

SECONDARY SCHOOLS AS AGENTS OF SOCIALIZATION  
FOR NATIONAL GOALS\*

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Resume: Secondary schools are considered by many sources to be one of the most important institutions for molding the values and attitudes of the influential citizens of the future. This paper will examine some of the theoretical bases for the assumption that schools can be effective agents for national development and will then look at some of the current activities of secondary schools in one African country. In particular it investigates those activities which seem to be related to developing a sense of national identity, and a willingness to share in the physical work necessary for development.

The belief in the importance of the secondary schools as attitude and value shaping institutions is clearly evident from the educational policy documents and commission reports of the three East African countries. Equally clear is the desire of these nations to have the schools produce pupils with attitudes and values which reflect the nation's goals: a sense of national unity, a tolerance for peoples of different racial or tribal background, and a sense of obligation to contribute effectively to national development.

From the point of view of the social scientist, however, a closer look is needed at the relationship between the characteristics of the schools and the subsequent attitudes of the pupils. Is there any evidence from research in Social Psychology, or other disciplines, to support the common beliefs about the effects of different kinds of schools? What experience is available from the development of other nations? What is there to suggest that the effect of the school can be separated out from the combined effect of family and community on the pupil, or that the effect of the secondary school can reverse or strongly modify the teachings of the family and community?

The educational system of East Africa, during the colonial period, was founded on the belief that the school could be used to radically alter the pupil's entire set of attitudes and behavior patterns. By immersing to pupils in a completely new environment, i.e. a school patterned after the British Public School, for a period of four to six years it was believed that significant changes could be made. The key to the

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effectiveness of such schools was felt to lie in the isolation of the schools from outside influences, and the total control which this gave the school over the pupil's environment both in and out of the classroom.

Schools of a similar kind had been effective in producing an elite group in England with a common set of values and attitudes. The British Public School was conceived of as an institution to teach and maintain a way of life which was derived from the upper classes of society. Thus pupils needed to be protected from the outside pressures of a community which did not adhere to this way of life. (For a fuller discussion of this see Musgrave, 1965, p. 226) Not unnaturally then, the British tended to view the situation in East Africa in a similar way. The problem was to educate the African pupils in a way of life which was derived from the upper section of society (the British) and to protect the pupils from a society (the traditional environment) with an entirely different style of life.

The effectiveness of this system in Africa is discussed by several authors. Musgrove (1952) describes a well-known boarding school in East Africa as being able to orient the boys away from tribal groups and towards groups based on school organization and activities. He says the school affects the boys' attitudes toward marriage, occupational choices, and standards of social behavior. Similar comments are made about a Nigerian secondary school by Hawkes (1965). He attributes the ambivalent pattern of behavior of the boys to the clash between the values taught in the school and those learned by the boys at home. This suggests that, at the very least, the school has a strong enough effect on attitudes to produce serious conflicts for the boys.

Such descriptions lend support to the commonly accepted belief in the effectiveness of schools in producing desired changes in pupils. Yet neither these descriptions nor the commonly held beliefs about the effects of education are based on experimental data relating specific characteristics of schools to specific kinds of attitudes. A search of the literature and the popular press will produce an immense number of references dealing with the general problem and calling for this and that change in the schools on the assumption that such a change will produce certain desired results. But, there is little or nothing in the way of scientifically acceptable evidence to support such beliefs.\*

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\* For an attempt to relate extracurricular activities in an American high school to certain aspects of political socialization see Ziblatt, 1963. Unfortunately he was not able to obtain very conclusive evidence of a relationship between the two.

My purpose in making these statements is not to attempt to disprove these beliefs, but rather to point out just how hazy and ill-defined our understanding of the relationships involved are. This deficiency becomes particularly acute in African countries which face the problem of re-designing an inherited school system in order to produce a new and more relevant set of pupil attitudes and values.

