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Image and Reality: Career Goals of Educated Ugandan Women

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Image and Reality : Career Goals of Educated Ugandan Women †

DAVID R. EVANS *

Unless you call out, who will open the door ?

An African proverb

As in many other areas of life, the treatment of women in educational planning will not withstand scrutiny. Manpower plans rarely discuss women as a separate category of manpower. To be sure, occupations normally held by women are included in manpower studies and projections of future demands for skilled labour. However, seldom does one find a discussion of the implications of these figures separated from the general analysis of manpower needs. In fact, it is unusual if the survey of jobs and vacancies is disaggregated by sex at all. Even when females are counted separately it is difficult to extract any coherent picture of the preparation of women and the probable demand for their services. Discussions of the recommendations from manpower studies tacitly assume that women have the same work-related behavior patterns as men. Neither the special characteristics of the types of jobs held by the majority of working women, nor the effects of marriage and child-rearing are considered in the final reports. When women are mentioned, it is usually a few platitudes about the role of women in modernizing the culture and the influence of women on the early childhood environment of tomorrow's manpower.

The lack of concern with the planning of women's education on a manpower basis does not reconcile easily with the large and growing proportion of resources devoted to the education of women. Somewhere between 20% and 40% of the educational resources below the university level are used to educate girls.¹ Given

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* The research reported in this paper is part of a larger study carried out by the author and Gordon L. Schimmel. The study was financed primarily by USAID as part of a Technical Assistance contract for a comprehensive girls' secondary school in Uganda. (Copies of the full report can be obtained from Center for International Education, School of Education, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Massachusetts 01002).

1. UNESCO documents indicate that in 1963 girls formed approximately one-third of the primary and secondary enrollment in most African countries. For details see for instance the discussion in N. FRIDERICH, "Access to Education at all Levels". *The Annals*. Vol. 375 (January, 1968), pp. 133-144.

the extreme scarcity of resources in developing countries, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, this is not an allocation to be made lightly. At the same time, little attention is paid to the demand side of the picture. There are several crucial services such as nursing, teaching and secretarial occupations, which at present heavily depend upon women and where acute shortages are usual in most developing countries. These two factors, combined with the relatively unknown dynamics of the transition and completion rates of women as they move through the educational system into the labour market, produce a considerable gap in the manpower policies and plans of most countries.²

Compounding these difficulties, or perhaps partially as a result of them, decisions regarding the expansion of girls' education, the curriculum content, and the goals of such training are made on the basis of very different criteria than are normally employed in planning the education of men. Arguments for the expansion of women's education tend to rely on appeals to democratic principles — the need for equality of opportunity and equality in curriculum offerings. National and international pressure groups crusading under the banner of women's rights encourage decisions in favour of equal treatment for women with no thought to differences in the needs and goals of the women who will receive the equal treatment. The fact that some women will be working is acknowledged but little attention is paid to the kinds of work the majority will be doing. Although the social and psychological factors are important, taken alone, without considering the economic costs and the returns of such investment, girls' education could rapidly come to absorb resources better used in other ways. This is not to say that it is a bad investment, but rather to indicate that planners have not addressed the problem in anything like an adequate manner.

This paper presents an initial exploration of the relationship between the employment and the training of women in the context of a single African country, Uganda. It begins with an analysis of the present and projected employment picture for women in relationship to the number of secondary school girls. The analysis then focuses on job aspirations and expectations of girls in secondary schools, at both the lower and higher school level. Differences between expectations and probable opportunities are discussed and related to certain differences in secondary schools.

Training and Employment Opportunities for Secondary School Girls

There are essentially three alternate paths open to girls who complete secondary school in a country like Uganda : they may continue their general schooling or

2. A recent document singles out the problem of improving occupational-educational linkages as one of the research areas needing further effort by educational planners. W. PLATT, *Research for Educational Planning: Notes on Emergent Needs*, UNESCO, International Institute for Educational Planning (Paris, 1970), p. 20.

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pursue specialized vocational training ; they may acquire a job or enter some type of short-term job training ; or they may return to their families to await marriage or later employment. In order to analyze the major components of the first two alternatives, several tables have been constructed. As indicated in the initial discussion, data which relates specifically to opportunities for girls is scarce and must often be inferred by making various assumptions to disaggregate information contained in government documents.

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

Several categories are included primarily to indicate possible opportunities even though data on the number of students involved is unobtainable. "Departmental Training" refers to many training schemes operated by government departments and to a lesser extent by private industries. An example of such training is that provided for key punch operators, most of whom are women. Openings for girls in many of these schemes, however, are quite limited since the types of jobs commonly held by women draw candidates from specialized training institutions such as the Uganda College of Commerce, Mulago Training School for Nurses and Midwives or teacher training colleges.

The "Overseas" category listed as an opportunity after Higher School Certificate is a composite containing some opportunities at the Standard 4 level as well. The figures are rough estimates taken from Ministry of Education statistics on students studying outside the country according to the type of training being pursued. This data is not broken down by sex and therefore the figures in Table I are based on assumptions about types of training most likely to be followed by women. The major components of the total are : nursing and midwifery - 320 ; stenography - 25 ; and teaching - 34 (based on the assumption that about 25% of those training to be teachers are women). The figure of 450 given in the table is an estimate based primarily on the above numbers and should not be taken as anything more than an order-of-magnitude guess.

