites and related to this they developed a saying that; "*Teriyo ayagaliza ya munne kuzaala nduusi*," (meaning not everyone would wish you well.) Hence this cautioned girls trusting people. During the lectures, respecting and caring for the relatives, being polite and kind were also emphasized. Furthermore, girls were taught always to cook and prepare food at home; to always welcome the husband back home; to

guard against promiscuity and to always receive all visitors at home warmly.³¹ All this was highly emphasized and re-echoed to the girl just before she went into marriage.

2.5.4 The dos and don'ts in marriage.

During marriage preparations, girls were further taught the dos and don'ts in marriage. Among them was to desist from incest. Incest was a taboo among the Buganda. Hence there were control measures taught to children. Once married, the wife would never move near to her father in law or touch him or his brothers and sisters. It was also a taboo for the wife to pass in the compound of her father in law. The wife had to be careful with the words she uttered anywhere near her in laws. To emphasize the gravity of incest, the Baganda believed that anyone who went against the above controls, he/she would suffer from Parkinson's disease (*obukko*) a disease associated with shaking of the nerves during old age³². Among the Baganda, one would never marry any one from his clan; this was restricted to real sisters and brothers in the same lineage. And if any one practiced incest, they would be killed to stop the occurrence of such behaviour again. It was only the lung fish clan that was exonerated but even them, it was limited to lineage.

Children were highly cherished and someone who was barren was despised to the extent that when preparing a girl for marriage, barren women and those from failed marriages would not be consulted because they had no lessons to offer to the bride to be. If a couple failed to have a child, they would consult a traditional doctor for rectification. However barrenness was always blamed on the woman, hence she had to struggle a lot to find a child for her husband³³.

A woman who did not give birth provided enough reasons for the husband to divorce her. The birth of a baby boy was received with great jubilation and pomp. The Baganda even developed a proverb to emphasize this that “*Anaaganja asooka ddenzi*” (meaning that one who will become a favorite begins by giving birth to a boy³⁴.) Among the Baganda, boys were much more cherished than girls, because a boy was expected to inherit the lineage. Thus during the marriage preparations, girls would be taught the importance of producing boys, hence in times of failure, many women would consult with traditional doctors to help them give birth to boys.

Furthermore, girls were taught the dos and don'ts during menstruation while in their marriages. That if one was married to a royal; she would never touch anything for the husband or even enter his house. Women married to peasants were also restricted from touching their husbands' spears and shields during the menstrual cycle. However any woman who would never have monthly periods, no one would marry such a woman because it was believed that she would never bear children³⁵.

Girls were further taught at puberty that some foods were forbidden to a pregnant woman. These included among others hot foods, sugarcane, clay and any soil, a certain type of salt. It was believed that if one dared ate them while pregnant, they would get a still birth. If that happened, the husband and his relatives blamed the wife for being responsible for the death of the baby³⁶.

In relation to the above, adultery was highly condemned more so during pregnancy. It was much more emphasized for the woman and was also associated with some sickness of the baby. There were some rituals performed and herbs taken by the responsible partner to save the child from death. Hence girls were taught not to be adulterous especially during pregnancy.

Traditional education system in Buganda discouraged efforts by women to divorce their husbands. This was because marriage was not for the sake of it but for strengthening family as

well as community ties. The whole principle of marriage was to maintain good ties within and among communities. That's why in the process of identifying the right partner, the whole community was involved and celebrated on hearing news that their child had got a marriage partner. However if a girl was divorced, she would bring shame and embracement to her family. Mpalanyi demonstrates how Zansanze's paternal aunt lectured and cautioned her against groups, listening to rumor mongers all of which would break up a marriage. Society would construe divorce as lack of discipline on the side of the girl. Thus in order to restrain the girl against divorcing her husband on the marriage day her bed was replaced by a bunch of firewood as a symbol that she was no longer welcomed at her parent's home. Thus many women remained in their marriages however abusive they turned out to be.³⁷

2.5.5 Child care training.

Girls were further taught how to care for the children. *Ekyogero* equivalent to indigenous immunization was most emphasized in child care training. This was for protection of the child against many diseases. It mainly comprised of many herbs, mixed up together and cooked in a small saucepan. The herbs were mainly collected by the mother in law of the wife. The baby would be bathed in these herbal mixture believed to prevent and cure many diseases including skin rash, eye and ear infection. Also the herbs were believed to, charm the baby and give him/her blessing of being loved, rich and protection against bad spirits.

In child care training, girls were taught to keep the baby warm as much as possible. All these the girls learnt through lecture and practical hands on with their mothers' right from childhood to adulthood. Girls took care of their siblings with help from their mothers. During the training,

girls learnt how and what to feed the baby on, child health and the dos and don'ts were also learnt. For instance after birth, the Baganda practiced ritual sex which signified completion of the process of child birth, completion of suckling a baby, completion of a daughter's pre-puberty stage and this took place between husband and wife or between the biological parents of a child³⁸.

2.5.6 Skills development: Hands on experiences.

As earlier noted, teaching and learning was result oriented. Hence parents labored so much to help their daughters acquire as much skill as possible. For example girls were taught basketry weaving, pottery, mat making, preparing food, mending clothes and plaiting hair to look pleasant and many skills required in adult life. As earlier noted in this chapter hands on practice was repeated both by the teacher and learner until perfection was realized. Mpalanyi further notes that girls were trained in basketry art and mat making. The mats were colorful and intricately designed³⁹. Woven and coiled basketry served as the foundation for stockades, enclosure fences and houses.

Furthermore, music, dance and drama formed a very important aspect of the Ganda tradition. These have enjoyed a long standing tradition. The Kabaka's palace was a social place where royal dancers and drummers regularly performed. Most Baganda households contained at least a small drum for regular use in family singing and dancing. Other musical instruments included stringed instruments such as fiddles and harps and woodwind instruments such as flutes and fites.

Dancing was frequently practiced by all Baganda, beginning in early childhood. It was very uncommon to find a girl who did not know how to dance the kiganda dance, Girls would be taught how to dance and take lead in entertaining people in the community⁴⁰.

2.5.7 Leadership skills.

On the other hand, girls were taught leadership skills through what was commonly known as *okusiiga* (taking the children away from their family to learn something new.) In this case girls were attached to the wives of chiefs and kings who lived with them at their residences. They learned about ceremonies and etiquette like how to talk, walk, eat, and dress. Religious and medicine knowledge were also learnt which they also taught the rest of the society⁴¹.

2.5.8 Induction into marriage.

As earlier noted the marriage institution was given a lot of respect. Hence this great value attached was signified by the lessons given to the girl before marriage. Other than the preparations earlier discussed in this part of the research, there were other lessons taught concerning the actual marriage process. These included;

Talking to the girl about conduct in marriage

This was mainly carried out by the mother, paternal aunt and grandmother. The paternal aunt (*Ssenga*) was the most significant moral authority for girls. In the early days girls would never be allowed to identify marriage suitors. In choosing marriage suitors, parents ensured that their children got married into a family of reputable moral standing and character. Hence before committing their children to marriage, often background checks were made. Often times families

that were associated with witchcraft, sorcery, strange diseases were never married into. Good manners earned any individual credit. Even at a later stage when girls were allowed to choose their marriage partners, similar checks were made.

The aunt lectured to the girl (bride) to respect her husband. She told the girl how to love and care for the husband and to always be a good listener and patient. The girl was taught to be hardworking, to desist from showing anger to the husband and to respect and love all the in laws. Some of the major contents of the lecture Mpalanyi points out include; cooking and preparing food for the husband, always welcoming him from work, being clean and smart, looking after the husband's clothes and ensuring he was ever clean and smart to guard against promiscuity and to be honest⁴². This talk mainly centered round protecting the marriage and went on until the wedding day.

When a man identified a girl for a wife, he would immediately initiate a relationship. The girl would confide in the aunt and tell her about her relationship. The man would send a formal message to the girl's paternal auntie. The auntie would first carry out her own investigations about the boy and his family, if she approved, then she would proceed to tell her brother (the farther of the girl) and introduce the groom and his intentions. The father in law would send them to the brother of the girl to decide the bride price.

Traditionally, the bride price for a commoner was less than that of a royal. Among the items for bride price for a commoner were five guards of local beer, a small basket of salt, goat meat, two good backcloths, a small basket of mudfish and one thousand shillings.

The bride price would never be taken at once. The purpose of the bride price was to signify love. However from a thousand rupees, only one hundred was used and the remainder given back to the groom to be and this signified that the wife was not bought.

However if a girl was to get married to a royal, the bride price was around five thousand rupees which would never be returned because a wife to a royal was not allowed to divorce⁴³.

Marriage preparations went on as close relatives and neighbours would be informed. All adults continued to re-echo all the desirable behaviour of a married woman to the bride. She would be exclusively taken care of either by her elder sister or any other close relative. On the eve of the wedding the girl was given final lectures about marriage (*okuvuma*). They would tell her that she was never expected to leave that marriage and everything of hers was given away. No divorce was expected because this would bring shame to her parents and the whole family⁴⁴.

The significant paternal aunt (*ssenga*) and the young sister would escort the bride to the wedding. On that wedding night, the girl would have sexual encounter with her husband. If it was discovered that the girl was a virgin, her family would be respected for having brought up their daughter in a good way. There was a ritual performed whereby the relatives of the husband would return a young goat and a good backcloth symbolizing that the girl was a virgin⁴⁵.

On the other hand, if a girl was not a virgin, the relatives of the husband would send a back cloth with a hole in the middle, signifying the fact that their daughter had pre-marital sex. The girl's parents and in particular the mother was blamed for negligence of their daughter. Hence mothers always cautioned their daughters against accepting gifts from strangers. To restrict pre-marital sex, the Baganda had some controls or taboos put in place. For instance it was a taboo for a girl to fetch water alone after sunset.⁴⁶ The marriage lessons continued, as many more lessons were taught such as tending to the garden and producing children among others.

2.5.9 Cooperation.

The indigenous traditional education also emphasized cooperation. Children were taught how to cooperate with their friends, neighbours and the rest of the members in the society. This involved

participation in community functions like attending death ceremonies and last funeral rites. Attending ceremonies created a good atmosphere to live with other people. Teaching about cooperation, helped in maintaining common services and in providing defense for themselves and the whole tribe. Children were taught to guard against insecurity of all types. The insecurity was either from within Buganda i.e. among the Baganda or from their neighbours such as Bunyoro. Much as the Baganda promoted unity and socialization, there were times when people could betray one another. Because of this, parents taught their children to guard against such insecurity. They developed proverbs cautioning children to be careful when dealing with people. For example, "*Ssekawuka Kaali kakulumye, bw'okalaba okadduka*" literally meaning that, (if an insect has ever beaten you, if you see it again run away), which cautioned people on how to deal with their enemies.

A person who did not cooperate with members of his society was looked at as a bad person. So when he got in trouble, nobody would help him. However no sensible person would risk being isolated in society when the environment was so harsh that it required a person to have friends around to assist. The cooperation was taught through stories, plays, proverbs, idioms and folk stories.⁴⁷

2.5.10 Environment.

Children were taught about their environment and how to deal with it. The purpose of this was that they were to know how to get the best things out of it. The environment was quite harsh and difficult to live in during those days. It had wild animals and snakes. There were unfriendly people, diseases, harmful plants and dangerous spots. The young people were given knowledge

and skills to defeat all the difficulties in their environment and tame it so that they could live a good life. The Ganda girls were taught when, where and what to plant to sustain their families. Girls were also taught to use their brains to get their needs and how to guard against trouble. So many stories were told, teaching children to be intelligent, cunning such as the story of hyena and the leopard⁴⁸.

2.5.11 Religion, medicinal knowledge and practice.

Children were taught that there was one God called Katonda. However there were small gods (lubale) like Kiwanuka, god of lightening, Musisi, god of earthquakes, Ndawula, Musoke, Mukasa among others. Each of these gods had temples throughout Buganda. The temples were manned by priests who acted as mediums between the people and the gods. There were both male and female priests. Religion was tied to the knowledge of practicing medicine. There were also other people who were not priests but who knew different medicines and how to treat the sick. The greatest responsibility of diagnosing and treating the sick was upon the priests. However both the priests and other people who knew the medicines and how to treat the sick taught children and adults the different treatment for many diseases⁴⁹.

Conclusion:

From the fore going analysis, it can be argued that the Baganda indigenous education of the girl child mainly aimed at preparing the girl for her expected adult role of being a responsible wife and member of society. The education mainly centered on desirable behaviour, discipline, hygiene, hard work and respect. Women were expected to have great information about their lineage, geography and to promote the cultural values of the society. However, the role of

women in the Ganda society was more of the private roles carried out at home. The high emphasis laid on marriage greatly affected girls education in the new era of western education as analysed in the subsequent chapters.

END NOTES

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CHAPTER THREE

3.0 WESTERN EDUCATION AND THE GIRL CHILD IN BUGANDA- 1878-1925

3.1 Introduction:

This chapter presents the introduction and development of western formal education in Buganda Kingdom from 1878-1926. It analyses the position accorded to the girl child in this new form of education. Analysis is also made of the challenges that faced girl child education in Buganda in the period under review.

3.2 The origins and development of Western Education in Buganda- 1878-1925:

The development of formal education in Buganda kingdom cannot be discussed in isolation from the political, social and economic events that were shaping the world elsewhere especially in Western Europe. This is because it is such events that, in all respects, laid a foundation for the British takeover of Uganda.

In the late 16th Century, Western Europe underwent a number of transformations that made it to establish links with the other parts of the globe. The transformations included: The agricultural, commercial and industrial revolutions. These witnessed the evolution of different modes of production of particular interest was the development of capitalism that created the need to traverse the different continents. As different powers tried to establish influence, it became apparent that they had to teach the people they came across to appreciate their ways of life and mannerism. This near assimilation made the transformed people to provide market for the assimilating part's commodities.

Britain, the first European country to industrialize, exhausted its raw materials, the key to the running of its newly established industries. European countries could not be turned to because they were in the process of industrializing their economies. This, therefore, meant that Britain had to look elsewhere for raw materials to keep its industries running. Meanwhile, Germany, Belgium, France and Italy also experienced shortage of raw materials. They therefore had to source for them from other parts of the globe. Africa presented a glorious chance for them to exploit its abundant mineral wealth and other resources. However, the discovery of Africa's mineral wealth presented new challenges that accelerated the scramble and partition of the continent. The European powers launched bitter attacks against each other in a bid to out muscle their competitors as they scrambled for the control of large swathes of Africa's mineral deposits, among other interests. The situation reached crisis level when the feuding Europeans powers were on the brink of waging war against each other. In order to insure against going to war over Africa, the Berlin Conference was called by Chancellor Bismarck in 1884-1885.

Buganda's first recorded contact with the foreigners was in 1844 when a group of a few Arabs led by Sheik Ahmed bin Ibrahim arrived at Kabaka Suuna's palace at Banda. The coming of the Arabs marked the beginning of formal education in Buganda. Although the Arabs were very much interested in trade than anything else, they organized some lessons in Islam and Swahili. Indeed some Baganda converted to Islam and learnt how to read and write Arabic. It is further alleged that even Kabaka Muteesa 1 practiced Islam though he was never circumcised¹. The influence of these Arabs in Buganda was not so profound, despite being in the kingdom for about 30 years before the arrival of Christian missionaries.

