PART ONE

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

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This study examines society, education, and teachers in Kenya from a perspective of the sociology of education. Society in this study refers to an integrate of ethnic groups and of their members with a distinct identity, culture, as well as a territorial area known as Kenya. Culture is the total heritage of customs, beliefs, attitudes, philosophies, values, skills, and modes of economic production that are learned by members of the society.

Education, is a social process, whereby approved social agents inculcate certain skills, attitudes, and value-orientations among the members of a society, necessary for the society's internal adjustment and external adaptation. It also enables individuals, to acquire necessary symbolic resources like language and common social orientations which facilitate day-to-day interaction.

This study assumes that societies and groups would not be possible without the conformity to commonly held cultural expectations, exemplified by significant individuals, in a wide range of situations. It follows

therefore that, conformity to a social expectation is regarded as a variable, and an individual's difference in social orientations is also considered as a major problem requiring a scientific explanation in a given social setting.

In the light of the foregoing elucidations, it is appropriate in this chapter, to present a review of related literature. This would lead to the formulation and statement of the research problem.

Review of Related Literature

Each society tries to preserve its culture, as far as possible, and transmit it from one generation to another. (Durkheim, 1956: 73-76, Moumouni,1968: 15, Toweett, 1977: 46). This process is also known as socialization. Socialization is a process whereby individuals acquire personal properties such as; knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, needs, motivations and so forth (Inkeles, 1969: 615-616, Bogonko, 1992: 9). For instance, while studying the student physician, Merton et al., (1957:13) observed that socialization is a process by which individuals selectively acquire the values and attitudes, the interests, skills and, in short, the current culture in groups to which they are, or seek to become, members.

The above process, which begins soon after birth, can be conveniently viewed along with some predetermined stages namely: infancy, childhood, puberty, and adulthood. This involves a lifelong process. Therefore, the socialization that an individual undergoes in the course of a life- cycle may be categorised into four different types: (i) primary, (ii) anticipatory, (iii) re-socialization, and (iv) developmental. (Robertson, 1977: 110-111).

(i)   Primary socialization takes place in the early
        years of life. It focuses on the inculcation of
        language and cognitive skills, the internalization
        of cultural norms, and values, the establishment of
        emotional bonds and the appreciation as well as
        restriction of certain roles or behaviour.

(ii)   Anticipatory socialization is directed towards an
        individual's future roles rather than those that an
        individual has at the time of learning. For
        instance, when children play `mother' or `father'
        they are involved in anticipatory socialization for
        their future roles as parents. Similarly, much of
        the socialization in the school anticipates the
        pupils' roles in their occupational career.
        Likewise, training programmes related to teachers,
        managers, or businessmen have the same objective.

(iii)   Re-socialization involves a sharp breakup from the
        past and the internalization of radically different
        norms and values. It takes place in a context where
        individuals are partly or wholly put under
        seclusion. As a result, an individual's personality
        is systematically stripped away and rebuilt as in
        the case of military training, prison, religious
        conversion or in puberty initiation ceremonies.

(iv) Developmental socialization is based on the achievement of primary socialization. It builds on already acquired skills, values, and attitudes as an adult individual progresses through new situations such as, marriage, new jobs that require new expectations, obligations, and roles.

The nature and type of socialization, however, may vary from time to time in the same society. This is so, because individuals have to adapt to the changing physical and socio-cultural environment.

However, in the traditional simple societies, this process was, by and large, informal. In case of modern complex societies, this process is formalized to a considerable extent. This formalized process is also known as education (Moracco and Moracco, 1978:523). In the formalized educational institution, apart from the transmission of values and norms, some special skills and knowledge are also systematically imparted by professional teachers.

Therefore, according to Wilson (1962: 15-31), the role of a professional teacher is that of a social weaning agent; helping a child to acquire new attitudes of mind, values, knowledge, and motivations. A teacher has to help a child towards social mobility. He has to transmit personal standards, orientations, ideal of attainment,

which diverge from those which are learned in homes. The teachers must extend the horizons of a child, diversify its knowledge of opportunity, raise its threshold of aspiration, and induce it to exercise its talents, so that it may find a place in the social structure which is different from, and not contingent upon, the roles of its parents.

Max Weber states that modern education does not permit an individual to become a dogmatic believer.(Gerth and Mills, 1946:246) It makes him a rational human being capable of challenging the past values, and creating new ones. However, Weber does not provide a scheme in which change can be indicated as the creative function of education whereby the school teacher plays a distinctive role in society. This loose end in the theory of socialization is tightened by Talcott Parsons.