The other categories are mostly self-explanatory. The women in Uganda Technical College are almost all in laboratory or medical technician courses and there would appear to be scope for considerable expansion here. The Grade III teacher training schools have a very low percentage of women and would also

appear to have room for more women. The number of schools which accept women are very limited, however, due in part to the difficulties of providing separate accomodation. The small enrollment at the nursing school conceals the fact that most of the nurses are trained in a course which admits students with less than School Certificate training. This course enrolled about 30 each year and might be expected to raise its entrance standards to the School Certificate level as competition for entry increases.

The overall impression given by the table is one of limited opportunities for training after Standard Four. This is particularly true if one considers the numbers of girls who will graduate from Standard Four. For instance, in 1967, there were 986 girls in Standard Four compared with about 600 places (a rough

TABLE I

*Opportunities to Enter Training for Girls Finishing Standard 4 and Standard 6 **

Type of Training ¹	No. of Places in First Year	No. of Girls	Percent of Girls
AFTER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE			
(S4)			
Higher School Certificate	941	217	23%
Grade III Teacher Training	229	29	12%
Grade V Teacher Training (3 year course)	144	33	23%
Uganda College of Commerce	278	278	100%
Uganda Technical College	461	13	3%
Mulago Training School for Nurses and Midwives ²	5-10	5-10	100%
Departmental Training	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
AFTER HIGHER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE			
(S6)			
Makerere University College ³	712	148	21%
Grade V Teacher Training (2 year course)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Overseas	2,500	450	18%

* Secondary schooling in Uganda consists of two divisions called lower and higher schools. Upon completion of lower school, four years beyond primary education, called standards or forms 1-4, students receive the School Certificate. The completion of two additional years, standards 5 and 6, called higher school, entitles students to the Higher School Certificate. The tables will employ abbreviations, i.e., S4 for Standard 4 and S6 for Standard 6. Teacher training courses vary in the length of the course from two to four years and in the level of teaching for which they prepare teachers. Grade V teachers (non-graduate teachers for secondary schools) are required to take a three year course if they enter with a good pass on the School Certificate and a two year course if they enter with a Higher School Certificate. A grade II teacher does not need to have completed secondary school.

Compiled from

1. "Education Statistics," (Kampala, Uganda : Ministry of Education, Uganda Government, 1967).
2. "Access of Girls and Women to Higher Education," Uganda Association of University Women, Dr. Marianne Walter, 1965 (Mimeographed).
3. "Makerere University College : Report for the Year 1968-69," (Kampala, Uganda : Makerere University College).

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estimate) available for further training. This meant that only about 60% of the girls could continue their training. The situation is changing rapidly, however, because of the tremendous expansion of secondary education. The number of girls in Standard I in 1967 who will be leaving Standard 4 in 1970 is just under 2,200, assuming negligible dropout rates. Assuming that the high costs will slow down the growth of training facilities, the proportion of those who could expect to continue their formal training in 1970 was less than one third.

The second major avenue open to girls is employment, with or without some type of on-the-job training. To assess the range and extent of opportunities offered to women, Table II was constructed from the "High Level Manpower

TABLE II
*Major Sources of Women's Employment in Uganda (1967)*¹

Educational level	Occupation	Total	Percent Women	No. of Women Employed	Total Vacancies	Estimated Vacancies Women
9	School Teachers	535	28.2	151	3	1
8	Senior Management	1,036	1.5	16	67	1
8	Medical Doctors	423	9.5	40	22	2
8	University Teachers (Arts)	60	18.3	11	—	—
8	School Teachers	956	29.9	287	10	3
7	Nursing Sisters	22	90.9	20	6	5
7	Grade V Teachers	541	34.8	188	1	—
6	Junior Management	2,087	2.2	46	133	3
5	Nursing Sisters	438	94.8	415	46	44
5	Grade IV Teachers	402	32.7	131	15	5
4	Junior Management	813	3.4	28	33	1
4	Grade III Teachers	1,663	25.7	416	—	—
4	Personal Secretaries	751	76.4	571	48	37
4	Typists	223	48.0	107	8	4
4	Punch Operators	15	66.7	10	3	2
3	Police Officers	755	2.0	15	72	1
3	Typists	104	27.5	28	5	1
3	Bookkeepers	1,390	12.3	171	32	4
3	Calculating machine op.	66	54.5	36	3	2
3	Telephone Operators	272	15.4	42	5	1
3	Clerks	6,394	6.9	441	332	23
3	Government (general)	355	29.9	106	33	10
3	Salesmen	239	5.0	12	1	—
2	Telephone Operators	139	7.9	11	7	1
2	Nurses	2,949	74.9	2,209	80	60
2	Grade II Teachers	9,681	28.1	2,710	6	2
2	Housekeepers, Cooks, etc.	109	27.5	30	21	6

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

Survey and Analysis of Requirements 1967-1981." The occupations listed in the table are those which employed ten or more women at the time the survey was done in 1967. Since the enumeration covered from 85 to 95 per cent of the jobs requiring more than primary school education, the figures represent about 90% of the positions available in most of the occupations.³