Muteesa 1 faced threats of an invasion from Egypt by the forces of Sir Samuel Baker who was employed by the ruler of Egypt. Khedive Ismail wanted to annex all areas in which the river Nile

passed. Indeed in 1873, Sir Samuel Baker arrived with soldiers at the court of Omukama (king) Kabalega of Bunyoro. When Baker's forces attacked Bunyoro, they suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of Kabalega's Abarusula. Muteesa I learnt of Baker's attack on Bunyoro and the intentions of the ruler of Egypt. He feared that his kingdom would be invaded next.

While Muteesa was grappling with how to overcome Egypt's forces, he was visited at his palace at Kasubi by Henry Morton Stanley a British journalist and explorer. He had come to especially confirm whether River Nile flowed from Lake Victoria to the Mediterranean Sea. Muteesa welcomed Stanley and in their conversation Muteesa asked whether European teachers would come to teach his subjects some knowledge and skills. He hoped that some knowledge and skills which the Europeans would teach his people would help him defend his kingdom from Egypt and other foreigners who would wish to invade it. Stanley accepted and Muteesa asked him to write a letter on his behalf in English inviting these teachers to Uganda. Stanley's letter was sent and appeared in the Daily Telegraph in November 1875. Subsequently many Europeans positively responded and came to Uganda.

The members of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) were the first to arrive in response to the invitation posted in the Daily Telegraph by Stanley. Alexander Mackay and Rev. C.T Wilson are said to have arrived at Mengo in 1877. The Kabaka of Buganda allocated them land at Nateete, from where they started their work of evangelization and creating a cadre to help them in their mission. The year 1879 witnessed the coming of the White Fathers from France. These were to champion the cause of Roman Catholicism. The Kabaka of Buganda gave the Catholics land at Lubaga where they established their base. Other missionary groups followed in the course of the century. They included the Verona Fathers from Italy as well as the Mill Hill Fathers from the UK.²

Kabaka Muteesa ensured that the new groups did not go beyond the borders of Kampala, in keeping with the suspicion he held over them because they were not training his people in the new knowledge and skills for which he had invited them for. This was so because the Kabaka reasoned that if he allowed them to go beyond their bases; they would connive with local people to overthrow him. Muteesa's fears were confirmed years after his death when the missionaries colluded with some Baganda to depose his son Mwanga after he tried to impose his authority which was seriously undermined by the missionaries in collusion with local Baganda.

The coming of Christian missionaries marked the beginning of western formal education in Buganda. Many Baganda embraced western education, because Muteesa I supported it for he thought the new knowledge and skills would benefit his people to help him control his kingdom better. So people knew that if they mastered the knowledge and skills, they would easily win the Kabaka's favour. Already one student of the Arabs called Mafuta was acting as an interpreter at Muteesa's court a position he held with great respect.

From 1877-1879 people were being taught religion, reading, writing and numeracy in the houses and compounds of the missionaries at both Nateete and Lubaga. This meant that those who had been studying at these mission posts could be found attending lessons together in the same group with those who had just joined the lessons. Therefore a need arose for the establishment of a system which would allow the separation of those who had just joined from those who had been attending lessons for some considerable time.

3.2.1 Establishment of Western Education System in Buganda.

From 1898, proper schools were established where missionaries lived and there were those schools which were established in places where those missionaries sent some of their Ugandan

teachers whom they had produced by then and those they continued to produce. The schools at mission centres were better built. Each place was called a 'Mission' or 'Parish.' It had a church building specifically for those Christians who wanted to pray on Sundays. In the same parish, there was a school building for teaching pupils the Bible, reading, writing, numeracy, a new approach to agriculture and some technical skills. In the same parish there was a hospital or dispensary. These three buildings in a missionary parish showed the aims of missionary education that is to teach Baganda Christian religion and its practice, to teach secular knowledge and skills and to look after the health of the people.

The schools for the Ugandan teachers were less elaborate. Usually there was only one building in wattle and thatch which served as a school during the week and as a church during Sundays. However much useful educational work was carried on in these places where Ugandan teachers pioneered western education.

The main reason for the coming of missionaries at first was the spreading of Christianity according to their respective doctrines. The CMS spread Protestantism while the White Fathers and Mill Hill Fathers spread Catholicism. They did this by establishing churches; built school as well as hospitals. However, it was not uncommon to find a church, school and hospital all stationed in the same vicinity³.

The above was strategic in the way that those who came for medical attention would be convinced that their healing was linked to the power of God. The missionaries enticed the non-converts with articles and items like sugar, food, drinks, among others. The missionaries established centers of learning along with the church and the hospital. This was for easy conversion of the non-believers. A church being so close to the hospital; it was very easy for a

former patient to be Christianized; and in order to understand fully the word of God, a school had to be established where indoctrination/teaching took place. St Mary's Lubaga (Later St Mary College Kisubi) existed alongside Lubaga Hospital and Lubaga Cathedral; St Henry's College Kitovu existed alongside Kitovu Cathedral as well as Kitovu Hospital, among other cases⁴.

Serious efforts to establish a system of education were started when Bishop Alfred Tucker arrived in Buganda. Bishop Tucker of the Anglican Church arrived in Uganda on 27 December 1890 as Bishop of Equatorial Africa, being the first Bishop to arrive at Mengo since Bishop Hannington had been murdered in 1885 before he reached Mengo. Hannington's successor Bishop Parker had died en route to Mengo, at Busambiro, south of Lake Victoria in 1888. When Bishop Tucker was made Bishop of Uganda in 1897, seven years after his arrival, he decided to re-organize education in the country. He invited C.W. Hattersley, a C.M.S. missionary, whom he gave the responsibility of building a system of primary schools and training teachers. Working outwards from Mengo where the C.M.S. had its headquarters on Namirembe Hill, close to the Kabaka's Palace, he (Hattersley) urged parents, and especially chiefs, to send their children to the new schools. He sent out teachers as fast as he could, and Tucker recorded that whereas in 1898 there had been only a few hundred children being taught, by 1903 the primary schools registers showed 22,000 pupils.

Hattersley started small day schools in the bush wherever he found a group of parents willing to send their children to school. He then tried to build up a group of such 'bush schools' around centres of population where he set up larger 'central schools' also for day pupils. The system was

completed as he had planned, by the opening of the 'high schools' for pupils, of which his own at Mengo -finally incorporated into King's College Buddo in 1927 - was the first. The terms "bush", 'central' and 'high' schools are deceptive; they were all very much what the English called 'elementary' schools. The central and bush schools followed much the same curriculum but the central schools soon began to supply teachers for the smaller bush schools while the high schools eventually produced teachers for both⁵.

The missionaries realized the importance of educating girls from the very beginning because once educated they would play a very important role in influencing men who had been to school and those who had not been to school in moulding their children in the new western point of view. Hence missionaries persuaded parents to send their daughters to school and also put in place measures to increase girls' enrollment. It ought to be emphasized that missionaries' view of girls' education was one that would complement that of boys not entirely establishing a curriculum that would empower women to live on their own. The other measure put in place by missionaries to increase girls' education was for girls to study free of charge in primary one and two, then pay quite reduced fees thereafter. They encouraged parents to send their daughters to school at an early age so as to help girls complete their courses while still fairly young without being destructed by the lure of marriage or being befriended by young men. Missionaries and local governments established many primary schools to reduce the anxiety of parents who used to feel uneasy about risking their daughters to walk long distances.⁶

The structure of education was such that there were catechist schools, village schools, vernacular schools, central schools, high schools as well as colleges. Catechist schools were located anywhere in Buganda where there were churches. These schools were meant for those who were seeking to be baptized. Their curriculum consisted of mainly Christian prayers, catechism and mass cultivation. These Christians insisted that pupils should learn to read and write, and so these lessons were given during weekend. During this period, parents preferred to educate their daughters up to this level. The parents reasoned that since their daughters were in position to read and write as well as quote biblical verses, there was no point in continuing with studies. At this point parents preferred their daughters to get married than wasting time continuing with studies⁷. If parents chose this path for their daughters, it was because the missionaries failed to sensitize parents about the importance of educating their daughters. This could be because they were aware of the fact that the colonial administrative machinery was controlled by men with few or no women.

Village schools were sometimes called Bush schools, sub grade or reaching schools. They were numerous because of their easy construction comprising of wattle and thatch. Their curriculum was also Christian prayers and practice, reading and writing, geography and history and mass cultivation. They consisted of two classes, primary one and two. There were also vernacular schools at a parish or mission post and were managed by European missionaries assisted by African teachers. These ran classes one to four and their curriculum consisted of Christian instructions, history, geography, writing, arithmetic, reading, biology, agriculture, singing and games. Central schools were located at particular parishes and were headed by European missionaries. They had six classes and admitted pupils who had completed vernacular schools.

Their curriculum consisted of Bible study, History, Grammar and English in addition to the vernacular school curriculum. High schools admitted candidates from central schools and operated as boarding junior schools. Originally they were for sons and daughters of chiefs and the highly placed people in the society. Their curriculum was Arithmetic, Geography, Biology, Drawing, Music, Hygiene and History. The first College to be established was Makerere College, which was opened in 1922. It was the highest institute in Uganda.

The Missionaries, Buganda chiefs and their subjects played a key role in establishing western type of schools and financing them. Money for running these schools was contributed by Ugandans through paying school fees and by donations from friends of Missionaries in their home countries. The Ugandans contributed further to the establishment of western education by assisting physically in the building of these schools, they made bricks, cut timber for building classrooms, churches and hospitals. The most important schools that were built from 1900-1912 were for children of the chiefs and the most important people in society such as clan heads and clergy men. In 1925, Reuben Ssebanja Mukasa opened the first private school at Namungona called Chwa 11 Memorial College but it was not popular.

The above structure meant that schools taught reading, writing as well as arithmetic. The situation was so because they never wanted to prepare an individual beyond knowing how to read, let alone interpreting the Bible, two factors that were critical to the spreading of the gospel by the new converts⁸. No wonder the graduates from this sort of school system were nothing but teachers, nurses, interpreters as well as clerks. Besides, these schools became centers of cultural indoctrination. Students were always taught how “savage” their traditional cultures were and how good “modern” European cultures were. They were taught to disregard their traditional culture in favour of western/European cultures. It appears that the missionaries’ attitude towards

local cultures was nothing but ethnocentric based. That they experienced cultural shock is not surprising because culture is understood and valued by those that originate and subsequently practice it as clearly confirmed by Kottak⁹.

The missionary teachings led to many people in Buganda to disobey the orders of the Kabaka, much to his annoyance. It is little wonder this disloyalty to the King was punished by massive killings of the affected people on orders of the Kabaka at Namugongo. The Killing of these Christian converts sparked off clashes between missionaries and Kabaka Mwanga, which eventually culminated into his toppling though he was later to be restored to his throne albeit as a politically weakened king. These unfolding political events meant that the politics of Buganda had changed and had changed forever. Hitherto, the Kabaka held a lot of political power: power over death and life. His powers were severely trimmed so that he could not do anything without proper consultation with the Queen's representative in Uganda.

After the dust of the religio-political wars in Buganda had abated, there was a continuation of the teaching of 3Rs up until 1901 after influential Buganda chiefs approached and requested them to provide an education that would provide people of Buganda with skills that would help them cope with the demands and challenges of the fast changing world¹⁰. This action pointed to the fact that the chiefs had come to realize that the education championed by missionaries was all but irrelevant, to the effect that it had failed to address the issues that were relevant to the development of Buganda. If the system of education championed by missionaries had failed to address the challenges of the time, it meant that it could not, as well, anticipate the future. It was

evidently clear that some men of foresight would rise to challenge it as did the Baganda chiefs in question. The missionaries, convinced of this idea, reasoned that this kind of education (education requested for by Baganda chiefs) could only be best achieved through a boarding high school education system, with English as the medium of instruction¹¹.

As a direct response to this request, in 1901 Father Gaudibert was given responsibility for the development of education by the White Fathers, and in 1902 Namilyango 'Secondary' School was founded near Kampala by the Mill Hill Mission. In 1905, the C.M.S. established schools at Buddo for boys and Gayaza for girls. In the same year the Catholic Mission opened a secondary school at Lubaga near Mengo, but this was later moved to Kisubi. Between 1910 and 1925 the two missions opened several bush schools throughout the country. They also opened secondary schools and teacher training centres¹².

3.3. Missionary Attitude towards educating the girl child in Buganda- 1878-1925.

It can be argued that missionary attitude towards girl child education in Buganda was mixed. There were missionaries that wanted girls to be educated much the same way as girls in Western Europe. Yet, there were others that vehemently opposed this form of education. Allman and others¹³ report that Col. Lambkin vehemently opposed the education of girls and women in general basing his claim on the unfortunate fact that if girls were to be educated they would not be in position to respect their cultural traditions. Col. Lambkin further argued that the missionaries could not afford to give girls in Buganda an education system similar to that of girls in Britain on account of the fact that their (girls in Buganda) ancestors were not educated as well.¹⁴

Nevertheless, most missionaries did not subscribe to the arguments of Col. Lambkin. They went ahead and encouraged girls in Buganda to enroll in school. However, much as the missionaries established schools for girls, it should be noted that the missionaries wanted an education for girls that reinforced the traditional position of women in society—housewife. Allman and others further noted that missionaries and their agents believed that improvement in women’s education and the return to pre-contact mechanisms of social control were needed if colonial and missionary projects were to succeed. She further notes that the colonial project which rested on the belief that pre contact social relations, however apprehensive they might have been, were especially vital in order to control women and thereby maintain a stable social order, guaranteeing the nation adequate food production and good health.¹⁵

The above views were better reflected in the fact that missionaries sought to educate girls in catechist schools, for they only wanted them to learn how to read the bible and subsequently get married. It is little wonder that when missionaries were tasked to establish schools beyond catechism, the schools they established were meant mainly to cater for the education of boys. Even when they attempted to establish girls’ schools on the model of boys’ schools, their curriculum left a lot to be desired—it emphasized domesticity. This confirms the fears of Allman and others that missionary education was bent on entrenching cultural bondages from which women were trapped for generations.¹⁶ Wherever missionaries established a boy’s school, it was incumbent upon them to establish a girl’s school.

The schools were not geared towards grounding them academically as the case was for boys’ schools but because these girls’ schools would be avenues for educated boys to marry educated girls. It is for example alleged that Bwanda SS was established to supply educated wives to Kisubi; Nsube was to cater for boys in Namilyango, among others. Indeed, high profile weddings

between students from these schools were always organized.¹⁷ For example, the daughter of the prominent Buganda chief Sir Apollo Kagwa⁷ was married to Yosiya Nadiope, a prominent Busoga Chief; Drucilla a daughter to a prominent Muganda and a former student at Gayaza High School got married to Daudi Chwa, the then King of Buganda. Sara, another old girl of Gayaza High School got married to Ham Mukasa, another prominent Muganda chief¹⁸.

Gayaza High School succeeded in educating daughters of chiefs who were to be future wives of the elites. This means that the curriculum was bent on providing an education system that emphasized domestic roles. The curriculum at Gayaza High School therefore, was such that it emphasized domesticity. The school time table required that girls wake up at 5.00 A.M. for cultivation and prepare for school at 8:00 .A.M. apparently school started at 8:30 A.M with prayers and Bible reading, followed by writing at 9:15 A.M; 10:00A.M was for peeling plantain for the midday meal. Classes, resumed at 11:00 A.M with Bible lesson (two days a week), geography, or English ended at 11:45 A.M. The afternoon classes started at 2:00 PM with Bible study followed by Arithmetic at 3:00 P.M. After school the girls fetched water and engaged in other extracurricular activities¹⁹. The curriculum for boys' schools was quite different as it did not involve fetching water let alone peeling and weaving baskets.