In modern society like the U.S.A., with which Parsons was mainly concerned, this process also involves a shift from traditional to modern attitudinal and value orientation. According to Parsons (1959:40):

> Relatively speaking, the school is a specialized agency. That it should increasingly have become the principal channel of selection as well as, agency of socialization is in line with what one would expect in an increasingly differentiated and progressively more upgraded society.

The Parsonian perspective has two important strands.
First, Parsons, like his predecessors, sees social order
being achieved through the operation of an integrating
system common to all members of society. Second,
schooling in modern societies is viewed as working on the
assumption that a child in school has to be socialized to
accept the legitimacy of a highly differentiated society
in which individuals are selected for different roles
which carry unequal status and reward. This is fulfilled
by pupils identifying with the teacher; with what he or
she represents, and with the beneficial nature of
education.

One of the assumptions of Parsonian theory is that, in
the educational sphere, the effectiveness of any school
structure can be measured only in terms of the needs of
the social system. However, what is inadequate about this
approach is its lack of consideration of how pressures
for change arise within social systems as a result of
conflicts of interests over the balance of power. This
aspect is addressed to by the Marxian school of thought.

Interestingly, Marx himself wrote very little about
education, though in the Communist Manifesto (1967) we
find some indication of what he and Engels saw as an
important concern for materialist analysis in this area.

Marx and Engels, (1967: 68) assert:

> And your education ! Is not that also
> social and determined by the social
> conditions under which you educate, by
> the interventions, direct or indirect, of
> society, by means of schools. The
> communists... do but seek to alter the
> character of that intervention and to
> rescue education from the influence of
> the ruling class.

In many ways, a search for the main dimensions of this
'intervention' has formed the basis of a great deal of
Marxist sociological work on education (Levitas M., 1974:
1). The exploration of some of the main features of this
theorecical endeavour are outlined by Bottomore (1983:
144) as follows:

(a) Free , public education, compulsory and uniform for
     all children, assuring the abolition of cultural or
     knowledge monopolies and of privileged forms of
     schooling.

(b) Education has to assure the all-round development
     of the personality, so that the human being can
     become a producer in the full sense and all his or
     her potentialities can unfold.

The realization of these objectives requires, among
other things, the transformation of the social, economic,
and political setup of a nation (Bernbaum, 1970:11-2,
Bernstein, 1974:145).

What is, of course, common in Parsonian and Marxian approaches is that both recognize the fact that the training has a considerable impact on the development of an individual's personality. Not surprisingly, therefore, the family, the schools, and teachers are expected to play a crucial role in this regard. The family gives birth to an individual and finally hands over the person to the school. The school provides the context of socialization to the present and future generations who in turn are expected to play a leading role as adults: in moulding the future of the society. (Anderson, 1970; Carnoy, 1970, 12-18; Moi, 1986)

There is no dearth of literature on the process of socialization and child-rearing practices (Goslin, 1969; Levitas, 1974, and Lecey, 1977)in anthropology (e.g. Benedict,1950), in psychology (e.g. Mead,1946), and in sociology (e.g. Parsons, 1951, 1959) in particular. Thus, a good deal of work is done in this area. Anthropology views socialization from the stand-point of broader culture which helps to determine the overall boundaries of socialization-experiences. Psychology focuses on the development of innate individual characteristics relevant to social behaviour as well as on the basic process through which these behavioural tendencies are learned. And, sociology concentrates on

the characteristics of special groups or institutions in which socialization occurs and also on the common social skills acquired by individuals in varying contexts. But very few studies have tried to examine the continuities and discontinuities between the two processes.

The Problem

As identified in the foregoing discussion, this study, therefore, shall try to bridge the gap by focusing constantly on the changing Kenyan society and consequent adaptation of socialization process of the society to meet the emerging new socio-cultural needs. The emergence of Kenya as a modern nation can be partly attributed to the spread of modern education and the role of school teachers in national development. Since pre-colonial era, Kenya has evolved its education system by incorporating the best of African and foreign traditions. However, the extent to which this modern education has affected attitudes and values in society is not yet known.

The attempt to study the relationship between society and education with reference to the process of socialization is challenging. This view concurs with Inkeles' (1969a: 615- 619) observation that social structure impinges on, and in many ways determines socialization. In its turn, socialization may have

substantial effects on social structure. This relationship is not necessarily one of discrete interactions, but may take the form of cycles or other sequences prolonged over substantial periods of historical time.

The understanding of the above relationship is further complicated by the fact that the part is not entirely subsumed under the whole, but rather includes elements dependent on still other systems. The elements of social structure are not mutually exclusive, but inter-penetrate in a complex web of relations constituting the total socio-cultural system. The degree of consistency or coherence among the socialization pressures generated in each realms of social structure, also presents special problems for analysis.