The numbers in the first column of Table II represent the amount of education required by the employers for that job. The categories are as follows: 9 = post-graduate, 8 = graduate or equivalent, 7 = Higher School Certificate plus further training, 6 = Higher School Certificate, 4 and 5 = School Certificate plus further training, 3 = School Certificate, 1 and 2 = primary school plus further training or apprenticeships. Occupations listed twice are those where two different levels of education are required. The column entitled "Total Vacancies" indicates the number of positions employers were trying to fill at the time the survey was taken in 1967. The numbers in this column give a rough idea of the demand for various jobs which employ a significant number of women. The actual number of women employed in those occupations in 1967 is given by the figure in the column entitled "Number of Females Employed". If we assume the proportion of women in each occupation will remain roughly the same, multiplying the number of vacancies by the percentage of women in that occupation will provide an approximation of the number of vacancies open to women. These figures are shown in the last column.

Table II clearly reveals that employment opportunities for women are concentrated in three areas: nursing and related medical services, clerical-administrative jobs, and teaching. If the number of positions in each of these categories is totaled, the results indicate that nearly half of the total (48%) are in teaching, one third (33%) are in medical and nursing — the great bulk being nurses who enter training after several years of secondary school, and just under 20% are in clerical and administrative positions. In all, approximately 8,500 women were enumerated in the manpower survey of 1967. This represents about 17% of the total 51,000 jobs reported. The employment pattern in 1967 indicates the limitations on both range and number of jobs held by women. To understand what the position of women in the job market is likely to be in the future, one can look at current vacancies and at projected needs in various job categories.

As already indicated, the last column in Table II gives the estimated number of vacancies to be filled by females, assuming the proportion of females will remain relatively constant. Although teaching constitutes nearly half the total number of positions, the figures suggest that teaching has only some 5% of the

3. Except in the skilled office and clerical category where the coverage is estimated at 85% of the total, the coverage in all other areas requiring School Certificate or higher qualifications is more than 90%. For a full discussion see: Ministry of Planning and Economic Development, "High Level Manpower Survey, 1967 and Analysis of Requirements, 1967-1981" (Government Printer, Entebbe, Uganda, no date), pp. 2-5.

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current vacancies for women. The great majority of the vacancies occur in the medical area with 50% of all vacancies. Virtually all of these are for nurses at the two levels of training. The clerical-administrative area accounts for just under 40% of the vacancies. In interpreting these figures, the small number of vacancies in teaching requires comment. It primarily reflects the success of the Ministry of Education in recruiting expatriate teachers. Of the total number of secondary school teachers in 1967 (1,110), only 22% were Ugandans.⁴ Thus there is considerable room for the employment of women in the secondary schools as replacements for the expatriate teachers. There are about 300 potential places for women teachers in secondary schools alone. Since women are given priority in hiring, the opportunities for women as teachers in secondary schools would appear to be substantial.

Table III was constructed in an attempt to project future employment opportunities for women from the data of the 1967 Manpower Survey.⁵ To facilitate analysis the occupations are grouped into the three main categories. The first column to the right of the occupations contains the percentage of women in each occupation. The next two columns show the projected number of opportunities for women derived from the jobs held by women in 1967 and the total number of jobs projected in the manpower survey.

The distribution of opportunities shows an increasing trend towards the medical field with 55% (4,077) in the first projection period and 61% (6,362) in the second period. Teaching opportunities decrease with 32% in the 1972–1976 period and 27% in the following period. Clerical and administrative jobs remain about the same — approximately 13% of job opportunities for both periods. Manpower projections include specific assumptions about the rate of Ugandanization, an important factor in the higher level teaching positions. It assumes that about 30% of the posts held by non-Ugandans will be filled by Ugandans during each of the planning periods.⁶

In light of the need for secondary and other school teachers the apparent preponderance of medical opportunities needs further explanation. The major source of medical employment is nursing with nearly three thousand nurses required in the first period and over four thousand in the second. This category of nurses, however, does not require a School Certificate for entrance into training. As a result it is not usually considered by a girl who has completed secondary school. Likewise, the Grade II primary teacher does not require completion of

4. See for instance : J. W. HANSON & J. P. HENDERSON, *Secondary Level Teachers : Supply and Demand in Uganda* (East Lansing, Michigan : Michigan State University, 1969), p. 44.

5. "High Level Manpower Survey", *op. cit.*, pp. 38–45.

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

secondary school education. If we remove these two categories in order to make the table reflect the market for secondary school graduates, the proportions change significantly in each category.

Without these two occupations, the opportunities in teaching rises to over 40% for the two periods and surpasses the medical category which now provides opportunities for about one third of the jobs. The clerical group increases to about one quarter of the total. These proportions more accurately reflect what the girls who finish secondary school in the future are likely to be doing. The original figures indicate nevertheless the relatively rapid growth in the medical sector in the next decade and the subsequent demand for women with secondary education.