It is important to note that at first missionaries were opposed to the opening of Gayaza High School on account that it would produce graduates equal to the status of boys. Here, they reasoned that if girls got the education similar to that of boys, they would disregard Ganda cultural values, beliefs as well as customs. They were especially worried that girls would not kneel before elders, parents and husbands. Mothers in particular opposed this institution on account of the fact that they were going to lose valuable labour. It should be noted that parents were only interested in educating their girls up to catechist level and beyond that they were good

for marriage²⁰. However, the anger towards the opening of Gayaza receded after assurances that girls were only to be trained as good housewives.

Tamale²¹ notes that the reason as to why missionaries did not emphasize girls' education partly lay in the capitalist mode of production. She noted that this arrangement disregarded the importance of women labour by relegating it to "private" (domestic/home) while at the same time elevating men's labour. This possibly explains the fact that when missionaries were approached by prominent Baganda chiefs to help establish an education system suitable for the changing world, they established boys' schools, an indication that boys were more important than girls. Thus when colonial masters established a plantation economy in Buganda, they always reached out to men to work in these plantations. No wonder, women were exempted from paying taxes because they "were not expected to work" but play domestic roles like looking after children and other household chores.

3.3 Strategies undertaken to encourage girl child education in Buganda 1878-1925;

3.4

We have noted above that there was general apathy about girl child education in Buganda in the period 1878—1925. However, it should be noted that the indifference was generally due to limited awareness and the nature of the curriculum. As these issues were gradually overcome, there developed a steady encouragement of girl child education. This section analyses the strategies employed to realize the goal.

Aside from the obvious indifferent attitude (as enumerated above) by missionaries towards girls' education in Buganda, it goes without saying that to some extent missionaries encouraged girls'

education in Buganda. This they did by coming up with several strategies to encourage girls' education. A review of them is presented here below:

The missionaries established schools particularly for girls. It was reasoned that girls' only schools would be advantageous to the girl child because they would concentrate on studies considered relevant for them, something that would have been difficult in "mixed" schools. On top of establishing these schools, they ensured that such schools had boarding facilities. This was possibly informed by the fact that parents used to withdraw their daughters from school on the basis of the fact that the latter used to walk long journeys. Moreover, they were constantly disturbed by boys, since they studied when they were relatively mature as confirmed by Ssekamwa.²² The establishment of girls' schools partly increased the number of girls attending formal education.

In order to further encourage girl child education in Buganda, the missionaries waived school fees, especially in Catechist Schools. Girls were to study free of charge in primary one and two, then pay quite reduced fees thereafter. Charging of fees used to discourage the less interested and the poor parents from sending their children to school.²³ Further still, the missionaries solicited and received grants from the Colonial Government to support their education efforts. The grants secured are presented in Table 4.1 below:

Table 4.1: Distribution of Government Grants to Christian Missions in Uganda 1920-1924 (in pounds)

Year	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924
Mission CMC	1950	4750	4750	5688	5688
WFM	950	3075	3075	3645	3645
MHM	300	1650	1650	2038	1888
Verona Fathers	25	100	100	125	125

Source: Adapted from Colonial Annual Reports (1920-1924) In Tiberondwa, *Missionary Teachers as Agents of Colonialism in Uganda*

Table 4,1 indicates that in 1920 the Colonial Government provided education grants to Church Missionary Society worth Pounds 1950 whilst the White Fathers Missionaries received grants worth 950; Mill Hill Fathers received 300 and the Verona Father 25. In 1921 the Colonial government gave the Church Missionary Society 4750; the White Fathers received 3075; the Mill Hill missionaries got 1650 and the Verona Father was given 100. In 1922 CMC received grants worth 4750; WFM received 3075; MHM were given 1650 while the Verona Fathers received 100. In 1923 CMC was given 5688; WFM was given 3645; MHM got 2038 while the Verona Fathers got 125. In 1924 the colonial government gave CMC 5688; the White Fathers received 3645; the Mill Hill Missionaries 1888 while the Verona Fathers got 125.

In a bid to establish how best it could contribute to the development of education in Uganda, the colonial government in London invited The Phelps-Commission from the United States of America to examine the state of education for Africans particularly Uganda and make recommendations. A report was released in 1924. Among its recommendations was that colonial

administration would participate fully in the educational activities of Uganda, the establishment of boarding schools, stating that they should be concerned, first of all with food preparation; second, with household's comforts, and third, with care and feeding of children and the occupations that are suited to the interests and ability of women. For women's special role, it advocated a different curriculum for boys and girls²⁴.

Subsequently, Governor Archer invited M.E.R J Hussey, inspector of schools in Sudan, to visit Uganda to report on the educational needs. Hussey recommended more government involvement in the education of the citizens of the protectorate, rather than merely supporting missionary efforts; that a system of mass education should be established; that the system of education should be based on the customary life of the ordinary peasants²⁵. Thus, by 1925, the colonial government decided to take control of the direction of education in Buganda. This was dictated by political, social as well economic importance of education²⁶.

The 1925 Phelps Stokes Commission recommendations were legalized by the 1927 Education Ordinance which spelt out the powers and procedures in the education system by the government. The importance of this Commission was largely realized in the years that followed as noted in the next chapter.

3.5 Challenges faced by missionaries in encouraging girl child education in Buganda- 1878-1925.

In the bid by missionaries to uplift the education of the girl child as analyzed above, there were several challenges encountered. These are the ones we now turn our attention to:

The Ganda traditional beliefs greatly influenced the education of the girl child. The parents gave priority to boys' education over that of girls. This means that girls did not have the same chance as boys to access education. Ssekamwa²⁷ notes that parents more often than not preferred boys' education to girls' education. This was due to the fear that if girls acquired western education they would not be in position to appreciate and observe the Ganda traditions; especially traditions that demanded that a woman kneels while greeting parents, elders and husbands. Hence, it is on this account that parents feared that their daughters would not be in position to get suitable partners. Thus, rather than risk their daughters not to get married, most parents withdrew their daughters shortly after they had acquired reading skills and receiving the sacrament of baptism.

Further still, the cultural traditions of Baganda dictated that girls were supposed to take care of domestic chores, including cooking, cleaning utensils, among others. Parents did not want to send their daughters to school because they wanted them to get engaged in household chores. This was true of mothers, who badly needed their daughters at home to help them with the household chores. Kwesiga²⁸ reports that some mothers hid their daughters whenever a missionary teacher came by looking for them. This in effect means that there were no policies put in place to direct girls' education.

To make matters worse, the missionaries lacked enough funds to run education activities in Uganda. It should be noted that at first educational matters were entirely in the hands of missionaries. Thus, missionaries had to look for funds to finance their educational activities. In most cases the missionaries operated a shoe string budget. Moreover, even when the government

provided grants, they were too small to cover the funding deficit in education. As a result, a number of girls were forced to drop out. This explains the fact that girls did not have many opportunities at higher levels of their educations as there were few schools to cater for this. In addition to this formal education was not free like the informal education, hence parents were forced to make choices over who would go to school between the boy or girl child in times of scarcity of money. Hence parents' choices over who would go to school were inevitable because of lack of funds.

The situation was made more unpleasant by the denominational education which was provided by the missionaries. This also seriously affected girl child education in Buganda Kingdom. As earlier mentioned missionaries established educational institutions—primary and secondary—along religious lines. This meant that a Catholic child had to attend only Catholic founded education institutions. This was also true of children of other religious denominations. This state of educational affair was an inconvenience particularly to girls. Most learners had to walk long distances to schools. This made them victims of bad male elements that were determined to lure them into premarital sex. In connection with this, Katimbo reports that girls would be impregnated on their way to school. This forced many parents to withdraw their daughters from school²⁹.

Other than the above problems, religion also proved to be an impediment to girl child education in Buganda. With regard to Christianity, it can be argued that the reason why girl child education was not so much emphasized by the missionaries was because of the subservient position accorded to women in the Bible and in religious practice. Christianity tended to elevate men at the expense of women. It was only men that were supposed to join priesthood. This was especially true with Roman Catholicism. The Bible does not give sufficient attention to women

achievers. In fact, the Bible paints a picture of women who are responsible for the earth's misery and problems (read the story of the forbidden fruit). It further depicts women as nothing but sexual objects who are bent on seducing innocent men into acts of sex.

Hence, this Biblical view of women could have influenced the missionaries not to take seriously girls education in Buganda. In an interview with one of the respondents selected for involvement in the study, he contended that missionaries preferred to involve mostly men in religious activities to women. He further said that they (missionaries) often referred to the Bible whenever they experienced a formidable challenge for their gender discrimination policies³⁰. They would always justify their discriminatory tendencies against women by claiming that everything that was happening was predetermined by God. Thus the same attitude was often carried to other aspects of life, education inclusive.

Muslims and non-Christian conformists were at a disadvantage because formal education was done at Christian evangelical centers; hence Muslim parents were reluctant to send their children to Christian founded schools fearing possible conversion.³¹ Thus, many Muslims continued to attend Koranic schools. A few boys managed to sneak into protestant schools but this was more difficult for girls. Other Muslims concentrated on giving their children practical living earning skills like digging, trading, slaughtering animals and at a later stage driving vehicles.³²

A few fore sighted Muslim men who had gotten education in missionary schools realized in the 1920s and 1930s that under the colonial set up, their children could not hope to vie on equal terms with Christian children for opportunities unless they followed an education system similar to that of the Christians. Such Muslims like Ramadhan Gava, began setting up their own schools that would provide Muslims with secular education after koranic education. That exercise was hard

because other Muslims who feared that secular education would give rise to bad influence on several occasions burnt down school buildings and even houses of pioneers.³³

Girls that subscribed to Muslim faith were particularly at a great disadvantage because, on top of being blocked from accessing education in Christian schools, there were no Muslim schools to write home about³⁴. Despite the fact that Islam was the first religion to be established in Buganda, the Muslim missionaries were interested in trade hence they did not take the initiative to establish their own schools in Buganda that would later be utilized by those subscribing to Islamic faith. If there was any chance of these girls ever attaining education using Christian facilities, such a chance was eroded on discovering that such education was conducted at evangelical centers. As already mentioned, most educational centers were located within the vicinity of churches yet Muslims were aware of the indoctrination that was going on in the centres in question. Thus rather than risk conversion, they preferred their daughters not to attend Christian founded schools at all. Hajat Maymuna Nakabiri³⁵ confirms that her father vehemently refused her to join St Theresa Bwanda SS on account that it was catholic founded despite the fact that there were no other secondary schools for Muslims around.

Islamic teachings also impinged on the education of girls in Buganda Kingdom. Girls from Muslim households had to put up with the sad fact that Muslims believed that keeping a girl in school who had reached marriage age was disobeying the Islamic beliefs. They always based their argument on *Hadith* by Prophet Muhammad which states that it's an act of faith to marry girls who reached the age of marriage as soon as possible. Most parents, informed by hadith, refused to send their daughters to school and instead decided to marry them off. Those who were attending school already were withdrawn in preparation for their future roles as mothers³⁶.

Moslem parents detested co-education (schooling of both boys and girls) so much that many Muslim parents refused to send their daughters to school preferring to stay home until they got married. The parents reasoned that their daughters would be forced to engage in pre-marital sex at school. It should be remembered that Islam has a strong culture of separating women from men during social gatherings. That most schools that the colonial government had set up were co-education, even though they were non-denominational-the Muslim community found enough grounds not to send their children to school. This problem has remained a thorn in Muslim primary in Buganda because when the researcher tried to analyze the admissions of Kibuli SS, a co-education Muslim education institution; it was found that boys far outstripped girls in the admission. When the researcher analyzed the completion rates, it was found that the completion rates for boys were high compared to girls.

Generally Muslims had a negative attitude towards western education. They believed that girls who attained western education would be unruly and would disobey their husbands. This helped to keep the Muslim girl backward. The men wanted women who would beg them for everything, kneel before them, ask for permission to go and visit their relatives etc. As long as western education took away these values, they were not prepared to take their daughters to school. Educated Muslim women could not do all these and Muslim men preferred to have illiterate wives who would respect and kneel before them. When parents realized that educated women had no market for marriage, they decided to marry off their daughters early before they attained enough education³⁷.

The fact that many Muslim parents preferred to keep their daughters at home ahead of marriage; and the fact that Moslem men married uneducated women meant that the mothers of daughters were illiterate. The fact that they were illiterate; they (mothers) saw no importance in advocating

the education of their daughters. This led to the shortage of female qualified Muslim teachers. This shortage led to the staffing of Muslim educational institutions with teachers who had been chased away from mission schools for impregnating girls outside wedlock. This meant that girls had no female role models to look up to.

Lack of enough funds to finance education also hindered the development of girl child education in Buganda. It can be said that some parents did not send their daughters to school on account of the fact that they lacked money to do so. It should be noted that much as education was somehow subsidized to encourage parents to send their children to school, it is also true that some parents could not afford basics like books, school uniforms among other scholastic materials. This was especially true of parents of Muslim background. The economic status of Muslim population was a definite handicap to their children education. It is said that right from the 1900 Agreement, the Baganda Muslims were gravely disadvantaged as they only had a say in these centers of the kingdom i.e. Butambala, Busujju and Gomba. They were denied political posts such as chieftainship yet when you look closely the spread of western education was spread by chiefs who devoted a lot of time and resources. Indeed these two forces combined to deny Muslim girls in Buganda education. It is little wonder that there were 2 junior secondary schools for Muslims, with 128 boys and 4 girls enrolled³⁸ .

Conclusion:

It has been observed that although missionaries tried to encourage girl child education, it was majorly at the lower levels and for purpose of facilitating conversion to Christianity. Greater emphasis was put on education for boys. In this chapter, it is also argued that these champions of

western education had been prepared to give girls a raw deal in education, drawing particularly to the biblical teachings that tended to accord men a special status. The education that girls in Europe were receiving at the time could have been mirrored in what the missionaries taught the Ganda girls. It is little wonder that the kind of education the missionaries thought suitable for girls only emphasized domesticity as confirmed by the Phelps Stokes Commission.³⁹ Certainly the inadequacies in missionary education were due to the fact that the colonial government did not involve itself in educational affairs, leaving them entirely in the hands of missionaries. These inadequacies would lead to the appointment of the Phelps Stokes Commission in 1924⁴⁰ to review the education system. While the Commission observed that missionary education was denominational and emphasized domesticity, it nevertheless maintained and praised the education that was being offered by the missionary founded girls' schools.

The commission recommended the establishment of boarding schools for girls, stating that they should be concerned first of all, with food preparation, second with household comforts, and third, with the care and feeding of children and occupations that suited the interests of women. Allman and others further note that although the commission made reference to the need for the professional training in teaching and nursing for women, it strongly believed in the domesticity of women. Despite all these shortcomings, the Commission strongly called for the intervention of the colonial governments in education matters. Thus, in 1925, the Colonial Government started running educational affairs in Uganda alongside missionaries. During this period, girls' education registered progress but there were certain factors that impinged girl child education as analysed.