Fortunately there is a considerable body of research in Social Psychology relating to attitude formation and attitude change. Although most of this work has been done in Western countries, it can provide a number of useful insights and guidelines for those interested in the effects of secondary schools on pupils in developing countries. Hypotheses formulated on the basis of this research will, of course, need to be tested in an African environment.

### Relevant Research in Social Psychology

Efforts to consciously change pupils' attitudes in East African schools frequently consists of the presentation of correctional information and an exhortation by the Headmaster urging the pupils to change their ways. However, there is considerable research evidence (e.g. Sherif, 1953, p. 218) which suggests that this, in itself, is seldom an effective mechanism for producing change. Attitudes and values of pupils are rarely based on rationally derived positions and hence are not susceptible to logical reasoning in favor of change to a different position. Dean and Rosen (1955, p90ff) discuss some of the possible effects which corrective information can have depending on the personality characteristics of the listener.

A more promising area of research deals with the concepts of reference groups and membership groups. Attitude change can be effectively brought about by either changing the norms of the membership group (i.e. the group a person belongs to) or by inducing a change in reference groups (i.e. the group which a person identifies with and aspires to be a member of). The latter method is usually the easier of the two.

Siegel and Siegel (1957, p. 264) in a study of girl's living groups at Stanford University, point up the effect of enforced membership groups (the girls were assigned to living quarters) on changes in reference groups and consequent changes in attitudes. A similar study, which provides a direct parallel to the situation in an African school, is the study by Newcomb (1962) of attitude changes of students at Bennington College in Vermont. He was able to demonstrate that the instrumental factor in the attitude change of the girls was whether or not they shifted their reference group from their family to the college.

The problem in an African secondary school can be seen as one of inducing boys to accept what is at first an enforced membership group (i.e. the boarding school, or perhaps his house within the school) ultimately as a reference group in place of his tribe or community which is the reference group he brings with him to the school. To induce a change of

reference groups it is clear that the new group must satisfy the needs of the individual as well as or better than his old reference group. The new group must also offer attractive rewards to the individual who is going to change.

The secondary boarding schools of East Africa would seem to have great potential for constructing within themselves reference groups which would be attractive to new pupils. The isolation of the school combined with the opportunity for the staff to control all aspects of a pupil's life while he is at the school make it possible for the school to set up a group of whatever type they desire. A new pupil who wants to become accepted by his school fellows does so in large part by demonstrating his willingness to think and behave in the ways of the group. If the attraction of the new group is strong enough the new pupil will, over a period of his schooling, come to accept their norms as his own.

To the extent that this suggested transfer mechanism is valid, the problem in East Africa today lies in structuring the norms of the school community in such a way that they reflect the attitudes and values needed by the new nation of which the school is part. Having inherited a school system whose structure is primarily derived from another culture there is general agreement that changes are needed. There is less agreement, however, on the extent and type of change which is needed. This lack of agreement reflects, in part, the very limited state of our understanding of the process by which specific characteristics of the school affect attitudes.\*

#### Some Characteristics of Secondary Schools in an East African Country

The rest of this paper will be devoted to presenting and discussing some recently collected data on the characteristics and activities of the secondary schools in an East African country. Let me state at the outset that the purpose of this study is not to criticize, but rather to describe the situation which exists in the schools some years after independence. The author is fully sympathetic to the immense challenge faced by a new country with limited resources at its disposal and the consequent difficulty of making rapid changes. It is intended that the study illuminate the situation in order to see where progress is being made and where progress in the future would be most beneficial.

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\*It is the author's hope that the research reported in this paper will at least lay the groundwork for the study of these relationships. Ultimately it is hoped to relate this data on school characteristics to a recent study of pupil's attitudes in many of the same schools. (See for example, Koff and Von der Muhll, 1966)

The study was carried out in a sample of schools drawn randomly from a geographically stratified list of all the government secondary schools in the country. Table I below shows some of the relationships between characteristics of the sample and those of the entire group of schools.