To understand the importance of these figures, the major areas of employment for women must be set in the larger context of wage employment in the

TABLE III
Projected Demand for Women's Employment

Educational level	Occupation	Percent Women 1967	No. Women Required 1972-1976	No. Women Required 1977-1981
	TEACHING	%		
9	School Teachers	28.2	67	114
8	School Teachers	29.9	68	113
7	Grade V Teachers	34.8	278	349
5	Grade IV Teachers	32.7	79	46
4	Grade III Teachers	25.7	1,235	2,326
2	Grade II Teachers	28.1	680	76
			2,407	3,024
	MEDICAL			
8	Medical Doctors	9.5	61	99
7	Nursing Sisters	90.9	49	84
5	Nursing Sisters	94.8	1,020	1,843
2	Nurses	74.9	2,947	4,336
			4,077	6,362
	CLERICAL			
4	Personal Secretaries	76.4	555	838
4	Typists	48.0	51	77
4	Punch Operators	66.7	9	13
3	General Clerical ¹	5.0 ²	346	510
			961	1,438
TOTAL WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT			7,445	10,824

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

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

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country as a whole. The 1967 enumeration of employees indicated a total wage labour force of about 257,000 out of a population of eight and one half million.⁷ Not only is the total wage employment quite small, but the rate of new jobs is very slow. Between 1957 and 1965 the number employed appears to have remained essentially constant at about 240,000.⁸ As a result employment must come from the replacement of people as they retire or die, and from the Uganda-ization of jobs presently held by Asians and Europeans.

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

At the School Certificate level, the supply of people seeking jobs about balances with the number of openings.⁹ As the students from the period of the rapid expansion of secondary education in the late sixties reach the job market, one can expect an extremely competitive situation to develop. In such a situation will women be able to maintain their present proportion of jobs? Girls generally have educational opportunities somewhat lower in quality than those of boys, particularly at the primary level. This means they have to cover more ground in secondary school in order to compete equally with boys. Some girls' secondary schools in the past have been able to be selective because of the limited number of places open to girls. Girls graduating from these schools tended to be well qualified. However, with the expanding secondary schooling for girls, schools now sometimes have difficulty in filling their places with qualified girls. Given these conditions, we predict that the proportion of women in the wage labour force will decline in the future. Men will make inroads into some jobs presently held by women, especially in the field of teaching and to a lesser extent in the clerical occupations.

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

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

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To make a quantitative summary of the situation which girls finishing secondary school in the first half of the 1970's will face is difficult because of the uncertainty attached to most of the figures. A rough statement, based on the figures presented above, would indicate that : 1) the schools will graduate about 2,500 girls from Standard 4 each year — an increase from 2,200 in 1970 to 3,000 by 1975 ; 2) the number of annual training positions will probably range from 800 to 1,000 during this period. Table I shows a total of about 600 for 1967 ; 3) the opportunities for immediate employment or employment after a short period of job training are much harder to assess. From Table III one can assume that jobs with a '3' educational level are open and perhaps as much as two-thirds of the '4' level jobs would also be open due to the shortage of people with the desired '4' level training. Using these assumptions one obtains a figure of about 380 positions open each year.¹⁰

If we take the middle figures in the ranges given above, the results show that about one-third of the graduates can hope for some kind of further training while perhaps 15% will be able to find some kind of employment with or without a short training course. The remaining half of the graduates are left to return to their homes, get married, or try to obtain training or employment. Many will not want to take jobs such as matrons, domestic workers, or cooks because of the low status and low pay. Ultimately this pool of women may participate in voluntary associations, women's clubs, charities, and community development activities, much like the American middle class woman who does not work in the labour force.

Job Aspirations and Expectations of Secondary School Girls

The aspirations and expectations of the girls provide insight into a number of important questions. From a planning perspective questions are raised about the relationship between the supply and demand of different types of skills and training. From the individual's viewpoint, questions are raised about the degree to which girls will be able to fulfill their desires. From a curriculum and guidance viewpoint questions about the suitability, relevance, and efficacy of school pro-

10. This figure is at best a crude estimate. No provision is made for departmental training programs. No provision is made for the very real probability that some of these graduates will filter down into Grade II teaching posts or into the lower level of nurses training. Finally, the number *does* include the assumption that $\frac{2}{3}$ of the projected 1,235 places for Grade III teachers will be taken by graduates even though they have not had the two years of post School Certificate training normally required for Grade III. A look at Table 1 quickly shows the discrepancy between intake levels of Grade III institutions (29 girls in 1967) and the demand levels indicated in Table 3. Training facilities hinge on the building of planned regional teacher training colleges on which construction has yet to start. (August, 1970).

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grams as presently constituted arise. In short, aspirations and expectations form a bridge between the students' present school environment and their future work and life environment.

To begin mapping the components of this bridge, a sample¹¹ of 1,500 secondary school girls were asked two questions about their future job preferences: one phrased in terms of their desires if they "were completely free to choose" and the second in terms of their abilities and the jobs available. These questions were asked before they indicated the job they really thought they might get. The results provide a look at two different aspects of the girls' perceptions of what they might do after completing their education.

A summary of the results presented in Table IV shows the percentages of aspirations and expectations which fall into each occupational category. The categories are those used in the Ugandan manpower survey and, with a few exceptions, place occupations together which require about the same level of training or education.