END NOTES

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CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 THE EDUCATION OF THE GIRL CHILD IN BUGANDA KINGDOM IN THE 1925-1961

PERIOD

4.1 Introduction

This chapter delves into attempts made by both the Christian Missionaries and the British colonial government to improve the education of the girl child in Buganda Kingdom. It also attempts to provide an appraisal of the steps that were taken by both the missionaries and British colonial administration to uplift the education of the girl child in Buganda. Lastly, it seeks to provide an insight into the challenges faced in the colonial period by various stakeholders in their attempt to enhance girl child education.

4.2. Steps Taken by the missionaries and the colonial regime to improve girl child education in Buganda 1926-1961:

Buganda and indeed Uganda was effectively taken over as a British protectorate in 1894. After the taking over of Buganda Kingdom, the protectorate government undertook to extend its influence to the rest of Uganda. This process even stretched into the early years of the 20th century. For example, West Nile was only incorporated into Uganda in 1912. The boundaries were not determined until 1926.

Although the British colonial government had officially taken control of the administration of Buganda/Uganda in 1894, it did not participate in the control, administration and direction of education in Buganda in particular and Uganda in general¹. The British colonial government was very busy trying to consolidate its control over Uganda. This process included the signing of

treaties, such as the 1900 Buganda Agreement, Toro Agreement and Ankore Agreement, and use of force as was the case with Bunyoro and some of Mwanga's supporters in Buganda. Nevertheless after 1925, the colonial government in Uganda started directing education and this was legalized by the 1927 Education Ordinance. Hence it spelt out the powers and procedures in the education system by the government. Thus many strategies were put in place to improve the education of the girl child as discussed below

The British colonial government offered some financial assistance to mission groups that were involved in providing western education. This was a step in the right direction because initially, the Government did not provide any assistance to these schools. Missionaries were obtaining support for their schools from other sources other than government. It is reported that the funding of girls' education increased to Shs 2,000 per term² for each girl from 1930. This funding boosted the enrollment of girls in mission schools. This effort Even here the government did not want to commit its self to the control and direction of education in Uganda.

In a way to improve the education system, The de La war Commission of 1937 was sent by the British government in London to review the state of education in East Africa. For Uganda it recommended that Makerere College be developed with a view to become a university. In 1949, Makerere College was turned into a university college under the direction of the University of London. This recommendation meant that a number of secondary schools had to be developed to feed Makerere College. Consequently government and missionaries endeavored to increase secondary schools. This indirectly affected girl child education in Buganda education services

were improved through establishing many schools and the number of girls attaining education increased.

Another important step towards the review of the education system was the appointment of The Binns Study Group by Britain to come East Africa and Central Africa. Its mission was to examine the education situation and make recommendations to the British government in London for improving it and increasing enrolment of students in the schools. Among others it recommended an increase in the number of schools to enroll more pupils and students. The recommendations of The Binns Study Group were partly put into reality by the de Bunsen Committee of 1952. This was the first to recommend universal primary education which was never implemented.³ However it can be argued that this was an initiative towards improving girl child education by that time. This committee further recommended an increase in the number of boarding schools for girls and co-education.⁴ Government responded by establishing many schools across Uganda and Buganda in particular. All these were positive efforts towards the improvement.

Another step towards the improvement of girl child education was the establishment of girls' secondary schools. The Church Missionary Society got concerned about the education of girl child. This was because there was no girls' school then that was at the level of a boys' school such as Namilyango, Kisubi and Buddo. Subsequently, in 1933 it allowed 12 girls to be enrolled at Buddo. With this act, King's College Buddo became the first coeducation institution in Buganda and in East Africa in general⁵. This was a step towards removing gender biases in education in Buganda Kingdom by giving girls a chance to attain advanced education, which was

an exclusive preserve of boys before. The policy of co-education at Buddo was done on an experimental basis against which future decisions for establishing similar schools would be made. As a result of this, Government did establish Makerere College School in 1957.

The colonial government was quite determined to ensure that girls' education in Buganda improved. Hence, the colonial regime in 1939, instituted a committee to advise on how best to improve girls education. The Committee did recommend that government institute generous bursaries for girls and less strict measures for collecting fees from girls. The government responded by initiating King George V Memorial Fund—a fund that was aimed at providing bursaries to girls. The Committee proposed that the collection of fees should be less aggressive to avoid parents having excuses to keep the girls at home⁶. In 1943, the enrollment for girls was even less than that of boys following the famine of 1942. The parents preferred to pay fees for their sons than their daughters. A good number of parents are known to have out rightly opposed the idea of sending girls to school as they preferred them to stay home and engage in agricultural activities⁷.

Massive establishment of schools: To respond to the dire need for women education, the Catholic sisters led by Sister Kevin started a girl's school at Namagunga in 1944. This was followed by Trinity College Nabbingo, two education institutions which tried to bridge the gender gap in respect to educational access. They were the first girls' institutions to offer education (read curriculum) equivalent to the already established schools—Kisubi, Buddo, Namilyango. Nevertheless, at their inception the enrollment was not high. For instance,

Namagunga started with 24 girls and Nabbingo 15⁸. The numbers steadily rose as their founders sensitized the community on the importance of girls' education. The academic environment at these institutions was conducive for uncovering the learning potentials of girls that enrolled there in. It is little wonder that the schools in question have remained competitive over the years since their inception with Uganda's elite boys' schools. Their excellent performance helped to dispel the long held cultural belief that girls were naturally academically inferior to boys. The colonial government also supplemented missionary efforts by establishing Makerere College School, largely to cater for children of none—Christian background. Several schools sprung up, which included Namagunga Primary School, Kako Primary School, Stella Maris Nsube Primary School, St Theresa Bwanda SS, Villa Maria Primary School, Kimaanya Primary School, Ndejje Primary School, Bwala Primary School, and Kibuli Muslim Junior School.

In Singo, dissatisfied with missionary education, Moslems led by Mwalimu Swaibu, Mulinde, an important Muslim leader started a primary school in 1936. In 1937, the colonial government gave a grant and qualified Muslim teacher to the school. The Muslims were dissatisfied with the government aid because they thought the amount allocated to it was too little. They also felt that their taxes were promoting Christian education and interest. Muslims decided to build a number of feeder schools in Naama⁹.

Meanwhile, against the background of lack of educational institutions for Muslim girls, a Muslim secondary school was established at Old Kampala. Unfortunately, this school exclusively admitted Muslim Indians¹⁰. The need to advocate Muslim education in Buganda led to establishment of the Uganda Muslim Education association (UMEA). It should be noted that Muslims realized that the reason why they lagged behind with regard to education was because they lacked any organizational structures to advocate for their cause. Hence, in 1945 the Muslim

community did establish the Uganda Muslim Education Association. This was tasked to champion the education of Muslims. Indeed one of its famous achievements was to advocate for admission of Africans at the hitherto Indian Muslim girls school at Old Kampala¹¹. The association was very instrumental in the establishment of the first African Muslim girls' secondary school—Nabisunsa in 1958. This period saw the increase in the number of Muslim girls in Buganda; however the number of Muslim girls still remained far below that of other girls from other religious sects.

Review of the existing curriculum: It should be noted that missionaries and to lesser extent the colonial government realized the importance establishing a uniform curriculum for boys and girls. This was (partly) what motivated missionaries to establish Nabbingo and Namagunga. In fact their curriculum was much more the same with that of Kisubi and Namilyango. The fact that CMS encouraged girls to enroll at Buddo (previously a boy's education institution) also was a testament to the fact that missionaries were quite determined to provide equal education to both girls and boys. The curriculum at Nabbingo and Namagunga was such that it included mathematics, physics, biology, history, domestic science, among others. There was less emphasis on domestic science, though it formed part of the curriculum. This is because management allowed it to be optional.

Thus students were not obliged to take it. Science was emphasized; Biology and Mathematics became compulsory at the inception of the school¹². This was a further realization that science subjects were not an exclusive preserve of boys as, unfortunately, was the perception at Gayaza High School where demonstration had to be staged against the then government decision to make

Mathematics compulsory. This was an erroneous perception because, according to Ssekamwa¹³, with hard work and dedication science could be passed by all. In 1960, the Church Missionary Society run Gayaza High School underwent a radical transformation; from an institution that was meant to provide education for domesticity to offering education equivalent to that of Kisubi, Buddo and Namilyango. This was a period when there was an establishment of junior school and high school.

Another step towards improving girl child education was the establishment of private schools in Buganda. The second world war period and after 1945, was period when private schools increased very much. There was a general increase in the demand for schools because after the war, there was an upsurge in the prices for farmers' produce. Therefore many parents had money to finance their children's education. Furthermore, the return of the ex-service men had an impact on education because many of them paid fees for their children and relatives from their savings.¹⁴ Yet during and after world war 11, there was a marked stagnation in the development of schools under the Roman Catholic and CMS missionaries. Missionaries were not coming from Europe and others even left Uganda for Europe. The gap created was filled by the private schools which were given a go ahead by the colonial government after the recommendation of the de Bunsen Committee of 1952. It recommended that private schools should be included in the education system because they showed initiative sign of desire for independence and they were supplementing the education facilities provided by both missionary and colonial government. Thus many were established including Aggrey Memorial School at Bunnamwaya started by Dr Ernest Balintuma Kalibbala, Light College Katikamu founded in 1948 by Kiberu Kivumbi and

many more sprung up in Buganda played an important role in the improvement of girl child education. The effort of the colonial government to accept them was commendable.

After world war 11, there were efforts by the British government which started preparing their colonies in Africa for independence. There was a memorandum from London called Education for Citizenship in Africa 1948. To implement this, new subjects were added to the syllabi in which new ideals were imparted. There were opportunities for graduates from schools and university to participate in political responsibility through local governments to practice what they had learnt. Visits to Britain were arranged in which local government officials and civil servants stayed there to learn more from the system in Britain. Many parents started realizing the importance of education which positively affected girl child education. Sir Andrew Cohen the Governor encouraged all people to enroll for education, adult education centres were opened in Buganda like Nsamizi training centre. There were vigorous personnel training programmes started. There was a particular attention given to women due to their role in homes. Groups like the Mothers' Union, Young Women Christian Association and The Catholic Action Organization were among the women groups given these education services. The Governor's effort was strengthened by the 1959 Education Ordinance which among other things allowed Ugandans to join Asian schools. All these developments improved the education of the girl child at a certain level, because many people specifically women looked up to jobs that would be left by the whites. Many girls were enrolled in education since parents had realized the importance of education. Despite the active education efforts between 1940 and 1960 carried out in schools, by the time Uganda attained independence; there was a tremendous shortage of trained personnel.

Girl child education lagged behind that of boys due to factors discussed in the next paragraphs below.

4.3 Factors that impinged girl child education in Buganda in 1925-1961:

Much as the colonial government tried to promote the education of the girl child in Buganda, it should be noted that their efforts were met with challenges. Girls remained disproportionately represented across all education levels. It is little wonder that by 1938, there were only 28 girls across Uganda receiving secondary education¹⁵. Several factors are advanced to account for this education anomaly:

As already observed, funding of education was a major challenge to the advancement of girl child education. Many parents were forced to make choices over who to go to school due to limited funds. Unfortunately when the colonial government came in to salvage the situation, they also filled the balance in favour of boys. For instance, the colonial government was spending Shs. 2,000 on girls' education in Buganda. While boys education was calculated to cost Shs. 22,500 in 1938¹⁶. This suggests that even when the colonial government attempted to support girl child education in Buganda; its commitment to the cause of girls' education was not that very strong in relation to the education of boys¹⁷. In effect the colonial government was more interested in financing boys' education than women education. This partly explains why girls' education lagged behind boys' education in colonial times. The situation was made worse with the outbreak of World War11 which caused general shortage of funds from Europe since Britain and other missionary funders.

There was a problem of curriculum anomaly. It is true missionaries and the colonial government did everything they could to design the curriculum of the time to ensure it served girls and boys the same way. But it is also true that even when a new curriculum was introduced, the old one was maintained, taught alongside the academic one. Girls were still presumed to be interested in the study of domestic related subjects. In an interview with the headmistress of Gayaza High School , she said that when mathematics was made compulsory in the 1960's, girls were encouraged by their teachers and the then school administration to protest the government policy, claiming that girls were naturally not up to the challenge of reading mathematics¹⁸. They reasoned that mathematics could not be offered by girls as it was a subject meant for boys. This meant that girls had been led to believe that Mathematics was meant to be studied by boys.

Further still, the curriculum in Muslim schools was quite different from the one which was being offered in mission schools. It is particularly striking that by 1925, there were no Muslim schools offering a curriculum modeled on western education system. This meant that Muslims could not compete favorably with Christians in the world of employment, since their curriculum did not impart skills necessary to meet the challenges of the day. The curriculum followed by colonial government left many parents wondering if their daughters were not better off with the informal education.

Denominational education remained a big challenge to the development of girl child education in Buganda during the colonial period. The educational system was dominated by Protestants and Catholics. This meant that Muslims, especially girls missed out on education, given that the

education then was denominational. Protestants were not admitted in Catholic run schools and vice versa; The Muslim girls could not have joined the Christian run schools because their parents were fearful of the fact that western education could “spoil” them as analyzed in chapter three of this dissertation. The Muslim girls were at a great disadvantage as their parents refused to take them to school. It is reported that from 1925 to 1954 illiteracy levels were high among Muslim girls¹⁹. The colonial government through the recommendations of the Thomas Education Committee of 1940 which were legalized by The 1942 Education Ordinance refused to accept building non- denominational schools under government. To stress this point it was stated that

*We must respect and favour the educational establishment and machinery we find, not because education executed by missionary societies may be cheaper, but because the highest public interest demands the inculcation of the Christian values.*²⁰

Denominational education remained a big problem to girl child education all through colonial period until when The Education Ordinance of 1959 was passed. It allowed any child regardless of his or her race and religion to attend any school in Uganda; however the results were not witnessed until after 1963 when the Education Act was passed by the Obote 1 government.

Another factor that impinged the girl child education was co-education. Co-education policy was started by the CMS at Buddo in 1933 when two girls were enrolled. Buddo became the first coeducation institution in Buganda and East Africa. Coeducation was not adopted by the Catholic Missionaries for moral purposes. It should be noted that even CMS did not lay much emphasis on the policy to ensure that it succeeded. This is because even when they were implementing it, it was being implemented on an experimentation basis because they had some

misgivings about educating boys and girls together. In subsequent years, the colonial government held some misgivings about extending this policy to secondary level. It decided to restrict the policy at only primary level for the meantime²¹. The reservation on co-education was reflected in colonial government's advice/directive to the CMS when the Director of education informed the Church Missionary Society officials that since girls could enroll at Buddo, Government was not to support a parallel academic course at Gayaza. This government position illustrated the fact that the Colonial Government was not in position to support any education that was different from that offered by missionaries at the beginning: one that emphasized domesticity.

It is further reported that despite promoting co-education at Buddo; by 1937 girls constituted only 7% of the total enrollment. In 1938, there were over 100 girls qualified to enter secondary schools but no provisions were made for them. By 1947, girls at Buddo consisted of only 16% of the total enrollment while in 1952, they composed only 25%. Other co-educational schools had few numbers of girls compared to boys. Indeed, a close analysis of admission lists for Makerere College in 1958 attests to the fact that girls' enrollment remained low compared to boys, despite efforts by colonial government to step up the enrollment of the same. It was discovered that girls comprised of only 6% at Makerere College School²².