Table 1  
Characteristics of the Sample and the Population

Characteristic	Sample	% of Sample	Total Population	% of Total
Number of Schools	31		72	
Founding Body of School				
Government	7	23%	19	26%
Catholic	9	29%	19	26%
Anglican	12	39%	21	30%
Other (Muslin, Aga Khan, etc.)	3	9%	13	18%
Type of School				
Boarding	28	90%	54	75%
Day	3	10%	18	25%
Sex of Pupils				
Boys	15	48%	35	49%
Mixed	11	36%	26	36%
Girls	5	16%	11	15%
Highest Form in School				
6th Form	9	29%	19	26%
4th Form	14	45%	31	43%
3rd or 2nd Form	8	26%	22	31%

The data was obtained during a visit by the author to each of the schools. A semi-structured interview cum checklist type of instrument was used. The information was generally obtained from an interview with the headmaster and where possible corroborated with school records and other senior members of staff. On a number of the more important items provision was made for an independent rating of the school by the interviewer himself.

The reliability and validity of the data are difficult to assess. The great majority of the headmasters were open and frank in their replies. Not infrequently information was given which reflected failure to achieve desired goals or other shortcomings, thus indicating a degree of trust of the interviewer. Headmasters are usually aware of most of the aspects of school life because of their direct responsibility for the total functioning of the school. Yet, inevitably there are blind spots or areas of misinformation as a result of personal inclinations of the headmaster or peculiar situations in a given school. Hopefully these are of a random nature and will have little effect on the overall results.

## The School Promotes a Sense of National Unification and Identity

That this goal is considered of prime importance by developing countries is evidenced by virtually every statement made by national leaders on the role of education. A good example is provided by the Kenya Education Commission Report which states: "No problem is more important to the future welfare of Kenya than the cultivation of a sense of belonging to a nation...." (Ominde, 1964, p. 28) The same report continues in a later section by indicating some of the ways in which a school might begin to develop such a sense of belonging.

A sense of belonging to a nation is not merely, or perhaps mainly, something which comes from study or reasoning faculties. Quite as important ... is the experience of an atmosphere. ... We refer in this paragraph to the impact of ceremonial on the atmosphere of a school and its possible contribution to nationhood. ... We suggest that ... such ceremonies might occasionally include the singing of the national anthem, or the raising of the... national flag. (Ominde, 1964, p.40)

The report goes on to suggest other symbolic acts to dramatize the wealth present in the diversity of tradition and abilities of the various parts of the nation. Similar comments can be found in the Uganda Education Commission Report (Castle, 1963, p.4) although of a less explicit nature.

Information was collected on a number of specific activities which were felt to be relevant to the somewhat elusive concept of the "atmosphere" of the school in terms of promoting national unity. The indicators included ceremonial aspects such as the display of the national flag, the singing of the national anthem, and the use of ceremony at times of national significance like Independence Day.

From Table 2 it can be seen that about 20% of the schools display the national flag frequently (every few weeks) about 50% fly the flag at most several times a term, and the remaining quarter either have no flag or no pole. In only one school in the sample is the national flag flown daily, and that school is a unique "model" school financed by USAID and staffed primarily by Americans.

Table 2  
Display of National Flag

Frequency Displayed	No. of Schools	% of Schools
No flag	6	19%
Flag but no Pole	2	7%
About Once/ Term	11	36%
Several Times/Term	5	16%
Frequently	7	22%

Table 3 indicates the frequency with which the national anthem is sung. A full 35% of the schools never sing the anthem and only 26% sing it more than once a term. In partial explanation it should be said that the anthem is somewhat difficult to sing and perhaps would be easier for the schools if it were rearranged.

Table 3  
Singing of the National Anthem

Frequency Sung	No. of Schools	% of Schools
Never Sung	11	35%
About Once/Term	12*	39%
Several Times/Term	5	16%
Frequently	3	10%

\* Includes one school that plays the anthem but does not sing it.