The girls in the sample were drawn from six girls' boarding schools.¹² Three of these schools have Higher School Certificate classes, while the other three go only as far as the School Certificate. The schools are grouped in Tables IV and V according to the following scheme. In the first column at the School Certificate or lower school level, three schools are combined. These schools are relatively new and their scholastic standing is not known. In other words, they represent the average girls' school in the country. The next column headed "Diversified" refers to only one school, an experimental school with two specialized streams, commercial and home economics, in addition to the normal academic stream. The third column refers to two high prestige schools with national reputations for scholarship. These last two columns are repeated again in the same order for results of the Higher School Certificate, referred to as higher schools. The final column in Table IV contains the percentages for the total populations of respondents taken as a group. The schools are grouped in this fashion because the pattern of responses differs according to the type of school.

The "Top Management" category refers to high level administrative and management posts that require at least the equivalent of a university degree and extensive experience. It includes primarily senior positions in government and

11. The sample consisted of about 80% of the girls in six girls' secondary schools in Uganda. The sample includes girls from all forms in the schools and represents about 20% of all the girls in secondary schools in Uganda. The sample contains nearly 50% of all the girls attending girls' secondary schools, and contains about one-third of all the African girls attending secondary schools. Full details of the sample can be found in D. R. EVANS and G. L. SCHIMMEL, *The Impact of a Diversified Educational Program on Career Goals: Tororo Girls' School in the Context of Girls' Education in Uganda* (Amherst, Massachusetts: School of Education, Center for International Education, 1970).

12. The schools in the sample included the following: Prestige schools — Gayaza and Namagunga; Diversified School — Tororo Girls School; Average schools — Nabisunsa, Bweranyangi, and Sacred Heart.

farm management. Very few women are currently employed in these jobs. The small percentages of girls showing interest in such occupations may indicate an awareness of this fact, or what is more likely no awareness of these positions at all. Differences between aspirations and expectations are small. Except for the prestige schools, there is a consistent drop in the percentages from aspirations to expectations.

"Junior Management" includes middle level posts in government and related agencies and typically requires the School Certificate plus some extra training, but less than that needed for senior management. Examples of junior management jobs are those of police and fire officers, radio technicians, caterers, and farm managers. In radio and catering the present percentage of women is about 20%, but this percentage in each case refers to less than fifty jobs. The only job in the top fifteen in this category is that of air hostess which received 3% of the aspirations but drops to less than half of that for expectations. The other two jobs in this group — policewoman and hotel manager — each acquired 1% of the

TABLE IV
Aspirations and Expectations for Jobs

	LOWER SCHOOLS			HIGHER SCHOOLS		Total Population
	Average	Diversified	High Prestige	Diversified	High Prestige	
TOP MANAGEMENT						
Aspirations	1%	2%	2%	4%	2%	2%
Expectations	- 0 -	- 0 -	2%	2%	2%	1%
JUNIOR MANAGEMENT						
Aspirations	6%	7%	5%	4%	3%	6%
Expectations	2%	4%	4%	1%	1%	3%
PROFESSIONAL						
Aspirations	41%	36%	66%	41%	67%	50%
Expectations	21%	23%	48%	25%	44%	32%
TECHNICAL						
Aspirations	23%	15%	18%	36%	21%	20%
Expectations	31%	22%	27%	51%	42%	30%
SKILLED OFFICE WORKERS						
Aspirations	12%	22%	3%	14%	8%	16%
Expectations	14%	29%	8%	14%	8%	12%
OTHERS						
Aspirations	16%	19%	6%	6%	4%	12%
Expectations	31%	23%	10%	6%	3%	19%

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total aspirations. The latter is interesting in that 75% of those aspiring to be hotel managers come from the diversified school, a clear reflection that such a career had been discussed in the home economics classes. A consistent drop from aspirations to expectations occurs among students in all the different schools.

The third category, "Professional", is the most popular of the seven. Its positions require university training or the equivalent. Accountant, lawyer, doctor, chemist, physicist, university professor and veterinarian are some of the professional occupations. The concentration of aspirations and expectations in this category reflects the fact that seven or eight of the twelve jobs viewed by the students as most desirable (listed in Table V) fall into this category. Table V also demonstrates the disproportionate emphasis on medicine which accounts for 20% of all aspirations in the sample and 12% of all expectations, while the next most desired profession, that of law, receives only one-third of that interest. Agricultural officer, an occupation needed as much in the country as doctors, receives only 5% expectations.

The extreme popularity of medicine in the prestige schools, where fully one-third of the girls hope to be doctors, is worth some comment. In contrast to the other schools where much smaller proportions of the students become doctors, the two prestige schools have nearly twice as many parents who are either doctors or nurses. In fact, approximately 17% of the girls in the prestige schools have at least one parent in the medical profession, while the other schools have only 5% to 10% of the parents in that profession. The idea of becoming a doctor is probably part of the cultural milieu in the prestige schools. The goal