Kwesiga²³ noted that girls were fewer than boys at Buddo due to inadequate boarding facilities. The first dormitory was constructed in 1933, while the second in 1948. She reports that girls often times feared to mix with boys; that girls were dominated by boys in class. Teachers preferred to pick boys to respond to questions. That while at Buddo, girls never got involved in extracurricular activities; that they were shying away from eating meals in one shared dining

room. Girls were subjected to general bullying, intermittent clashes e.g. in 1956, 1959, with the worst one in 1960. This forced the authorities to consider reducing numbers of the female pupils. It appears that this decision was not well thought out, because one would think that the solution did not lay in expelling female pupils but investigating the background of the clashes. It was highly unlikely that in such an environment (full of harassments and bullying) girls would perform better. They would in all likelihood delve into other issues than academics. For instance, they would in all likelihood worry about how they would be bullied than solving complex mathematical numbers. Further still, the fact that they lacked role models (females who had made it in different professions, including teaching) to inspire them to perform well was also reason enough to academically perform poorly. Lack of female teachers was a problem that had historical foundations, because from the beginning of western formal education, married women were not encouraged to remain as members of the teaching staff. Indeed the de Bunsen Committee recommended that women teachers should only work part time²⁴.

There was a problem of limited qualified teachers during the colonial period. Most of the missionary founded schools were headed by missionaries and the teaching at was mainly done by them at the higher institutions of learning. The lower schools were mainly taught by the African teachers who were not so qualified. They were underpaid or not paid; both teachers' and students' attendance was alarmingly irregular. It should be noted that all along there were very few (if any) Muslim teachers. The first institutions to be established by Muslims never had teachers, which meant that they had to rely on teachers discontinued from mission schools. These had often times been suspended from mission schools for indecent behavior²⁵.

The contact that the vast majority of women had with education for several years was at these schools. In 1933, for example, there were 127 graded schools in Protectorate, besides a very large number of sub grade schools for grades for girls. In 1936, 81,265 girls were enrolled in these schools and only 4, 121 were in graded schools.²⁶ Despite Government's efforts to improve the education of girls, reflected in numerous grants towards girls' education, by 1938 the enrollment of girls was still lagging behind that of boys as is clear in table 4.2 below:

Table 4.2 Enrolment by Gender into various grades of Elementary Schools in Buganda by 1938

School Grade	No. of Boys	No. of Girls	% of Girls	No of Adults	Total number of pupils
Sub grade Schools (unaided)	132, 207	86,286	33.4	40,044	258,537
Subgrade schools (aided)	8,990	2.3999	21	-	
Primary vernacular schools aided	16,888	4,926	22.6	-	21,814
Full primary school	9, 289	2,963	24.2	-	12,252
Total	167, 374	96574	25.6	40044	303,99

Source: Tiberondwa, 1975

Table 4.2 shows that by 1938, girls' enrollment for sub grade schools that were not aided by government was 33.4% (86, 286). While boys formed the majority with over 60% (132,207). Table 4.1 further shows that girls enrollment in sub grade schools that were government aided stood at 21% (2,399). Whilst boys enrollment was 79% (8,990). Girls' enrollment in primary

vernacular schools, aided by the colonial government, was 22.6% (4,926) against 78% (16,888) of enrollment for boys. In full primary schools girls' enrollment constituted 24.2% (2,963) against 76.8% (9,289) of boys' enrollment. This suggests that even where government tried to promote the education of girls in Buganda, girls remained disproportionately represented. This could be attributed to Ganda cultural beliefs that attached great importance to boys while devaluing girls.

Lack of role models to look up to impinged on girl child education in Buganda. Buddo's experiment on girls education was not without biases besides having very few female members of staff; on close analysis of the subjects that were taken as options at Buddo in 1959, it was found out that all but 3 girls were restricted to subjects like domestic science, literature in English, Religious Studies, while most boys were in science based subjects. This means that the female teachers at Buddo were teaching arts subjects, which meant that girls lacked female role models who had excelled in sciences to look up to. This finding rhymes well with findings from the schools that participated in this study. It was found out that men composed a great percentage of the teaching staff. It was further discovered that male teachers dominated their female counterparts in almost all school activities; male teachers were in most cases heads of department while female teachers were just lay teachers. Ironically, even in girls' schools that participated in this study men dominated female teachers in school activities.

The Second World War period of 1939-1945 and after witnessed marked stagnation in the development of education generally. The Roman Catholic and CMS missionaries were not

readily coming from Europe because they had volunteered in the war while others left Uganda for Europe. The missionary activities of the Comboni missionaries then called Verona Fathers were restricted in Uganda because the British colonial government treated the Italian Missionaries as enemies of the British Empire.²⁷ The effects of the Second World War greatly impinged girl child education since the few schools available could not support increasing number of children enrolling. Many turned to private schools which were offering a different curriculum compared to the education offered in missionary schools and were despised by graduates of the missionary education.

Colonial attitude towards education highly affected the education of the girl child in Buganda during the colonial period. Other than not supporting denominational education, the colonial government during Governor Sir John Hall did not build many primary and secondary schools. The Governor was displeased with the attitude Ugandan students had towards manual labour. Many learners looked down upon any work which was connected with tilling the land. Hence he was not enthusiastic enough to see many primary and secondary schools built. He instead advocated for technical education which received a very low turn up from the local population. The colonial government did little to support private schools. The efforts of private schools in education were only realized after The Binns Study Group visited Uganda which recommended that private schools would be included in the education system because they were supplementing colonial education. All the above hindered the development of girl child education.

Apart from the attitude of colonialists towards education, there was parents' attitude. Many of them detested colonial education. They feared that their daughters would not get marriage

partners, because it was believed that educated women were showing off hence they would not respect their husbands as tradition required. To the Muslim parents this attitude was worse than even after serious efforts by Muslims to establish their own educational institutions, modeled on western curriculum, to cater for the education of Muslims, Nakawooya²⁸ contends that the parents simply refused to take their daughters to western style education institutions regardless of whether they were run by fellow Muslims. In fact, the few Muslim schools that opened did struggle to attract female students/pupils. The negative attitudes towards Muslim girls' education in Buganda was expressed right from Muslim teachers, children themselves to parents as is clear in The de Bunsen Committee. Nakawooya further reports that some Muslim households decided to hire teachers to teach their daughters at their homes rather than "risk" sending them to western style kind of schools that the missionaries had decided to run.

During the colonial period there were few schools to cater for education in Uganda in general and Buganda in particular. To emphasize this The Binns Study Group that visited Uganda in 1951 pointed out that Uganda was producing only 250 students for the O-level Cambridge School Certificate²⁹. The colonial government established many schools but they were not enough because at the time of independence Uganda was faced with a shortage of educated elite. The situation was worse for the Muslim child. Not content with the available facilities for Muslim girls' education, the colonial government was pressed to build more boarding Muslim girls' schools. However, the colonial government was in no position to construct such facilities because it claimed that Makerere College School would cater for them. This was indeed a misdirected policy, especially if one looks at it from the fact that Muslim girls could not walk all the way from different parts of Buganda to seek education from Makerere College School. It

should also be recalled that Muslims were concentrated, especially in Bussujju, Butambala etc. The colonial government ironically never established any educational institutions in the above areas that had the highest concentration Muslims in Buganda. It was through the efforts of Uganda Muslim Education Association that the above areas got some educational institutions specially built to cater for Muslim interests. Even these were not enough to increase girl child education which still lagged behind that of men.

Another challenge to girl child education during the colonial time was the negative attitude towards boarding schools. Government tried to give favorable terms to girls in order to attract them into schools. It gave extra financial assistance to school providing boarding facilities for girls so that girls could be away from home and so be free from the pressure of home chores. However, as earlier stated, girls did not take up the places in the boarding schools as expected³⁰. In fact in an interview with one of the founders of Bwala Islamic Primary School in 1945, he said that at the inception of Bwala, Muslim parents refused their daughters to attend this newly established school, fearing that their daughters would be spoiled, because Bwala was modeled and followed western school curriculum³¹. Further still, a close analysis of the admissions of Bwala Islamic Primary School for five proceeding years indicate a slow progress in enrollment rates for girls. This is illustrated in the table below:

Table 4.3: Distribution of Bwala Islamic Primary School Admissions by gender

Year of enrolment	Males	Females
1945	20	-
1946	24	-
1947	24	12
1948	30	10
1949	50	18

Source: Admission Lists for Bwala Islamic Primary School, 1945-1949

Table 4.3 shows that overall of boys enrollment was high compared to the enrollment of girls. It is striking to note that in the years 1945 and 1946, Bwala Islamic Primary School did not record any girls. This means that parents still had some negative views about taking their daughters to school, reasoning that they would become unruly. However, in 1947 Bwala Islamic Primary School did register 12 girls. This is attributed to the fact parents had started appreciating the importance of their daughters' education. In fact this change in attitude could be attributed to the efforts of UMEA, which by this time had been established to champion the cause of Muslim education at large, regardless of gender. Indeed as already noted UMEA was very pivotal in establishing Nabisunsa as well as in advocating the admission of Africans at the Indian dominated Old Kampala SS.

One of the reasons for parents refusing to take their daughters to Bwala Primary School was because parents were not sure whether their daughters would reach safely going and returning from school. The founders subsequently responded by introducing a boarding section to cater for these parents' concerns. The numbers for girls did increase albeit their enrollment could not

match that of boys. Despite the above efforts, the numbers for Moslem girls attending schools remained low in relation to boys. The Moslems started attending schools in large numbers after the abolition of religious influence in schools in 1963³² as is clear in Chapter Five.

The continuous existence of denominational education in Buganda also hindered the education of girl child in Buganda. Just like Moslem girl child, girls hailing from families that subscribed to neither religious sect did not have an opportunity to access education. This was because the education at the time was offered along religious lines as discussed in the previous chapters. This meant that those who believed in the traditional religion could not join western schools, which were founded on strong religious principles. Besides, the Christian missionaries frowned upon traditional religion to the extent that most of their teachings were centered on degrading it. It is not surprising that in subsequent years traditional religion was banned by the British colonial regime and, could only be practiced in seclusion. The believers in traditional religion were highly stigmatized. Children of traditional religious believer where highly stigmatized in that even at school the stigma often followed them. This forced some to abandon school while some other parents chose to ignore sending their children to school altogether.

The genesis of the problems of traditionalists in Buganda can be traced way back to the time when Mwanga was the Kabaka of Buganda. The traditionalists lost their political influence, especially after Mwanga (a staunch traditionalist) was deposed by religious factions in Uganda—when he attempted to expel foreigners for undermining his authority. However, the foreigners (Muslims and Christians) latter deposed Mwanga and assumed political control of the state of Buganda. This effectively ended the influence of the traditionalist over the affairs of Buganda.

The subsequent agreement (1900) that was made with Kabaka Chwa, only 193 “traditionalists” were allotted land and 151 of them had no titles despite being very many in population³³. In Buddu the “traditionalists” who were allocated land were 59. By 1956, about 30% of the population of Singo was traditionalists who had no special provision for schools.

This severely weakened their economic position, given the fact that land in Buganda was a major source of livelihood. This meant that the “traditionalists” could not pay school fees for their children because, by implication, were poor. Indeed by 1925, there were no traditionalists attending Christian run education institutions in Buganda as is clear in Table 4.1. In an interview with one of the key informants she alluded to the fact that the children that were practicing traditional religion were perceived to be witches, cannibals and worst of all sorcerers³⁴. He went ahead and said that society used to degrade non-Christians, especially followers of traditional religion. It followed that non-Christians lacked self-esteem, which led them to embrace Christianity with a lot of reluctance. She said that on taking on Christianity, they would burn all articles that symbolized traditional religion. Thus this was a sign of renunciation of the traditional religion. On renouncing traditional religion one would receive gifts like the Bible, food etc. The new converts would even be recruited by various religious sects to spread the gospel of Christ to non-converts.

Conclusion

From the foregoing discussion, it is quite apparent that the British Colonial Government tried to address the problems of gender imbalances in accessing education though with minimal success. This is true because girls still remained disproportionately represented at all levels of educational levels and this was more true at elementally and secondary levels. This was partly due to the cultural, religious and economic factors that seriously affected girl child education. Hence, it was not surprising that there were a lot of gaps in girl education at independence. The independent government, therefore, had an uphill task of addressing the shortfalls in girl child education in particular and education in general.

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- ¹³ Ssekamwa, 210.
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- ¹⁵ Allman K et al (eds) 184.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 179.
- ¹⁷ Tiberondwa, 40.
- ¹⁸ Interview with Gayaza head teacher, held on 12/10/08.
- ¹⁹ Interview with Yoweri Ssewanyana held on 20/7/2010.
- ²⁰ Ssekamwa, 195.
- ²¹ Kwesiga, 227.
- ²² Admission List for Makarere College School.
- ²³ Kwesiga, 229.
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- ²⁵ Kyagulanyi, 22.
- ²⁶ Tiberondwa, 200.
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CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 GIRL CHILD EDUCATION IN BUGANDA IN THE PERIOD 1962-1997

5.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the girl child education in Buganda during the post-colonial period. It analyses the strategies laid by the post-colonial governments to promote girl child education. The challenges encountered in this drive are also examined. The positive trends up to the operationalization of affirmative action also form part of the chapter.

5.2 Overview of the status of girl child education by 1962

In the previous chapter, we have alluded to the plight of girl child education during the colonial period. It has been observed that girls' education lagged behind that of boys. In fact girls constituted less than 20% of the overall total enrollment in primary schools. The same was true of secondary and tertiary institutions. The efforts of the colonial government to address the situation registered minimal success. Moreover, attrition rate was high. It was upon this background that the post independent governments faced the challenge.

5.3 Measures taken by the post-colonial governments to address gender imbalance in education in Uganda with particular reference to Buganda.

It is quite apparent that the missionaries and the colonial government tried to improve the education of the girl child. This is clearly evidenced by the different measures earlier noted which were put in place to improve the education of the girl child. By 1962 however, the number of girls attending formal education was far below that of their counter parts. In the following

years the post-independence governments took many steps to try and improve the education in general and specifically the education of the girl child.

After independence, the Obote 1 government faced a number of problems. The most important among them was the departure of many foreigners who had filled most of government offices. Hence there was the need for a sufficient number of Ugandans to fill the positions of the public and private sectors of the country. In trying to overcome this problem the government incredibly expanded secondary education including the enrollment of students and building many more secondary schools. That deliberate government commitment to expand secondary education, inevitably increased the number of enrollment of both boys and girls.

Furthermore it was clearly stated in the First Five Year Development Plan that;

The long term aim of the governments' education policy was to develop education facilities on such a scale and such a way as to provide for every child regardless of the social or economic circumstances of parents...¹

It can be understood from this document that there was government policy towards providing equal education opportunity to all children irrespective of their background.

In a bid to improve the education system, government constituted the Castle Education Commission of 1963. Its duty was to review the education system which was operating and make recommendations. The new recommendations in education would focus on producing enough qualified people to fill all jobs in the country with a view to boosting the economy. The government passed the 1963 Education Act. The most significant recommendations pertaining to

girl child education from this Act were; Banning denominational education in mission schools, strengthening and expanding existing senior secondary schools, establishment of junior secondary boarding schools for girls based on the district, encouraging single sex schools, reducing fees for girls as an initiative for attracting parents to take their girls to school and a tremendous increase in school enrollment especially at secondary level².