The most obvious opportunity for ceremony occurs at the anniversary of national independence. Table 4 indicates the activities which the schools organized for Independence Day this year. There are two factors which caused the schools to be somewhat less active than they might have been. Because Independence Day fell near the middle of the term it was made part of the half-term holiday during which many of the students and staff leave the school. In addition, schools were officially encouraged to have pupils take part in town or district celebrations and many headmasters felt that the school should not compete with those celebrations. Even with these qualifications though, it is surprising that only 19% of the schools had any form of ceremony such as a special church service or a flag raising ceremony to mark the day. 75% of the schools sent a delegation of pupils to take part in local celebrations but only half of those schools arranged some form of entertainment at the school in addition. (e.g. film shows, special food, a dance, etc.)

Table 4  
Independence Day Ceremonies

Type of Ceremony	No. of Schools	% of Schools
Did nothing	2	6%
Only Sent Pupils to Town	11	36%
Sent Pupils to Town & Entertainment at Sch.	12	39%
Had School Ceremony or Church Service	6	19%

Another aspect of the national atmosphere of a school involves the extent to which national developments are noted and discussed in the school. Are there times when the attention of the school is focussed on national events, times when pupils are made to feel that they are sharing in important developments of their country? One measure of this type of atmosphere would be the existence of scheduled civics classes when such topics are regularly discussed. Likewise a current events society which met regularly and perhaps maintained a public notice board of newspaper clippings, would also help to awaken national consciousness.

Table 5  
Civics Classes and Current Event Societies

Activity Present in School	No. of Schools	% of Schools
Both Society and Civics Classes	4	13%
Current Events Society	14	45%
Civics Classes	6	19%
Events Discussed in History and Geography Classes	6	19%
Special Meetings for Discussion with HSC Classes	4	13%*
Nothing mentioned	10	32%

\* or 44% of the schools in the sample having H.S.C. Classes  
Note: These items do not total because some schools are counted in more than one category.

From Table 5 one notes that nearly half (45%) of the schools have current events societies, although the level of activity of these groups varies considerably between schools. In some the society is popular and has frequent meetings, while in others the society may have only a handful of members and meet quite irregularly. About 20% of the schools have scheduled civics classes, usually one period a week, while another 20% have no formal periods but do discuss events in history or geography class when there is interest.\*

.. In schools where there are Higher School Classes there are usually periods devoted to the preparation for the general paper. These periods can easily be used to discuss topics of national interest and sometimes outside speakers will be brought in to address the class. Unfortunately speakers are difficult to get and are quite rare except in the case of

\* This latter figure may well be too low since headmasters would not always be aware of the extent to which national issues are discussed in class.



schools near a large city. The presence of the Higher School tends to produce a higher level of discussion and activity with regard to national affairs than is found in schools which only have school certificate classes.

Finally, mention must be made of the schools which indicate none of these activities and which make up almost one third of the sample. In all cases the headmaster was asked about the existence of these activities. If he could not think of any the interviewer would probe by asking specifically about one or more of the possible activities. Therefore, schools listed in the last category can be interpreted as having virtually no activity along this line.

While it is not my intention to suggest that these are the only possible indications of a school's efforts to develop a sense of national identification in its pupils, there appear to be few other activities currently taking place in the schools which could be interpreted as contributing to a sense of national unity. The only possible exception in some schools is the debating society. Debating is very popular and is frequently the most active society in the school. To measure the extent to which the debates contributed to an awareness of national issues headmasters were asked about the content of the motions debated. Table 6 indicates the frequency which issues of a national type are reported to occur. A number of headmasters indicated that they vetted topics ahead of time in order to cancel ones which were politically sensitive. On the other hand, a few headmasters said that the boys had complete freedom to discuss whatever they liked. The impression of the author is that even in schools listed as very frequent topics of national interest probably occur about half the time.

Looking back over the data in this section one is struck by the relative lack of activity in an area considered to be of highest priority by the national leaders. Given the fairly limited experience which the pupils bring with them to school, e.g. few of them have ever travelled outside of their own district, it would seem that the school has potentially an important role to play in orienting pupils toward the nation as a whole. The role becomes even more important when one considers the extent to which other agencies such as family, church, community, and mass media are able to contribute to the development of a sense of identity with the national unit.