TABLE V
*Aspirations and Expectations of the Top 12 Occupations **

	LOWER SCHOOLS						HIGHER SCHOOLS				Total Population	
	Average		Diversified		High Prestige		Diversified		High Prestige			
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Doctor	16	/ 7	16	/ 10	34	/ 23	9	/ 7	16	/ 10	21	/ 12
Secretary	11	/ 13	21	/ 28	3	/ 8	10	/ 15	3	/ 7	10	/ 15
Teacher	14	/ 22	7	/ 13	5	/ 15	18	/ 39	8	/ 29	9	/ 20
Nurse	14	/ 27	12	/ 17	5	/ 8	1	/ 5	—	/ —	9	/ 15
Lawyer	8	/ 5	6	/ 2	4	/ 4	5	/ 4	6	/ 3	6	/ 4
Agricultural off.	5	/ 4	4	/ 4	6	/ 5	3	/ 5	4	/ 4	5	/ 5
Air hostess	4	/ 1	3	/ 2	2	/ 2	1	/ —	1	/ —	3	/ 1
Para-medical	4	/ 2	2	/ 3	1	/ 1	2	/ 1	3	/ 2	3	/ 2
Accountant	1	/ 1	4	/ 3	2	/ 2	3	/ 1	4	/ —	3	/ 2
Engineer	1	/ —	1	/ —	6	/ 4	1	/ 1	3	/ 1	3	/ 1
Veterinarian	2	/ 1	1	/ 2	3	/ 3	—	/ —	4	/ 5	2	/ 2
Hospital sister	3	/ 5	2	/ 2	2	/ 3	1	/ —	1	/ 1	2	/ 3

* The number on the left of the slash indicates the aspiration percentage and the number on the right of the slash indicates the expectation percentage.

is supported for some by their family and is fostered among others by visits of "old girls", parents, and by the general comments of the student's teachers. Thus, the recruitment of students from medical families and the socialization of students at school combines to produce high aspirations.

In the other lower schools, the proportion of girls aspiring to professional careers is much lower. Students wanting to become doctors compose between one-third to one-half of those with professional aspirations. In the higher schools, medicine continues to be popular, but the percentages are about half of those for the lower schools. This may reflect more realism on the part of the higher school students about the difficulties involved in becoming a doctor. The percentages also represent fewer girls since the number going on to higher school is fairly small.

When expectations are investigated, the proportions selecting doctor decrease in most schools to about half those of aspirations. However, for the prestigious lower schools, nearly one-quarter of all the expectations still focus on being a doctor in contrast to the other schools where less than 10% expect to be doctors. In the higher schools the expectations are similarly lower than the aspirations. These optimistic expectations are held in a country where among the present 600 doctors, less than 50 are women. Even worse, two-thirds of the doctors are either Europeans or Asians, so that the actual number of African women doctors is about twenty. Clearly, a sizeable number of girls are going to have to adjust their expectations.¹³

Lawyer and agricultural officer are the next two most desired professional occupations with percentages ranging from 3% to 8%, considerably below those for doctors. In most schools there are small decreases in expectations from these percentages. There seems to be a slight tendency for the non-prestige schools to favor the profession of law more than the prestige schools, possibly compensating for their lower interest in being doctors. Accountant, engineer, and veterinarian are the next three desired professional occupations. Accountant shows a little larger percentage in the diversified school possibly reflecting the commercial stream. Engineering is favored only by the lower level prestige schools, while veterinarian sparks interest primarily at the higher level prestige schools. This may be the result of the presence of a school farm at one of the prestige schools, although the impact isn't very large.

Altogether the professional category encompasses half of the aspirations in the sample and one-third of the expectations. In the prestige schools professional expectations account for nearly half of all expectations in contrast to one-quarter

13. Since so few of those who expect to be doctors can become doctors, the data was analyzed to find out how many of those who aspired to be doctors expected to become nurses — a logical shift which would keep them in the medical profession. In the prestige schools, only 10% of the girls made this shift, while in the other schools as many as one-third of the girls did so. Thus, those schools with the greatest unreality in their aspirations showed the least willingness to shift appropriately within the medical area.

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or less for the other schools. A large proportion of the girls see professional occupations as appropriate outcomes of their education, and this is particularly so for the girls in the prestigious schools.

The "Technical" classification contains two general educational levels : those with Higher School Certificate and up to several years additional training, and those with School Certificate and up to three years additional training. The category contains various technical assistants in the physical and life sciences as well as in the field of social service. The jobs of journalist, broadcaster, artist, writer, and the varying levels of teachers below the university lecturer, are included. The occupations in the top fifteen included in this category are teacher, hospital sister, para-medical jobs, social workers, and artist/writers. This category ranks second in importance with one-fifth of all aspirations and nearly one-third of all expectations. The general pattern is a substantial increase from aspirations to expectations with the latter rising as high as 50% for the diversified school.