According to Faure et al. (1972:3), history exerts a powerful influence on education, in the sense that educational development is a function of societies' historical development, that education bears many traces of the past and, finally, that it is time for education to help make history by preparing for it. However, Halsey (1975:14) argues that: How does the sociologist conceive of society and education as well as the relation between them? He states that it is convenient, if empirically unrealistic, to think of a society first as a static

structure of social relationships within which the substructures have functional interchanges.

The foregoing approach excludes monocausal theories and the division of variables into dependent and independent. Instead it insists on multiple causation through interactive influence. Thus, change in society will be expected to precipitate educational changes and vice versa. On static assumptions all this would be common ground, but when we move towards realism and dynamic conception of society there is less agreement among sociologists.

Scholars on educational matters are challenged by an extremely difficult but highly topical question: How do education and culture relate to each other from the perspective of the sociology of education? The answer (Brookover and Erikson, 1975: 13; Mahler, 1985:75) is to be sought in the real diversity of the historical, social and cultural development of the different contemporary societies. It can be elaborated only through a new understanding of the relation between society and education, and by taking a critical approach to dominant functionalist way of defining this relationship and its consequences for the practical development of any modern society.

According to Inkeles (1969b: 208-25; 1973: 163-79) individual modernity is a complex of interrelated attitudes, values, and behaviours. Education, mass media, and industrial employment are some of the determinants of individual modernity. He concludes that by virtue of having had more formal schooling, personal character would be decidedly more modern and can be measured by a scale designed by him for this purpose.

It is important to study these processes in the Kenyan context. Because, after independence, Kenya decided to be a modern nation-state. Much of its success in achieving this goal depends upon the way in which its future citizens are being socialized in the modern value system. (Republic of Kenya, 1965: 222-227; Moi, 1986:41; Otiende et al., 1992 : 129).

Amer and Youtz (1971: 604-26) point out that formal education is expected to have a modernizing influence on values and beliefs such as, independence from family and other traditional authority, belief in science, and orientations to the future. Moreover, school teachers have to play a significant role not only by showing competence and commitment to their role of imparting knowledge and skill, but also by becoming effective socializing agents. This is because their behaviour and value orientations directly or indirectly influence the

pupils. Parents expect these teachers to become role-models worth being emulated. (Durkheim, 1956: 88-90; Merton, 1957:368-369; Ogot, 1968:20; Znaniecki, 1970:12-13).

Therefore, a slight deviation of teachers from socially expected behaviour at times invites sharp reactions from the society as reflected in critical coverage of such incidents in the mass media. (Kenyatta University, 1989) For instance, One cartoonist depicts the situation as follows in figure 1·1

8 THE STANDARD, Friday, July 30, 1993.

THE STANDARD

Established 1902

Figure 1·1 COMMENT
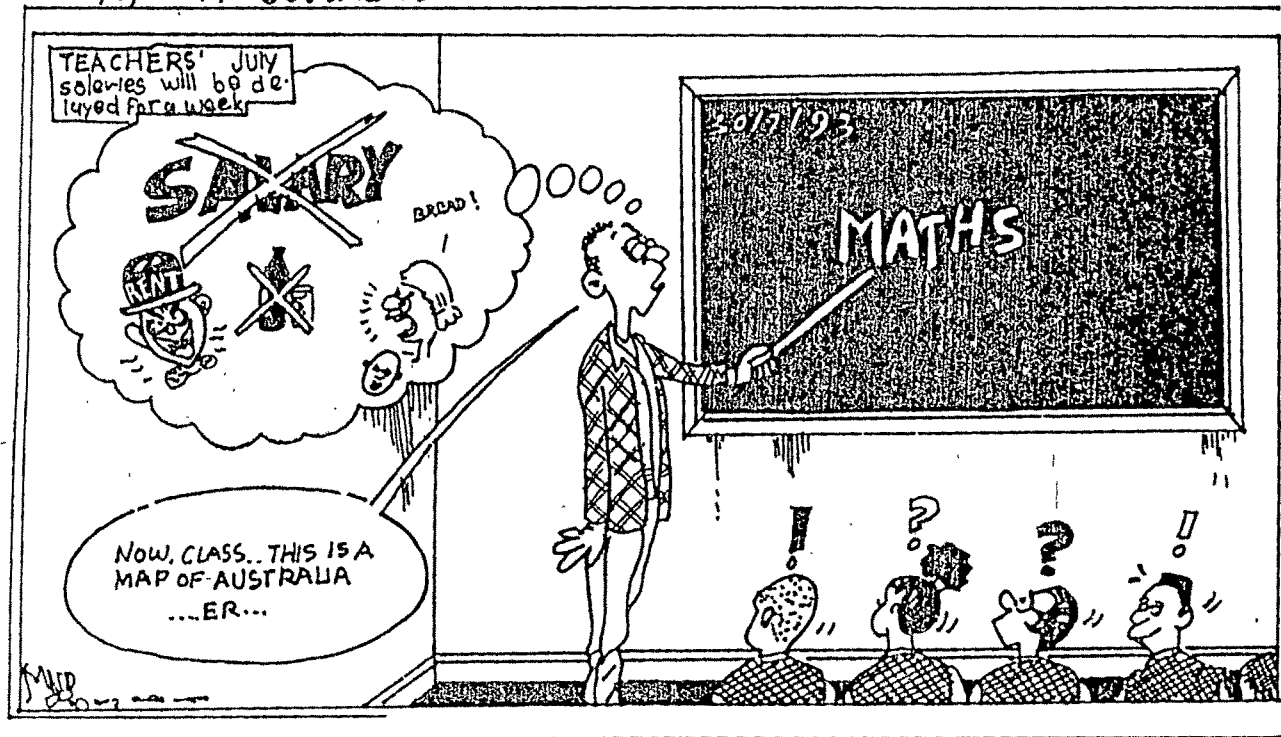
Or, look at the following editorial of <u>The</u> <u>Standard</u>
Tuesday October, 1, (1991.P.8.).