The family is still very much rooted in the traditional way of life with its emphasis on kinship and tribal groupings while the church and community tend to be oriented primarily to local affairs. What about nationally oriented mass media such as newspapers, radio, and television? To what extent do these sources have the opportunity to influence students?

Table 6  
National Issues as Debate Topics

Frequency	No. of Schools	% of Schools
Very Frequent	11	37%
Occasionally	13	43%
Very Rarely	6	20%
Total	30*	

\* No information (1)

Pupil Exposure to National Communications Media in Schools

Since most of the schools are boarding schools where the pupils spend as much as ten months of the year, it is appropriate to inquire into the opportunities which pupils have for exposure to national communications media at school. Data was collected on the existence and use of such media in the schools.

Radio is potentially the most effective of the media for reaching the greatest number of pupils. Table 7 presents the information on total number of radios per hundred pupils per school. The number of radios in each school is composed of the number of school owned radios (usually 1 or 2) and the headmaster's estimate of the number of privately owned radios. This estimate may well be on the low side, but is probably of the right order of magnitude. An average computed by using the center value in each interval yields a figure of 2.6 radios per hundred pupils in boarding schools. Rounding the figure upwards to 3/100 pupils to allow for underestimation gives a total of about 1 radio for every 35 pupils.

Table 7  
Number of Radios per 100 Pupils by Schools\*

No of Radios/100 Pupils	No. of Schs.	% of Schs.
Less than 1	4	14%
1 to 2	4	14%
2 to 3	9	32%
3 to 4	6	22%
4 to 5	5	18%

\* excluding day schools (3)

The ratio is not as bad as it might seem at first glance. Typically pupils live in houses with anywhere from 10 to 25 pupils per room. When a radio is on it can easily be heard by all those in one room, and not infrequently by those in adjacent rooms. Hence the ratio approaches a situation where every boy is within listening range of a radio in the dormitory. On the other hand, there is not much time when pupils are free to listen: a few minutes at meal time, an hour or so in the late afternoon, a few minutes between the end of prep and lights out, and during weekends. One also gets the impression that music is far more popular than news or information programs among the pupils.

What about important national events broadcast on the radio such as presidential speeches? When queried about whether they would make arrangements for the school to listen to such things headmasters usually indicated their willingness to do so. However, few of them could cite a specific instance when they had done so, and most said that the practical difficulties like the lack of advance notice, the possible conflict with the school schedule, and the lack of suitable facilities made it very difficult. Combined with these difficulties is the fact that the national radio service at present does not seem to have a conscious policy of broadcasting material designed to mold national opinion. Thus while the communications network appears to exist, there is little coordinated effort directed toward making use of it.

Similar information was collected on the availability of the national newspaper in the schools. Table 8 presents the number of copies of this newspaper received by the school in terms of the number of pupils in the school.

Table 8

Number of National Newspapers per 100 Pupils by School\*

No. of Papers /100 Pupils	No. of Schs.	% of Schs.
Less than 1	13	48%
1 to 2	7	26%
2 to 3	6	22%
Over 4	1	4%

\* excluding day schools (3); No information (1)

Note: Average = 1.2 papers per 100 pupils.

With nearly half of the schools having less than one paper available for every hundred pupils, the opportunity to see a newspaper is relatively small. In only a small number of cases was there as much as one copy per house. More often there would be one or two copies put in the library, a facility which in many schools is open only during certain hours of the day.

What opportunities do the pupils have to buy their own papers? Schools were ranked on a four point scale as to the ease and frequency with which the headmaster estimated pupils could and did purchase papers. Table 9 indicates that it is neither easy to buy papers nor a frequent occurrence in more than half of the schools.