In this category the occupation of teacher plays the role which doctor did in the professional category. The interpretation is marred, however, by some uncertainty about the type of teacher meant by the respondents. Most responses did not distinguish between primary and secondary teaching so that all responses fell into one group. The entrance requirements for different types of teacher training do help to distinguish the extent that one can assume the pupils are aware of these requirements. Thus, girls who have finished Standard 4 with even the lowest pass are well beyond the normal qualifications for entry to primary teacher training. They may end up teaching in a primary school, but it would most likely be without the benefit of teacher training and would be on a temporary basis. A good pass in School Certificate would enable them to enter Grade V training for secondary teaching. Even here the trend is to take most entrants with a Higher School Certificate rather than School Certificate. Ironically, a girl who successfully completes the School Certificate is caught between the two levels with limited opportunities to teach in either primary or secondary schools. One can hypothesize that most of them might aspire to teaching in secondary schools as befits their status as School Certificate holders. But given the increasing number of jobless School Certificate holders, we hypothesize that primary teaching will be acceptable to many School Certificate graduates.¹⁴

The percentages in Table V for "Teacher" clearly indicate its importance in the Technical category. In all cases substantial increases occur between aspirations and expectations. The expectations of those from the higher schools are particularly strong, showing gains of more than 20% for all schools. At

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

this level one can safely assume that the goal is secondary teaching either at the Grade V level or as a graduate. With these large increases teaching is by far the occupation most students, regardless of type of school, expect to be in. In the lower schools teaching is most popular in the technical category, but generally second across all categories behind nursing.

The only other occupation in this category of any importance is the para-medical that consists of medical laboratory technicians, radiographers, physiotherapists, and such. Again one might expect these occupations to be a logical fallback for those who aspire to be doctors but realize the difficulties involved. Yet, only a few students in the prestige schools expect to be in para-medical jobs. From the pattern of expectations for para-medical jobs and for nursing it would appear that the attraction of being a doctor is related less to an actual interest in this kind of work than to the status and other rewards associated with a prestigious profession. Girls switch to unrelated fields rather than choose lower status jobs within the medical profession.

When aspirations and expectations in the technical category are compared with the current employment picture presented by the manpower survey one factor stands out. The only occupations in this category with substantial numbers of women, that is, more than ten or fifteen, are teachers and nursing sisters. While teachers are well represented in the girls' responses, nursing sisters are conspicuous by their almost total absence. The large discrepancy between girls interested in becoming nursing sisters and the future demand suggests that counseling programs could well devote some resources to promoting this occupation. Part of the problem is probably due to the inability of the girls to distinguish between either the roles or the amount of training required for nurses and nursing sisters, the former requiring only primary schooling, while the latter requires at least the School Certificate. The training opportunities for a nursing sister are very limited in Uganda with the consequence that most sisters are trained abroad. The opportunity for overseas training might be a positive incentive for girls interested in a medical career.

Skilled office workers comprise the next category. Ideally these posts should be filled by people with School Certificate and a least six months of specialized training, although many of the incumbents have less education than this. Included in this category in addition to secretaries are telephone operators, bookkeepers, and computer operators. The most popular job is, of course, that of secretary, a term which in the coding scheme used here includes stenographers, typists, and receptionists. A comparison of Table IV with the more detailed listing in Table V reveals that virtually all the responses in this category are for secretary.

The commercial stream influence at the diversified school is particularly evident here with both aspirations and expectations being almost twice those in the average schools. The prestige schools show little interest in secretarial jobs. In fact, if the occupations were ranked separately for the prestige schools, secretary

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would be about sixth instead of second. In almost all schools, substantial increases occur between aspirations and expectations, indicating that being a secretary is recognized as a likely occupation for women, even if not as desirable as some others. The pattern in the higher schools is similar to that in the lower schools with students in the diversified school again showing much greater interest. However, the overall percentages for the diversified higher school are only half those in the lower school, perhaps indicating that higher school girls see themselves as above secretarial status.

The final category is labelled 'Others' and contains a variety of jobs, most of which require only School Certificate or three years of training beyond primary school. An example of the latter is the Grade II teacher. However, girls completing Standard 4 would not normally enter this level of teaching and so the job is not among those in the percentages shown in Table IV. The only jobs in this category to be listed in the top fifteen are those of nurse and midwife. Other occupations included are : waitress, factory worker, model, beautician, saleswoman, and housewife. Clearly this category has something of a residual character and is comprised of many low prestige jobs which require only limited education and formal training.

As in the previous categories, there is one job which accounts for the majority of the responses. In this case it is nursing which in the lower schools represents about 75% of the responses. The average schools stand out with notably high percentages, reaching nearly one-third of all expectations for their girls. As in the case of secretary the prestige schools show little interest in nursing. In most schools there are substantial increases between aspirations and expectations. The overall picture is summarized in Table V which shows nursing moving from a total of 9% in aspirations to a total of 15% in expectations.

A problem arises in the training of nurses similar to the one discussed for teachers. The majority of nurses trained in Uganda enter after only one or two years of secondary school for a three year training course. Secondary school leavers will probably not want to enter that course. The appropriate course for them is that of nursing sisters which takes School Certificate graduates and gives them a further two years of training. Yet, the capacity of this course is small and accommodates only a small fraction of the demand which the manpower report projects will be there in the nineteen seventies. This means there are large numbers of girls who expect to become nurses and there is a substantial demand for their services, but the training facilities are very limited.¹⁵

The only other occupation in this category which receives more than a few responses for expectations is the related one of midwife. It acquires about 3%

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

of the expectations for all except the prestige schools. The pattern of responses in the higher schools is dominated by the almost total lack of either aspirations or expectations for nurse or midwife. The few responses reflects the fact that girls who complete higher school do not want to be midwives, they are over-qualified for that job and aspire to more prestigious work.