> Something ought to be done about the
> promotion and career mobility of primary
> school teachers. Whereas in the secondary
> schools things seem to have worked, the
> situation in the primary section is
> pathetic leaving many teachers frustrated
> and demoralised ... perhaps this explains
> to some extent why fraud among teachers
> ranks second to desertion and improper
> resignation: ......

Unfortunately this kind of coverage creates a negative
image about the whole teaching community.

In the above context of public concern, it needs to be
ascertained whether (a) are all teachers alike ? (b) are
they necessarily recruited from the same socio-economic
background ? (c) do they have similar training ?, and (d)
do they have similar values and attitudes ?

Research Questions

It is, therefore, necessary to frame a set of research
questions while keeping in mind the changing Kenyan
society and consequent adaptation of socialization
process of the society to meet the emerging socio-
cultural needs. Thus, while proceeding with the inquiry,

this study will try to answer some of the following research question:

1. How are society and education related in Kenya ?

2. Is the relationship between the two static or dynamic ? In other words, do the form and content of socialization remain the same or change with the change in society over a given period?

3. What is the relevance of the education imparted at present in Kenya at primary and secondary level to the modernization of the contemporary Kenyan society?

4. Who are the school teachers ? How are they recruited ? Do they constitute a homogeneous group or a heterogeneous group in terms of their socio-economic background ?

5. What is the level of their commitment to their profession and what are their value and attitudinal orientations ?

6. Is there any relationship between their socio-economic background and training on one hand and their value orientations on the other hand ?

The overall objective of the present study is to gain familiarity and insight into the process of socialization in Kenya. Thus, this study is exploratory or formulative in its design.

This study is based on primary and secondary data collected between 1991 and 1996. The primary data were obtained mainly through, interview schedule and observation. The details of sampling and other aspects of methodology are discussed in Appendix no. I.

Although this is an exploratory study, its findings throw significant light on the interrelationship between society and education. The study also highlights certain aspects of the modern Kenyan educational system; such as the socio- economic background of school teachers, their teaching commitment, professionalization and also their attitudinal orientations.

Summary

To recapitulate the ideas in this chapter, it is argued, on the basis of the review of related literature, that each society tries to preserve its own culture as far as possible by transmitting it from one generation to another. This process of transmission of culture is known as socialization.

Socialization is a process whereby individuals acquire the personal properties such as, knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, needs, motivations and so forth. The nature and type of this process, however, may vary from time to time in the same society. This is so, because it has to adapt to the changing physical and socio-cultural environment.

However, in the traditional simple societies, socialization process was, by and large, informal. But in modern complex societies, it is a formalized process which is known as education. Hence, in the formalized educational institutions, not only the transmission of values and norms takes place, but also some special skills and knowledge are systematically imparted by teachers.

There are a number of studies on socialization and child rearing practices in Sociology, Psychology and Anthropology. Similarly, there is no dearth of studies on different aspects of education. But, very few studies have tried to examine the continuities and discontinuities between the two processes. This study, therefore, intends to fill this gap by examining both these processes with specific reference to Kenya.