Table 9  
Ease and Frequency of Pupils Purchasing Newspapers

Ease and Frequency	No. of Schools	% of Schools
Very Easy and Very Frequent	1	3%
Moderately Easy and Moderately Frequent	6	20%
Moderately Difficult and Not Very Frequent	7	24%
Very Difficult and Very Infrequent	16	53%
	30*	

\* No information (1)

The exceptions are, of course, the day schools in the larger towns. However, for boarding schools, even when papers are available within a reasonable distance, the pupils are generally restricted to the schools during the week and seldom have surplus cash to spend on such things. In other words, if realistic opportunities are to occur for significant numbers of pupils to see commercial papers or magazines the schools will have to make considerably greater effort to provide them than is now the case.

Finally, what about the use of television? At present approximately 40% of the schools have television sets. Current expansion of transmission facilities will make reception possible in as much as 60% or 70% of the schools in the near future. Again, however, the difficulty lies in the use of the opportunity provided. Table 10 shows the extent to which the schools which have T.V. sets are currently making use of them.

Table 10  
In and Out of Class Use of Television

In Class		Out of Class	
Time	No. of Schs.	Time	No. of Schs.
Not at all	3	Not at all	3
1-3hrs/week	5	1-3 hrs/week	3
4-8hrs/week	4	4-8 hrs/week	7
	13		13
Average= 3.08 hrs/week		Average = 3.70hrs/week	

The average school uses the television in class, that is for French, English literature, etc., about 3 hours a week, and for out of class entertainment about 3.7 hours per week. This latter use generally occurs on Saturday or Sunday and seldom involves more than 20 or 30 pupils at a time. In general, technical problems aside, television faces the same kinds of problems as have already been mentioned for radio.

The information in this section seems to provide fairly strong evidence that the national communications media are at present exercising a relatively small influence as agencies of socialization for pupils in boarding schools. It would be misleading though, to conclude that pupils are totally uninformed. Coming from societies which traditionally communicate by word of mouth, the pupils continue to get a good deal of information in personal conversation rather than direct from other media. While effective for some kinds of information, this informal communication network would probably be difficult to use for shaping pupils' opinions along the lines of national goals, particularly if such efforts emanate from a distant source.

#### The School Promotes the Dignity of Labor and a Sense of Service

We now turn to the problem of creating school communities where the behavior and attitude norms to which new pupils become socialized are the same as those desired and needed by society at large. As in other areas, the task facing the countries of East Africa is one of modifying the characteristics of schools that were originally designed to produce a very different set of norms. In particular we will look at the task of developing in pupils a willingness to share in the physical work of development and sense of responsibility to do so.

This theme can be found in the national documents of all three countries. A few excerpts from the Uganda Education Commission Report will serve as an example:

One of our tasks is to prove to those we educate that skilled manual labor and progressive farming offer rewards equal to those in the 'cleaner' occupations. (Castel, 1963, p.2) We hope also that teachers will encourage the belief that all good work, no matter how humble, contributes to community welfare and is therefore deserving of respect. ... we regard the prevailing attitude towards manual labor as a serious impediment.... (Castle, 1963, p.4)

Much stronger and more explicit statements can of course be found in Nyerere's statement on "Education and Self Reliance".

Does the situation in the schools today generally support the stated goals in terms of developing attitudes favorable to manual work? As before we are faced with the problem of measuring a somewhat intangible characteristic and we must take specific activities as indicators of the school atmosphere. We have chosen to look at the amount and

type of physical work done by the pupils in the school on the assumption that behavior which is supported by group norms in school, will continue to occur when the pupil leaves school.\*

Table 11, 12 and 13 demonstrate the types of work commonly done in the schools by the pupils.

Table 11

Cleaning Duties	No. of Schools	% of Schools
Clean Dormitories Only	2	6%
Clean Classrooms Only	0	0%
Clean both Dorms & Classes	26	84%
No Cleaning at all	3*	10%

\* All day schools

Table 12

Cleaning Duties	No. of Schs.	% of Schs.
Assembly hall, labs, etc. Only	1	4%
Help Prepare Food	3	11%
Tidy Compound Near Dormitories	9	32%
Tidy and Trim Most of the Compound	6	21%
Clean labs, and Compound near Dormitories	5	18%
No Cleaning at all	4 <sup>+</sup>	14%
	28*	

\* No information (4)

+ 3 of these are day schools

\* It might be useful to note here that contrary to the case with other attitudes, both family and community play an important part in developing pupils' attitudes toward physical work. Standards are set by what is expected of the pupil when he returns to his home and village for school vacation. In this case the school may well be trying to reverse attitudes about the proper activities of an educated person.