This analysis is difficult to summarize, although some comments can be made about the different patterns of responses for the three types of schools in the sample. The prestige schools show a distinct difference in both aspirations and expectations from the other schools. They are characterized by a strong emphasis on professional and technical training and much lower expectations for skilled office work or the para-medical occupations. At both levels, more than three-quarters of the girls in the prestige schools expect professional or technical jobs. These schools are known as elite schools and consequently they are able to recruit the best students. High quality intake combines with an educational milieu of high expectations to produce extremely high aspirations and expectations.

In contrast, the average schools show far fewer professional aspirations and expectations. A bimodal distribution which places nearly one-third of their expectations in each of two categories, technical and other, characterizes the expectations for these schools. Girls in these schools seem to accept the premise that their chances at high-status professional jobs are not good, but they also seem to rule out commercial jobs, perhaps because of the absence of training opportunities in their schools and perhaps because of a lack of knowledge about such occupations (most of these schools are located in rural areas).

The diversified school, although drawing essentially the same quality of students as the average schools, shows a definite pattern of aspirations and expectations. A high proportion of students opt for skilled office jobs. The proportion is nearly double that for the average schools and almost four times that for the prestige schools. The emphasis on secretarial and office related jobs comes at the expense of lower expectations for technical and other jobs. The profile for the diversified school is one of even distribution across the four categories, with about 25% of the girls expecting jobs in each of the major categories.

Training Opportunities, Expectation, and Type of School

This paper has reviewed in some detail the training opportunities for school leavers, the current and projected employment opportunities for women, and the job expectations of girls in three different types of schools. Table III indicates that the three major employment opportunities for women in the future will be teaching, nursing, and secretarial work as projected from present statistics. Of these occupations, both nursing and secretarial work require some specialized

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training beyond that normally offered in secondary schools. Entrance to these occupations depends on the availability of training facilities. The summary of these institutions presented in Table III indicates a severe bottleneck for both nurses and nursing sisters, and a much less severe problem for secretarial training.

The situation for teachers is less clear. The capacity of the training institutions for the higher level teacher seems adequate, but a major deficiency appears to exist in the training of Grade III teachers. As already mentioned, it seems likely that many School Certificate holders will be absorbed into Grade III teaching posts without the requisite training. Teaching in primary schools is likely to provide the major source of jobs for secondary school leavers in the next few years.

Looking at the supply side in terms of the number of girls finishing secondary school, the figures presented in the first section of the paper suggest that at best one-third will be able to enter higher school or direct employment. The remaining half will not be able to find either employment or further training. Thus, although there doesn't appear to be any shortage of secondary school leavers, the bottlenecks in specialized training facilities will force the economy to either do without trained women or to hire those with academic backgrounds and no special training.

Finally, when these facts are set against the pattern of expectations in the lower schools, some sharp discrepancies become apparent. Most striking is the lack of awareness on the part of the girls that fully half of them will not be going on for more training or to direct employment. When asked what they would do if unable to obtain a place at the next level of schooling, 30% indicated that they would seek further training, 50% said they would get a job, and almost 15% said they would sit for the examination again. Less than 2% mentioned marriage or returning to their homes which are the most likely alternatives if they do not continue in school. Supplementing this information are the responses to the question of when they expect to get married. Fully 80% of the total sample feel that it will be more than four years before they get married.

In view of these factors the patterns of expectations in the different types of schools are unrealistic. However, the situation may be less drastic than is immediately apparent. Special factors influence the probabilities of placing students from particular schools. For example, girls in the prestige schools appear to have too high expectations in regards to the professions. Yet, because of the selection process and given the quality of these schools, perhaps as many as half of those who aspire to professional jobs will be able to enter a university ultimately. While only a handful will in fact become doctors, many others may be able to acquire professional jobs in non-medical fields. Similarly, the girls in the commercial stream at the diversified school will have an excellent chance of getting work because they will be part of a small pool of girls who have both secondary education *and* secretarial training.

Those most likely to be disappointed are the students in the non-prestige schools who choose professional or technical level jobs. The students most likely to succeed are those who become teachers without any further training, or those who enter the nursing profession. While job expectations are not wildly unrealistic in terms of their distribution, the majority of the girls are going to have to make major readjustments in their expectations both in regards to getting a job at all and in the level of job they are likely to get.

A few summary comments are in order about the accuracy and reliability of the above conclusions. The suggestions about the adequacy of the supply and the capacity of the training institutions are really little more than informed guesses based on the enrollment figures of existing institutions and the projections of the manpower study. The crucial information which describes the transition probabilities for women as opposed to men is almost completely missing. There isn't enough information to make even crude estimates of such things as placement rates at the end of specialized training, or attrition rates in women's jobs due to marriage and husband's mobility. While some data exists on these factors, rarely does it exist for women and for the specialized characteristics of women's lives in an African economy.

If any serious planning is to take place for the training and use of woman-power in Africa there must be a coherent and planned look at the realities of the situation which women face as they try to get an education, acquire special training, find a job, get married and raise children, and return to work during or after the maturation of their children. Planners and policymakers assume at their peril that men and women behave in the same way with regard to training and employment.