By abolishing denominational schools, the government took over control of all schools and secularized education. This meant that children from any religious background were free to join any school as long as they qualified. This Act in one way solved the problem of lack of access to education by especially minorities' i.e. Muslims and traditionalists who had a historical misfortune of few educational institutions to take their children. It also reduced the long distance that pupils traveled in search for a school of their religious denomination. Indeed with the passing of the Education Act of 1963, school enrollment increased for all children, girls inclusive. An analysis of the admission list of Kimanya Primary School, a catholic founded school in Masaka, reveals that the number of non-Catholics gradually increased after passing the Act³. As illustrated in table 5.1 below:

Table: 5.1: Enrolment in Kimaanya Primary School before and after the passing of Education Act of 1964

1961		1962		1963		1964		1965	
Catholics	Others	Catholics	Others	Catholics	Others	Catholics	Others	Catholics	Others
400	-	523	-	500	12	570	100	600	60

Source: Admission Registers for Kimaanya Primary School, 1961-1965

Table 5.1 shows that in 1961 Catholics at Kimaanya Primary school were 400, and there was no enrolment from other denominations. Likewise, in 1962 the numbers of Catholic pupils were 523 with no representation from other denominations i.e. Protestants, Muslims as well as traditionalists. This could be largely attributed to the then existing conventional wisdom among the Christian missionaries that restricted children from other religious sects from attending their schools. This was also the case with Kibuli Primary School; a Muslim founded primary school as illustrated in Table 5.2 below:

Table: 5.2: Enrollment in Kibuli Moslem Primary School before and after the passing of the Education Act of 1963

1961		1962		1963		1964		1965	
Muslims	Others	Muslims	Others	Muslims	Others	Muslims	Others	Muslims	Others
150	-	322	-	250	1	400	-	300	60

Source: Admission Registers of Kibuli Muslim Primary School, 1961-1965.

Table 5.2 shows that in 1961 and 1962 there was no non-Muslim attending Kibuli Primary School. The situation changed with the passing of the Education Act that secularized education in Uganda. This was true of Kimaanya and Kibuli Primary Schools. In 1963, Kimaanya admitted 12 pupils of other religious sects and in 1964 the numbers increased to 100. With regard to Kibuli in 1963, only 1 pupil was admitted compared with 250 of the Muslim. Ironically, in 1964, no single admission for pupils of other sects was made; though in 1965, 30 admissions were made.

In specific analysis of the girl child education, the admission lists at Kibuli Muslim Primary school for three subsequent years after the passing of the Act revealed that there was no serious

improvement because the number of girls still constituted a small percentage compared to boys as Table 5.3 demonstrates

Table 5.3: Access to Education by Gender at Kibuli Muslim Primary School

1961		1962		1963		1964		1965	
Females	Males	Females	Male	Females	Males	Females	Males	Female	Males
50	100	22	300	70	1 80	100	300	50	250

Source: Kibuli Muslim Primary School Admission Registers 1961-1965

Table 5.3 shows that in 1961 the female enrolment in Kibuli stood at 50 whilst that of males stood at 100. Overall there were fewer girls compared to males from 1961-1965. There are many factors that explain the scenario as shall be explained later in this chapter.

With regard to establishment of Junior Secondary schools for girls, the Committee hoped that this initiative would provide an incentive for girls to enroll in big numbers after primary school. This recommendation seems to have been made basing on the background that most girls would drop out of school in colonial times due to long distance they had to trek to and from school. The long distance from school aroused fear among parents for the safety of their daughters from unscrupulous men who would rape the girls. Hence many parents decided to withdraw their daughters from school as clearly discussed in the previous chapters. Henceforth the establishment of boarding facilities, it was hoped would minimize this risk. The committee realized the fact that girls' education was impinged by the high cost of financing it which was affecting parents' choices to take their children to school. Henceforth it recommended lower fees for girls at primary level as an incentive for attracting them to school. To compensate for the

lower fees income from girls schools, it was proposed that the boarding subsidy for girls in Junior secondary should be 8 pounds per head, 3 pounds more than the corresponding subsidy for boys.

In trying to improve the education system, the Obote 1 government tabled an Education Amendment Bill to Parliament and subsequently passed it into an Act of parliament—the 1964 Education Act⁴— thus giving government effective powers to take over control of education.

After passing the Act, many new primary schools were built all over the country. The existing secondary schools were enlarged to enroll many students and many new secondary schools were built. The nature of education expansion from 1962-1970 was that in 1962 there were 28 government aided secondary schools. By 1970, there were 73 secondary schools⁵. The student enrollment also increased considerably. Their number rose from 6,457 in 1960 to 40, 662 in 1970, a growth of about 529.7 percent for the whole period. This increment also affected girls. It should be noted that most of the pupils were boys whose enrollment was about four times that of girls⁶.

In fact Masaka SS experienced unprecedented enrollment during this period. However, the number of boys far outstripped that of girls, meaning that despite measures to promote access to education for all, girls' education still lagged behind⁷. It is also true that Nabisunsa girls' secondary school was expanded during this period and did receive generous grants from government. The same is true of Mityana as well as Kibuli Secondary Schools.

Surprisingly, even when the post-colonial government opened up all schools to people of all religious denominations, many parents largely encouraged only their sons to study beyond the

primary level, at the expense of their daughters. The reason that influenced such decisions shall be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

Another view which shows that the post-colonial government was bent towards reducing gender imbalance in education was evidenced from the second Five Year Development Plan. It clearly stated that;

Although the plan has paid special attention to providing for man power needs

...the plan provides for a substantial expansion in preparation for the introduction of UPE during the 1970s⁸.

From this statement, therefore, it can be argued that there was government policy towards providing equal education opportunity at least at primary level, much as this plan was never implemented due to several problems.

Furthermore, the Third Five Year Development Plan (1972-1976) was more concerned about primary education which at that time was only 50% of the age group. It proposed a more vigorous policy to overcome this deficiency by making primary education available to a rapidly increasing proportion of the age group. Secondary education was to be to man power needs until the target of UPE had been reached⁹.

Just like the second Five Year Development Plan, the Third Five year Development Plan was not implemented because the then president Idi Amin focused so much on the economic war. This led to many sectors of the country declining including education because of the forced departure of Asians and other foreigners from Uganda's economy.

The period between 1970-1980 witnessed many educational programmes which were going on in the 1960s collapse. Some of the education projects were being supported by the United States of America and Britain. These countries lost faith in the military regime of President Idi Amin.

The International Development Agency Project for improving teaching in all spheres that had reached stage three by 1971, for example, stalled for some time¹⁰.

In July 1977, the government appointed a commission to review existing policies since the establishment of the Castle Commission of 1963. The new Commission confirmed the proposal of the third Five Year development Plan (1972-76) to introduce UPE by 2000. To achieve UPE, the following were to be implemented:

- Intake into PI was to increase
- Free UPE for children in age group 6-10 years was to be achieved by 1990
- By 1990, after largely achieving free UPE for classes PI- P5, there would be an expansion of upper primary level to attain universal enrollment in classes up to P 7.

The 1978 Report of Education Policy Review Commission also recommended women education as a crucial issue. It was stated that,

...The mother is the first educator of the child, her values, knowledge and skills have a profound influence on the character and development of the child and the education of women have a crucial role in the development of the nation.¹¹

The action plan of 1977/1978 was a crash project to bridge the big gap created by the forced departure of Asians and other expatriates under the Amin regime and therefore not concerned with eradicating gender inequalities.¹²Owing to the “Liberation War” between Uganda and Tanzania, the report of the Commission was never considered by government, and was not published for wider circulation.

General Idi Amin presided over the economic meltdown of Uganda which subsequently led to total collapse of almost all sectors of the economy. However the 1970s witnessed an upsurge in Muslim education. The Amin regime offered very many employment opportunities to Muslims in government Parastatals. Many of those jobs required specialised skills acquired through education, which many Muslims lacked. Hence many Muslims concentrated on giving their sons and daughters an education system that would later see them take such jobs. Ssekamwa noted that there was an exceptional enthusiasm for Muslim parents to send their daughters to school¹³. However many of them still neglected girls’ education and nothing can testify to this than a case of Hajj Dungu, a prominent business man in Masaka, who acquired most of his wealth during Idi Amin’s regime. He used his wealth to educate all his children save for his daughters, alleging that they were only fit for marriage¹⁴.

During Amin’s regime the Uganda Muslim Supreme Council was formed and helped Muslims have a voice within government and abroad. This enabled Muslims to get scholarships to go abroad. This, however, benefited only men because they were the ones being sent abroad to study¹⁵. During his regime, efforts were made to establish Kampala High School and Kololo High School which were added to Kibuli SS and Nabisunsa Girls SS as government aided schools in Kampala district. These added to the general enrollment of Muslim girls and women in secondary schools¹⁶.

However the 1980s saw large expansion in schools, teacher training colleges and higher education institutions but without proper planning.

The year 1986 saw the fall of Tito Okello government and ushered in the government of National Resistance Movement. In 1987, The Uganda National Education Policy Review Commission headed by Prof. Ssentenza Kajjubi was set up to review the whole education system of Uganda. The EPRC commission was also supposed to make recommendations on new trends in the education system. The Committee did carry out its mandate and by 1989 it had given its recommendations to government. The committee, among others, recommended that government introduces universal primary admission and enrollment by the year 2000¹⁷.

In response to the Commission (EPRC) report, government appointed a White Paper Committee. The White Paper commission observed low levels of enrollment, persistence and performance. It recommended compulsory Universal Primary education. It also recommended mounting a campaign for the retention of enrolled primary school pupils, a double shift system, automatic promotion, a review of the primary school curriculum and improved teacher remunerations. The White Paper contended that government would allow 10% and 20% free education in secondary schools for boys and girls respectively who had genuine and convincing problems in payment of school fees and 25% of girls in P.5-P7 classes would be allowed free education. The white paper recommended exempting 10% to 20% of girls at secondary level from payment of school fees¹⁸.

Ultimately, government implemented the UPE programme. Its objective was to reduce the high cost of education by making primary education compulsory and free. In the UPE programme, government was supposed to meet teacher's salaries, tuition fees for a maximum of four children per family, instructional materials and physical materials.¹⁹ The implementation of UPE

significantly increased enrollment in primary education for both boys and girls. For instance, in Buganda before the introduction of UPE there were less than 500,000 primary going children but the introduction of the programme led the numbers to surge to over a million pupils²⁰. However, despite the gender equality provision research findings showed that the majority of parents preferred to register boys first then girls for UPE²¹. This means that even with UPE, girls' education still lagged behind that of the boys.

Meanwhile in 1990 at Makerere University, in a bid to stimulate and motivate girls to enroll for studies, the university endorsed the recommendation of senate, that sex weighing of female candidates be 1.5 points against none for males as a means of uplifting women's education status²². Subsequently, in 1992, the government approved the recommendation and this increased the number of girls joining higher institutions of learning. This further stimulated girls' education at the lower levels of education. Subsequent to the adoption of this recommendation, Makerere experienced unprecedented female enrolments from 19% in 1987 38% in 1997 as a result of the introduction of 1.5 bonus entry points for first year qualifying female students²³. Indeed in recent graduations, women's numbers have increased tremendously. This suggests that the number of girls' at both primary and secondary increased as well.

Government policy of liberalizing the economy could be looked at as another measure to increase girl child education. By 1986 Government largely owned all schools in the country. There were few private schools in Buganda. Government decision to allow private investors in the education sector led to massive increase in the number of schools in Uganda and Buganda in particular. Most of the schools were co-educational and non-denominational, implying that both boys and girls from different religious backgrounds were admitted. They included among others Kalinabiri SS, Entebbe Girls' school, Progressive SS and Uganda martyrs Katwe, Kampala

Parents Primary schools. The existence of such private schools inevitably increased the number of boys and girls at both primary and secondary levels of education.

The NRM government went ahead and instituted a whole Ministry for Women, Youth, Culture and Sports to mainly cater for and look into the problems of girls and women in particular. This was later changed to Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development headed by a woman. In addition, the Department of women studies was set up in 1991 at Makerere University to analyse gender relations and how they affect the social, economic and political change. All this points to the fact that government tried to be gender sensitive especially towards education.

The appointment of women in key positions indirectly influenced girls' education. Government realized that women had been marginalized politically and economically. Thus in the policy of decentralisation, government reserved 30% of seats for women. These were to be contested by only women yet they were left with the discretion to compete for the remaining positions. This served to stimulate political participation as such women politicians would influence policies that concerned women. Such women were to act as role models to the younger girls. With the availability of such jobs parents saw the importance of education to the girl child. Among such employed women included Geraldine Namirembe Bitamazire, a graduate of Trinity College Nabbingo, the first Ugandan woman minister. She was later appointed minister of Education in 1999. Dr Specioza W. Kazibwe a graduate of St Mary's College Namagunga was appointed the vice president of Uganda. Many more school educated young women and middle aged women were found in very many jobs which required a woman to have attended school and acquired specialised skills²⁴.

The government liberalization policy further allowed the proliferation of several women non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in Uganda. These NGOs have been at the forefront of championing the case for women education. For instance, the Forum for African Women Educationists (FAWE), The Funding Agency Group (FAG) which support girl child education. These have been very instrumental in championing the education of the girl child in Uganda. These reinforced government work. They extend scholarships to the needy girls in Uganda and Buganda in particular. ACFODE runs a bursary scheme for needy girls attending primary schools in Kampala²⁵. World Vision Uganda has also been at the forefront of supporting girls' education. In Masaka, World Vision supports well over 1000 girls in primary and secondary schools.²⁶

In 1993, Government embarked on the process of decentralization for efficient and effective service delivery. Government realized that women had been marginalized politically and economically. Thus in the policy of decentralization, government reserved 30% of seats for women who were to be elected through electoral colleges. These were to be contested by women alone yet they were left with discretion to contest for other remaining positions. This was done to stimulate political participation of women. Government wanted women to influence policy making and implementation within their areas. There was a marked increase in the number of women participation in village, parish, Sub County, district and national politics. Much as this policy aroused interest among women to train in education and join politics but men still dominated local and national leadership position and the old stereotype of women being good as house wives still dominated in that whenever women took the initiative to engage in politics. On political pulpits women were likely to find themselves being questioned about issues to do with

their marriage history rather than how they were going to deliver on the issues they were articulating. In fact in most villages, a woman to stand for elective position one had to prove beyond reasonable doubt that one was married lest one lost the vote; and one must prove that she was a disciplined women²⁷.

Because of this rigorous scrutiny of the private life of women who offered themselves for leadership positions, some opted not to stand for positions of influence, leaving them for men who in most cases were not subjected to the fate in question. When these positions of influence were filled by men, the implications were that men assumed the responsibilities of making policies for women, even though they may not have been in position to articulate and design policies that addressed women specific problems. Hence, most of the policies designed for women may not have been effective. In context, ever since decentralization was formulated and a new constitution promulgated, men dominated national and local politics. However this policy positively influenced girl child education as parents' attitudes towards employment prospects changed over time.

Government, on realizing the importance of cultural institutions in creating awareness among their subjects, restored them in different parts of Uganda. The Buganda Monarchy was restored in 1993. Initially all traditional institutions were abolished by the Obote regime after the show down between the state and Kabaka Muteesa II in 1966. It should be noted that prior to the abolition of the monarch, Buganda Kingdom used to run an education fund that catered for the academically able but poor children including boys and girls. On restoration of the kingdom, the Kabaka's Government revived the Kabaka Education Fund. This fund has benefited many children including girls.