Table 13

Cleaning Duties	No. of Schs.	% of Schs.
Serving Food in Dining Hall	2	7%
Washing Own Dishes	2	7% <sup>z</sup>
Serving, Washing Dishes & Cleaning Hall	4	13%
No work in Dining Hall	22	73%
	30*	

\* No information (1)

In the great majority of schools the pupils clean both classrooms and dormitories. Likewise in most of the schools the pupils have nothing to do with the work involved in serving and cleaning up after meals. About half of the schools require pupils to do some work in the compound, usually around the dormitories. Other duties sometimes include cleaning common rooms such as the assembly hall or the laboratories. In virtually all schools there are porters who do whatever is not done by pupils, which is generally about half of the total cleaning and maintenance required in the school.

There are a number of practical difficulties in having pupils do more of the work. Day schools are unusual if they require any work of their pupils since most pupils must leave soon after school in order to return home before dark. As boarding schools become larger (some are now approaching 600) the organizational difficulties lead to less and less work being done by the pupils. Headmasters say they would like to do more but they just do not have the necessary staff time available for supervision.

Outside of regular cleaning do pupils engage in community labor or self-help projects in the school? Table 14 shows that half of the schools now do nothing at all of this nature, although 13% of them used to do community work sometime in the past. Approximately one third of the schools have fairly regular community work, although only 10% of the schools can be characterized as having very active programs involving self-help projects.

Table 14

## Community Work and Self - Help Projects

Type of Work	No. of Schs.	% of Schs.
Nothing of this kind	11	37%
Did have in the past, but not currently	4	13%
Irregular Community Work	5	17%
Fairly Regular, Recent Self-Help Project	7	23%
Very Active, Ongoing Self- Help Project	3	10%
	<u>30*</u>	

\* No information (1)

The difficulty of setting up a suitable atmosphere where work is regarded as a dignified and normal activity for pupils is perhaps related to the common use of work as a punishment for pupils. Table 15 presents the situation with regard to punishment.

Table 15

## The Use of Physical Labor as a Punishment

	No. of Schs.	% Of Schs.
Used as a Common Punishment	22	73%
Not generally Used as Punishment	8	27%
	<u>30*</u>	

\* No information (1)

Of the 8 schools who do not use work as a punishment, in only three cases (10%) is it because the headmaster is concerned about the effect on attitudes toward work. In the other 5 cases it is either regarded as too inconvenient or is only used in cases of severe misbehavior! There is no apparent relationship between the schools active in self-help and those eschewing work as a punishment. (A contingency table indicates no relationship at all.) However, in cases where work is not a punishment the decision is relatively recent and is unlikely to have had any effect.

It is clear from these tables that very few of the schools have been able to establish an atmosphere where manual work is looked upon as a respected part of community life. As has



been indicated above there are a number of practical and environmental difficulties which make changes in the existing pattern of pupil participation very difficult. We are dealing with strongly ingrained attitudes about the privileges of the educated, attitudes which are generally supported by the family and community of the pupils. Attempts at even minor changes in pupil work habits have in the past set off serious incidents in schools. Changes in these habits can be made but they require careful attention to the social dynamics of the school community and strong, charismatic leadership on the part of the headmaster and staff.

### School Type and Ranking in Socialization Characteristics

In addition to studying the distribution of characteristics between schools, an attempt was made to relate the presence or absence of characteristics to school types. Three indices were computed from the data presented above. Each index was formed by adding the scores for a single school on all the variables relating to a given dimension, such as activities promoting a sense of national identity. The schools were then ranked according to their total scores for a particular dimension. Thus for each school there were three ranks representing their relative scores on the dimensions of promoting national identity, providing external sources of communication, and promoting a sense of the dignity of labor.