Government further more entrenched the Constitution provisions that emphasized education as a basic fundamental right. This was on top of ratifying let alone domesticating international human rights instruments such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discriminations against Women, The Convention on the Rights of the Child, African Charter on Peoples and Individual Rights, The Beijing Declaration, all of which called for education for all regardless of sex and gender. All these bold steps led to massive increase in the number of girls enrolling for education in Buganda. By 1994, the number of girls enrolling for secondary education in government aided schools in Buganda had increased albeit smaller compared to that of boys. Table 5.1 summarizes the enrollment in Government school by gender and class in selected districts of Buganda

Table 5.4: Enrolment in Government aided secondary schools by class and gender in selected districts in Buganda

District	SI		SII		SIII		SIV		SV		SVI	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Kampala	1174	1449	1204	1459	1170	1343	969	1244	786	436	402	741
Masaka	689	896	544	822	437	686	399	364	75	937	58	242
Mpigi	1405	912	1247	790	1157	690	914	570	397	228	344	226
Mukono	1521	1680	1380	1586	1258	1416	796	1056	295	412	240	362

Source: Educational Statistical Abstract, 1994²⁸.

Table 5.4 shows that there was significant increase in the number of girls in government aided secondary schools in Kampala, Masaka, Mpigi as well as Mukono districts in 1994. This could be attributed to the overall policy reforms adopted by government. However, in spite of the

increase in the enrollment of girls in secondary schools, boys' enrollment remained higher than that of girls. The table further indicates that there was a progressive decline in the number of students as they progressed from one class to another across the genders but it should be emphasized that girls' drop-out rates far exceeded those of boys. This could be interpreted to partly mean that girls were constrained by the ingrained cultural beliefs that saw girls as only good for marriage, which in effect impinged on their education and other factors as shall be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

At primary level, by 1994, the number of boys was largely higher than that of girls in terms of access and retention rates. Table 5.2 presents a summary of pupils that completed P.7 in selected districts of Buganda by 1994.

Table 5.5²⁹: Distribution of Primary School Completion Rates in selected schools in Buganda

District	F	M
Kampala	3,468	3,212
Masaka	3,597	3,218
Mpigi	483	1387
Mukono	4899	3093

Source: Ministry of Education, Educational Statistical Abstract, 1994.

Table 5.5 shows that at primary level girls' completion rate was slightly higher than that of their counterparts the boys. It also shows that in Kampala, Masaka and Mukono districts girls, completion rates were still higher than those of boys. This suggests that at primary level the girls

are still young to be married off. It also suggests that the districts of Kampala, Mukono and Masaka have relatively middle class parents who could at least afford to pay fees for their children. It further suggests that these districts being highly urban compared to Mpigi were not constrained by cultural forces when making decisions to send their daughters to school. Nonetheless, Mpigi district had the least numbers of completion rates for girls compared to boys. This suggests that parents were constrained to send their daughters to schools or they were forced to drop out due to their strong bond with cultural practices like Marriage. Besides, Mpigi district being predominantly occupied mainly by Muslims may have suffered the historical misfortune that befell the Muslims who largely deprived their daughters secular education for reasons earlier stated in the previous chapters. Hence, their reservation about girl child education led the neglect of girl child education as reflected in the low enrollment rates in Table 5.2.

5.4 Challenges faced in addressing girl child Education in the period 1962-1997:

Despite several policy initiatives that were adopted for equitable access to education across the gender as is clear from the above, notably by the post independent governments i.e. the UPE program, proliferation of schools, girls' enrollment in Buganda remained embarrassingly low. Girls' enrollment rates decline as education levels increase. They do account for 47% at primary school enrollment; 39% at secondary school level and 25% in tertiary institutions³⁰. Several reasons were advanced to account for this unfortunate situation.

Parents' Attitude towards education of their daughters highly hindered the education of the girl child in Buganda during the post-colonial period. Some parents had negative attitude towards education and therefore, were reluctant to send their children to school. Where this existed, girls were affected more. During registration of children for UPE, parents often preferred to first register all the boys in a family then later they considered the girl. This was explained by parents' perceived returns from educating boys to be higher than those from investing in girls' education. In a study carried out by National Council for Children (1994) in Central region, it was found that conservatives held the traditional view that educating a girl would only benefit her future husband's kinship group, not her own³¹. Studies carried out in 1997 in Kampala and Mpigi by ACFODE noted that the attitudes of some parents towards education remained negative, with little or no value being placed on the formal education of girls. The traditional perception of women's roles as being essentially domestic and hence requiring little or no education was yet another barrier to their education. This attitude was reinforced by the belief that girls were likely to become pregnant while still in school/. Some parents did express the opinion that girls were likely to become pregnant or get married before completion of their schooling and were not worth such an expensive investment. Hence many parents argued that there was no reason for educating girls who would end up in the kitchen at the end of the day.

The emphasis laid on marriage also affected the education of the girl child. In Buganda, marriage was a very important cultural aspect which the Baganda highly respected. Any woman who failed to get married was looked at as a social misfit. (See chapter two and three.) Women were primarily associated with and viewed in terms of, their reproductive roles. Moreover, girls were seen as a source of bride wealth to the family and to the clan as a whole, and as a consequence,

girls were married off early. Hence many girls were withdrawn from school to fulfill their marriage customs. The Baganda described marriage as one of the most important social institutions. Boys and girls grew up knowing that marriage was an ultimate duty, particularly for girls. Any one not married was despised by society which influenced girls' schooling. This attitude led to early marriages which resulted into school dropouts at puberty³². One key informant interviewed at Kyazanga Town Center in Masaka said that she had to be withdrawn from school by her parents to get married as a third wife to a prominent businessman in the trading center, despite the fact she held reservations about her imminent marriage³³. Similarly the girls that had dropped out of school in Rakai as a result of bullying and insults were forced into marriage in spite of the fact that they were hardly 14 years of age³⁴. This was not out of their choice but the choice of their parents, who wanted to get money that would help them meet some medical bills for HIV/AIDS³⁵. Mutyaba noted that most girls if they had a choice they would continue with their studies if only parents were not to force them into early marriages. He stresses that most girls drew inspiration from women like Wandira Kazibwe (former vice president of Uganda). They said that they would like also to earn money and run their families³⁶.

Teenage pregnancy was another threat which parents were very worried of because it denied the girl a decent marriage. Among the Baganda pregnancy outside marriage was highly condemned (see chapter two.) Parents chose to guard their daughters' chastity by either not enrolling or removing them from school at the onset of puberty. This was because men would refuse to marry girls who had lost their virginity no matter the circumstances³⁷. In the World Bank report of 1990, it was noted that risk was attached to keeping girls at school once they reached puberty as reputation was crucial for marriage prospects. Girls were subjected to gossip and comments

especially if they were taught by male teachers³⁸. In a group discussion carried out by Tumushabe, pregnancy was highlighted as the main cause of dropout rates. In the schools studied in central Uganda students were aware of their classmates that had dropped out of school as result of pregnancy. In Masaka and Mubende, teachers reported that many girls got pregnant between 13-15 years. And the people responsible for these pregnancies were unscrupulous men, teachers or fellow students who enticed these girls with gifts on their way to school³⁹. The fear of teenage pregnancy was a strong traditional attitude that forced parents to withdraw their daughters from school if they got an impression that the girls were vulnerable to abuse or any other thing that parents did not perceive as appropriate.

The need for domestic labour was another challenge to girl child education. In Uganda and Buganda in particular children were needed to perform economically important tasks that supported the survival of their families. Many households depended considerably on the labour of their daughters than sons. With the conventional division of labour, girls were expected to perform house hold chores and to look after young siblings more often than boys. It was hard for parents to encourage their daughters to attend school in lieu of household chores⁴⁰. Studies carried out in Masaka, Mubende, Mukono, Mpigi and Kampala found out that girls were required to do heavy work like cooking, washing dishes and cloths, caring for the siblings, fetching water and fire wood as well as looking after their mothers during post natal period whereas their counterparts did little work or nothing at all. This was said to have a negative impact on girls' performance in school which in turn resulted into repeating of classes something many girls would not do but rather drop out. On the other hand, boys were more likely to have time for their private studies and home work after school⁴¹. The need for domestic labour was

emphasized when a Makerere under graduate from Mubende pointed out that his father would bluntly tell his sister to assist their mother on the farm until he found money to pay her fees. In the meantime her brothers were attending school regularly. The sister always reported to school weeks later. The student stated that it was no surprise that while all boys in their family attained a minimum of O-level education, their sister dropped out of school at primary six⁴². This showed that the opportunity cost of sending girls to school was higher than that of their counterparts the boys. Thus a very big constraint to girl child education in Buganda in the period 1962-1997.

Labour market opportunities also affected the enrollment, persistence and dropout rates of the girl child in education. Many parents believed that the main aim of education was the potential of someone who had attained a high level of education to get employment very easily and earn a living. This was true of the period after independence as noted earlier in this chapter and during Amin's regime when there was an upsurge in the education of Muslims in the whole country. This implies that where the expected benefits of education were higher than the costs of investment then parents were motivated and made sacrifices that kept their children in school. However after the 1980s, employment prospects declined. Parents tended to be disillusioned with schooling and they either withdrew or didn't enroll their children in school⁴³. Mary Louise further emphasized that the fact that there were fewer employment opportunities for women also discouraged them from following courses in higher education⁴⁴. During the research many respondents noted that education was not very important in situations that there were no jobs. They went further and said that lack of employment opportunities impinged more on the enrollment of the girl child in education than the boy child. Employment prospects affect girls

more than boys because the boys have more job prospects. Hence this also explained why girls lagged behind in education compared to boys.

Patriarchy/ Social strata was another cultural oriented factors that impinged on the enrollment of the girl child in education in Buganda. As earlier noted in chapter two and three the Baganda traditions accorded women a subordinate position in the social ladder. Patriarchy explains that men should be on top of everything, be it political, educational and women should follow⁴⁵. This had an underlying effect on the value placed on women's education in Buganda as many parents preferred taking boys to school. No wonder in most circumstances women were expected to kneel before men when greeting them. The societal expectations of women in terms of cultural norms, beliefs and practices greatly influenced children's enrollment, persistence and performance in school. Society's expectations and behavioural roles of men and women led to gender stereo types and these were extended from home to schools. At school girls were channeled into certain subjects like domestic science while boys went in for subjects like physics, mathematics among others⁴⁶. For a long time many parents did not think that girls were intelligent like boys. Such stereo types in one way or another influenced students' decisions to withdraw from school.

Teachers' attitudes towards girls also influenced their education. This was true with the study carried out by Tumushabe in Buganda on teacher observation towards gender differences at school. He observed that when pupils were asked to whom teachers gave more attention in class, a great percentage of respondents said that teachers gave more attention to the boys because they

expected them to perform better than girls. Hence, a lot of attention was paid to them; they were often picked by their teachers when they raised their hands in class. Indeed as reported already by Kwesiga this was a similar thing happening at Buddo when the missionaries decided to introduce the policy of co-education. The teachers favored boys against girls! Indeed teachers at Buddo expected boys to perform better than girls, which always came to pass. Because of the poor performance of girls relative to boys the headmaster had decided to reduce on the number of girls being admitted. This rhymes well with the expectancy theory of education, which postulates that if a teacher expects a learner to perform well, such a student does indeed perform well. The theory states the good performance is not borne out of the intelligence of the student in question but the attitude of the teacher towards the student in question⁴⁷.

Thus it was not surprising that girls usually performed poorly because the attitudes of teachers towards them were often negative as also reflected in the findings of Tumushabe that teachers believed that boys were more intelligent than girls. Tumushabe further contended that when he asked teachers about the abilities of boys and girls in sciences and Arts, most teachers held the view that girls were good in Arts and that boys were good in sciences but overall boys would perform better than girls in both sciences and Arts⁴⁸.

Parents' educational level especially the mother's influenced the education of their daughters. Parents who had a lower or no education at all were ignorant of the benefit of education. A mother's ability to pay fees and to provide encouragement to her children to continue attending school was an important factor in explaining enrollment and persistence. Children from highly educated families were more likely to receive education simply because they favorably competed

for good places at good secondary schools. They were better informed about the general operations of the selective school system which in turn influenced their performance. This was not true of the mothers that participated in this study. Most of who were uneducated housewives who never saw the future for their daughters beyond marriage. The fact that they never went to school was enough for them not to recognize the benefits of education for their daughters⁴⁹. Some parents did not encourage their daughters to study and this affected girls' education in Uganda in general and Buganda in particular.

Girls' education was also constrained by inadequate facilities which brought about an unfriendly atmosphere. Poor sanitation discouraged girls from regular attendance due to their physiological demands. It was particularly discovered that most of the rural schools lacked separate toilet facilities for boys and girls. This meant all pupils regardless of their gender were constrained to share toilet facilities. Most girls from various schools in Buganda that were interviewed confirmed that they felt shy to share same latrines with the boys. They further stated that toilets without doors, lack of sanitary facilities to take care of girls' special hygiene needs made schools unwelcoming institutions. All these factors led to absenteeism which later contributed to poor performance and eventually dropout of school. In most schools in Luwero, it was found out that there was a pervasive lack of basic facilities in the ten schools visited. 92% of the schools had six latrine posts or less and 65% had no latrine posts exclusively for girls⁵⁰. In addition to infrastructure, many schools that were visited during the study lacked enough instructional materials and qualified teachers to counsel and advise pupils who experienced their first menstrual periods. Indeed one pupil confirmed that one time a pupil's dress was stained during class time and she was subjected to great embarrassment from her classmates⁵¹. That pupil did

not attend school for the next week and even when she reported back she was subjected to backbiting from her classmates. Such circumstances lead to absenteeism which led to poor performance and dropout of school by the girl child.

Another notable factor that discouraged girls' education in Buganda and Uganda in general was the lack of role models that these girls looked up to. Yet, according to Kwesiga⁵², it was noted that the issue of providing role models had been noted to be a positive factor in helping girls stay in school and re-assuring parents about the safety of their children. According to the study carried out by Kwesiga, she noted that many science teachers were males—a negative influence for girls. Kwesiga further discovered that in the 1990's males dominated females in teaching positions in secondary education strata. The findings were summarized in Table 5.1 below:

Table 5.1: Secondary School Teachers in Uganda Government Aided Schools

District	Males	Females
Mubende	93	22
Mukono	218	30
Kalangala	24	1
Rakai	273	34
Masaka	100	9
Mpigi	132	36
Luwero	12	7
Kampala	250	180

Source: Kwesiga, 2002 p, 241

Table 5.1 shows that males dominated women in the teaching profession across the districts of Masaka, Rakai, Kalangala, Mukono, Mubende, Mpigi, Luwero, Mukono as well as Mubende. Besides, Kwesiga noted that at all levels male teachers also dominated as head of subject departments. That men also acted as patrons of school clubs, such as drama, science and wildlife, debating, career and guidance; coordination of time tables or examination and class teachers⁵³. These findings rhyme well with the field data obtained from the schools that participated in the study. It was discovered that at Namagunga, Gayaza, and St Mary's Nabbingo primary schools, among other schools, male teachers dominated their female counterparts in all critical academic positions. The lack of role models acted as a barrier to girl's education as parents were not assured of the safety of their girls in the hands of male teachers. However attempts were made to address the problem of lack of role models in the 1990s.