Using these rankings, contingency tables were constructed to see whether various types of schools were generally high or low on a particular dimension. Each of the dimensions was compared with such things as sex of the pupils, founding organization of the school, highest form in the school, and age of the school. The interesting result was an almost total absence of apparent relationships. Mild trends were apparent in a number of cases but rarely did they achieve statistical significance. An example of one of the stronger relationships is shown in Table 16.

Table 16

School Ranking on Promotion of Labor vs. Founding Organization of the School

School Ranking on Labor	Founding Organization		
	<u>Government</u>	<u>Catholic</u>	<u>Anglican</u>
1 - 10	0	2	4
11 - 20	1	5	5
21 - 30	6	1	3

For Table 16 the Chi squared value is 10.391 which is significant at the .05 level. A more useful statistic however is the index of predictive association. (see for example Hays, 1965, p. 605) which is a measure of the reduction in probability of error in predicting the value of one variable if the value of the other variable is known. This statistic shows that in predicting ranking on labor from a knowledge of founding body, the reduction in probability of error is about 31%. Going the other way, the reduction is only some 20%. In neither case are the reductions great enough to warrant anything other than a mild statement of apparent trend.

It is possible that the indices are based on too heterogeneous a set of variables such that their effects cancel each other out. Yet tests of individual variables against school types failed to turn up any useful results. It is more probable that these are interaction effects between such things as sex of pupils and founding body, etc. Unfortunately the sample is probably too small to allow much interaction analysis.

In conclusion then all that can be said at this point is that simple minded comparisons between school types and specific characteristics are not revealing. The factors controlling the existence of activities and characteristics of a school are not simply correlated with basic school types and statements indicating such relations should be viewed with some skepticism.

### Conclusion

In each of the dimensions examined the secondary schools seem to have considerable potential for further development of activities in order to begin meeting the goals set out in educational policy documents. Perhaps the greatest gap occurs in the dimension of consciously trying to promote in pupils a sense of identity with the nation. The dimension of external communications shows promise, particularly in the use of radio as a means of promoting interest in national affairs. The third dimension, involving the dignity of labor, shows evidence of some progress but it is probably the most difficult of the three dimensions in terms of making changes.

Why, we might ask, so little apparent progress towards nationally important goals in a country which has been independent for approximately half a decade? An important part of the reason probably lies in the amount of effort and resources which are required just to keep the system functioning, both on a school level and on a national level. The secondary school system has doubled in size in three years. This has placed immense demands on already limited resources. In comparison with demands to fill staff vacancies or to cope with severe shortages of teaching materials, the problem of changing the less tangible aspects of school atmosphere becomes one of lower priority in terms of immediate action. When under such pressures the temptation to carry on with the inherited system is almost overpowering.

Contributing to this major difficulty are a number of smaller problems. Because of the difficulties of communication, the daily life of schools can be effectively controlled only by the headmaster and his staff, the majority of whom are still expatriates (about 70%). Other things being equal, one can generally assume that teachers will act and think in ways similar to those which they experienced in their own schools at home. (This is one of several hypotheses which is currently being explored.) This is not to say that teachers are unsympathetic or unaware of the need for different kinds of schools in Africa. But, as on a national level, under the daily pressures of getting the job done, the way of least resistance is the way that is most familiar.

Coupled with the problem of teachers is that of pupil expectations. By and large pupils expect, and in many cases demand that they be given an education of the form which their older friends and relatives received. The increasing incidence of pupil unrest may well be a form of resistance, or more hopefully, it may be an indicator of increasing pupil awareness of the need for change.

To produce change in such circumstances requires unusual resolve, a set of clear and emotionally appealing goals, dynamic and charismatic leadership, and a reasonable consensus on the part of the people of the country as to the need and desirability of the proposed changes. Such a combination of factors is rare in any country and exceptionally so in newly developing ones.

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