Poverty also hindered the development of girl child education Buganda. Poverty was defined as the lack of basic necessities of life i.e. food, clothing, adequate housing and illiteracy. In Buganda, there were over 40% of households that were below the poverty line i.e. those who lived on less than one dollar a day⁵⁴. Majority of the people engaged in agriculture at a subsistence level, meaning that the produce derived from the same are meant for home consumption; the balance of which was sold normally at a price that would only enable anyone to get basic goods and services like salt, paraffin, among others. With such meager earnings it was highly unlikely that such households could meet the school fees for their children let alone costs like stationary, books, etc. When Government launched the UPE program in 1997, parents were expected to meet other costs, which included among others, stationary and books. These required minimum expenses compared to raising school fees but they were a heavy burden on

many peasant households, especially in the country side, where poverty was more pronounced than it was the case in urban areas. This was because many of the people lived in rural areas which relied mostly on subsistence farming yet it was a known fact that agriculture more often than not suffered from the vagaries weather as well as the negative effects of market forces, which led to the fluctuation of agricultural prices. Indeed most of the pupils that participated in the study had left school due to financial constraints of meeting other school materials other than school fees.

When asked about the problems that rural farmers in Buganda face with regard to market access, most of them decried the low prices that businessmen from urban areas paid for their produce. In fact, some had decided to disengage from the business altogether rather than risk being exploited. Some farmers in Mukono decried the fact that Government encouraged them to grow vanilla as there was ready market, but after heeding government's advice, the prices of vanilla collapsed, notwithstanding the fact that most of them eliminated their banana plantations in anticipation of the vanilla windfall which never was⁵⁵.

The above highlighted the artificial poverty that farmers had no control over. In circumstances of financial strain parents were forced to make choices with respect to whether a girl or boy is sent to school. Indeed some parents that participated in the study were asked to specify whether or not they would prefer to send a girl or a boy during the time of financial strain, and most said that they would prefer their sons to daughters. This was in agreement with Tumushabe⁵⁶ who noted that in times of economic hardship parents tended to prefer educating boys rather than girls. This could not be interpreted as mere discriminatory practice by parents against their daughters but a situation where they had no alternative but to make choices as to whether they educate their sons or daughters. This was indeed a common practice in developing countries as discovered by Anne

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Hill and Elizabeth King: They also observed that in developing countries parents' actions could not be taken by themselves as discriminatory but could be a rational response to constraints imposed by poverty and expected returns determined by the labour market conditions and traditions⁵⁷.

The proximity to the school also hindered girls' enrollment in the education system. There were fewer schools in the entire region; by the time of independence schools were few and scattered. Even when the post independent governments tried to set up more schools, they still remained few. It was found out that the further the school from home, the less the possibility of students' attendance. Although distance from school affected both girls and boys, the effects were more severe on girls. It was found out that parents were often reluctant to let their daughters attend schools that were far away from home. This was partly due to the parental concern for their girls' safety on the way to school and fear of sexual harassment⁵⁸. For instance, it was observed that in Mityana pupils trekked over 4km to attend the nearest primary school⁵⁹. Indeed some students that participated in the study said that unscrupulous men and fellow students often harassed girls on the way from school.

HIV AIDS was yet another challenge to the education of the girl child in Buganda in the post independence period in Uganda and Buganda in particular. Uganda had one of the highest cases of HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa, occupying the third highest position in the cumulative number of reported AIDS cases in Africa. The first case was reported in Rakai in the late 1980s; during that period many people lost their lives. One of its lasting impacts was increase in orphan

hood as well as unprecedented increase in child headed families. To girls in particular, AIDS increased early marriages as a result of pressure from guardians who were reluctant to take on further responsibilities, let alone the fear that the girls would contract HIV/AIDS through promiscuity.

It also affected girls' performance at school more than boys through increasing absenteeism. In Rakai district, orphans in school indicated that they had to work on the farms to raise money to buy food to eat and pay school fees. In the same district there was an increase in the dropout rate, absenteeism and decline in enrollment. Some girls reported that they were withdrawn from school by their parents to look after them after developing full blown HIV/AIDS while the boys were allowed to continue with the school despite the fact that boys were in position to look after their ailing parents as well. This shows that somehow girls' education was not equally valued compared to boys' education. In fact some girls reported that after being withdrawn from school, they looked after their parents until they recovered. That some in the event lost interest in studies because on returning to school they were unable to catch up with the rest which often ended up in repeating classes, something many of these girls did not want. Some girls reported that if they repeated classes their new classmates subjected them to a lot of bullying and lots of insults hence they were forced to withdraw

Conclusion

It is clear that almost all post colonial governments were aware of the pressing issue of the education of the citizens of the country. It was conceived that without educating the masses, Uganda would not develop as fast as they would have liked it. Henceforth, these governments, especially Obotes', embarked on a massive investment in the education sector. Nevertheless, the

effects were not very much realized during the first two post colonial governments towards improving the education of girls. These governments' policies were never implemented because of the political uncertainty they faced. Nevertheless, the NRM government tried to plug the loopholes in women education through a series of policies and laws. Girls' education greatly increased over the years at the different education levels, at primary level girls' enrollment rates are high and reduce as education levels increase. At University level in some courses girls are more than boys. On average boys' enrollment rates are higher than their counterparts. This was mainly due to inherent cultural beliefs held by parents and the society in general about the status of women in Buganda, among other causes as analyzed above.

END NOTES

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6.1 CONCLUSION:

This study concludes that throughout the history of education in Buganda, boys have been favored as far as access to education is concerned. This has been driven largely, though not exclusively, by cultural practices that seem to favour boys at the expense of girls. Culturally in Buganda boys were/are expected to inherit from their fathers while girls are expected to get married. The combination of these factors lead to attitudes held by parents that boys' education is more important than girl education. Since educating a girl is perceived as wasting the family's resources because it is culturally believed that a girls' labor is meant to benefit the family into which she marries. An objective look at the findings reveal that most parents would prefer to educate their children regardless of sex but due to financial difficulties, they are forced to make the unenviable choice in favour of boys education.

These beliefs for and against boys and girls education are informed by the cultural practices. Traditionally, marriage was a cherished process and every girl that had come of age had to get married. The same principle applied to boys but it was the girls that married earlier than boys. Hence, it was little wonder that during colonial and missionary day parents could force their daughters out of school for marriage, arguing that there was no point for them to continue with school since after all they are meant to get married. In colonial times, marriage came with bride price which would be used to finance the education of boys; bride price had lost its original cultural meaning, of appreciating the parents for the proper upbringing of the girl.

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there were minimal efforts by the colonial government along with missionaries to correct the wrongs of the traditional education in Buganda. The establishment of schools by the missionaries to mould girls into housewives is a real testament of the schemes of the missionaries and the British Colonial masters to keep girls in subservient positions, while elevating boys.

Fortunately, the independence government was alerted to this problem and devised a series of measures to uplift the education of the girl child in Buganda and Uganda in general as is clearly discussed in the previous chapters. Perhaps post colonial governments tried in particular to make deliberate efforts to address the problem of gender imbalance in education and in other sectors as the National Resistance Movement government has done. The NRM government has been in position to endorse various international instruments supporting the cause of women education, notably the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women, Girl education Movement, Education for All Declaration, among others.

The study concluded that religious beliefs were key in determining who went to school and where. Admissions were usually based on religious denominations. This meant that children had to attend only schools of their faith. For instance, Catholics had to attend only catholic founded schools, while Protestants had, as well, to attend only protestant schools. In this regard, Muslims as well as traditionalists were disadvantaged, since there were very few schools for them. It is concluded that Islam impeded the education of girls that were hailing from Islamic households. Firstly, the earliest Muslims to arrive in Buganda did not start any educational institutions modeled on the western style school based education system. Instead they chose to engage in trade and where attempts were made to start schools; they did establish Koranic schools, mainly to teach Islam and Arabic. The colonial government failed to address itself to the plight of Muslim girls as it failed to establish Muslim founded schools.

In colonial times missionaries were the formidable force to have attempted to improve access to education for girls albeit with partial success. The colonial government did not finance education policies until 1925, they merely supported missionary efforts. However, in 1950's the colonial government did start Makerere College, on assumption that it would cater for students that were not accommodated by mission schools, including girls. Thus it can be concluded that although colonial government attempted, as well, to improve girls' access to education in Buganda, their efforts did not yield so much fruits as the numbers of girls dropping out as well as missing out on education continued to surge through out Buganda.

The mantle to improve girls' education was passed on to the independence government, led by Appolo Milton Obote. Shortly after assuming power, the Obote government outlawed denominational education through the passing of 1963 Education Act. This was a step in the right direction, because it presented an opportunity for students/pupils who were hitherto denied entry into schools on the basis of their religious beliefs. The independence Government followed this Act with constructing various secondary schools across the country. However, much as these efforts are laudable, there was little done by this Government by way of launching programmes and policies specific to the improvement of girls' education not only in Buganda but across the country. At independence Uganda faced a problem of qualified personnel hence education strategies mainly centered at producing qualified people who would fill up the gaps of the departed whites. However, a close analysis of the regimes First and Second Five Years Development Plans reveal that the Development plan failed to incorporate girl education in particular. Meanwhile Amin's regime did not do a lot either. It is worthy mentioning that there were plans

If the independence and Amin governments failed to deliver on girls' education, the NRM government was quite determined to ensure that girls' education did improve. Indeed on assuming power, it instituted a Commission led by Prof. Senteza Kajubi to come up with recommendations on how to improve the education of girls. There were several recommendations that pointed to the improvement of girl education. One of the recommendations and perhaps the most important recommendations was the introduction of UPE. In fact the Government came true on this recommendation in 1997. The government did implement the UPE policy in 1997, and consequently there was a surge in number of pupils attending primary schools.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Question guide for focus Group Sessions with pupils.

1) What do you think are the causes of the following among boys and girls in your schools:

a) Irregular attendance.

b) Drop out.

c) Poor performance.

2) (For secondary schools) in what ways can girls be encouraged to take interest in science, mathematics and technology.

Do you have examples of girls who dropped out of school due to pregnancy or early marriage?

How can this be addressed?

4) Do boys and girls face safety and security problems (such as sexual harassment, corporal punishment) in this school?

5) How does the school authority handle these problems?

6) Are there facilities (for example separate latrines/ wash rooms) that are lacking in your school which might lead to some boys or girls dropping out of school? If so how can this be improved?

7) What specific programs does the school have to encourage girls to remain in school?

8) Suggest ways in which girls and boys would be able to enjoy the right to education equally.

Appendix II

Questionnaire for Teachers;

District:

Town:

Respondent's name:

Name of School:

Gender:

1) Are there any specific obstacles that girls in your school face which lead to their;

a) Poor performance.

b) Irregular attendance.

c) Drop out.

2) Girls usually perform poorer than boys in national examinations.

What do you think causes this? How can this be addressed?

3) What strategies does your school use to improve girls education?

4) Suggest ways in which the school learning environment can be improved to encourage girls' education.

Appendix III

Data required from the school management

Name of school:

District:

Respondent's name:

Gender: male

Female

Title:

Type of school: Mixed

Girl's school

What is the name of the school?

In which year was it opened?

On what religious foundation was it laid?

How many children did it start with?

Has the number of girls increased overtime?

What would you attribute this increment to?

How do community issues like (culture and tradition) impinge on the school?

Is it true that parents feared to enroll girls in your school because it has a different religious background from theirs?

If yes why?

Appendix IV

House Hold Interview Questionnaire For Key Informants

Section A: Personal Background

Village:

District:

Respondent's name:

Occupation/Title:

Sex/Gender: male

Female

How many children were born in this family?

How many were boys..... Girls.....?

How many girls completed primary school?

What caused others to drop out? (If any)

How many girls completed Secondary school?

Why did others drop out? (If any)

Was it worthy educating the girl child in the 1970s-1990s? Why?

In which type of school do you prefer your children to join? (Catholic, protestant or Muslim).Why?

Why do you think some parents preferred to educate their sons other than their daughters from the mid 1960s- 1990s?

What strategies were put to improve girl child education in Uganda?

Do you have any other general comment on the issue of girl child education?

Appendix V
List of Informants

Names	Occupation	Location	Date
Aida Nagita	Retired Primary Teacher	Ngogwe	19/07/2009
Ali Mugaga	Head Teacher	Gombe SS	6/7/2008
Aloysius Nabukeera	Former Head Teacher	Kimanya primary School	20/06/2009
Shifa Nantege	Teacher Primary	Mityana Public School	30/11/2008
Ashifat Nakiguli	Business Woman	Kampala	20/8/2009
Babirye Mukasa	House Wife	Wakiso	19/8/2009
Bernleta Nanyonga	Peasant	Mpigi	6/3/2009
Betty Mwesigwa	Teacher	Trinity College Nabbingo	22/7/2009
Christina Kiganda	Education Consultant	Kampala	18/7/2009
Donozio Ntabazi	Farmer	Mpigi	13/3/2009
Elidad Kalori	Peasant	Masaka	27/08/2009
Emmanuel Ssempala	Teacher	Mityana SS	14/12/2008
Eric Kasanvu	Teacher	Katende Mpigi	12/3/2009
F. Nanfuka	Teacher	National Curriculum development Centre Kampala	10/6/2009
Florence Ebila	Lecturer	Women Studies Department MUK	16/7/2009
Fred Mukasa	Teacher	Kalisiizo Primary School	30/2/2009
Hanna Kakembo	Teacher	Kampala	18/5/2009
Harriet Namukasa	House wife	Kyazanga trading centre	24/9/2009
Hasifa Babirye	Former councilor	Kakindu Mityana	3/11/2008
Hon Namirembe Bitamazire	Minister of education and sports	Kampala	20/7/2009
Huzairu Kiruta	Chief Khadi	Masaka district	19/10/2009
Jackline Kiwanuka	Economist	Action Aid Kampala	24/7/2009
Jinat Nakakande	Lawyer	FIDA Kampala	28/7/2009
James Ssemakula	Officer	Education Dept Mityana	10/12/2008
Jane Nakazzi	House wife	Katende Mpigi	16/3/2009
Joseph Mukasa	Peasant	Mutyana	9/12/2008
Joseph Sebulime	Founder Member Namugongo SS	Namugongo	4/6/2009
Joshua Ahumuza	Social Worker	St. Peter Child Development Centre Mukono	13/6/2008

Ruth Kavuma	Former Head Teacher Gayaza High School	Kampala	19/7/2009
S.D . Opio Okiror	Representative	Mukono District Education Officer	13/6/2008
Saidi Twine	Lecturer	Kampala International University	11/6/2009
Sarah Mayanja	Programs coordinator	US AID-Kampala	18/7/2009
Sarah Nanfuka	House wife	Kampala	25/6/2009
Scovia Zawedde	Peasant	Mityana	3/12/2008
Solome Nalumansi	Teacher Primary	Gayaza	26/6/2008
Sowedu Makumbi	Peasant	Mpigi Butambala	16/3/2009
Ssali J.C.	District Inspector of Schools	Mityana District	19/07/2009
Steven Ddungu	Area Development Program	Masaka district	19/10/2009
Sulaiman Wassajja	Community Development Officer	Goma Mukono District	20/6/2009
Suzan Basiima	Social Worker	Mukono Town Council	20/6/2009
Suzan Muwanga	Gender Directorate	Ministry of Gender Labour and Social Development	18/7/2009
Swabul Kyazike	Business Woman	Kyazanga trading centre	23/10/2009
Victoria Kisalare	Head Teacher	Gayaza High school	12/10/2008
Yosef Kulambiro	Peasant	Masaka Nakayiba	18/9/2009
Yoweri Ssewanyana	Former Head Teacher	Ngogwe Mukono	20/7/2009

