

The Social Function of Formal Schooling in Tanzania

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We are making great efforts to promote a new attitude in our schools. Everything possible must be done to replace the discredited values of competitive individualism by the cooperative socialist ideal. . .

Minister for National Education, Tanzania.

It is utopian to expect schools to undergo a major transformation of social function at the present stage of African development.

Philip Foster, "Education for Self-Reliance: A Critical Evaluation," in R. Jolly, ed., *Education in Africa: Research and Action* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969).

THE PROBLEM: SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION AND THE STRUCTURE OF SCHOOLS

The explicit and visible function of formal schooling is to transmit knowledge and skills by means of classroom instruction and to allocate those trained to appropriate employment. Schools, however, have a wider function in that they are vehicles of social mobility and also the setting where students learn broad principles of social conduct. Implicit in educational policy statements in East Africa is the view that these three functions are mutually reinforcing and jointly subordinate to the fundamental purposes and values of the emerging national societies. Yet little is known about the inter-relationship of these three objectives or of the mechanisms of the school through which they are achieved.

Two distinct and seemingly contradictory lines of thought are apparent in theoretical discussion of the social effects of schooling. One viewpoint sees the school as the single most important instrument of socialization and stresses the influence of curricula and organizational features as the major determinants of student dispositions. A contrasting hypothesis suggests that student socialization is determined by adult expectations rooted in the wider social and economic context which are largely beyond the control of the school. An analogue of this theoretical debate is provided by the educational scene in East Africa. Educators lay increasing stress on curricula, teachers and organizational change as means of inculcating appropriate attitudes. Students by contrast seem to be influenced exclusively by external factors such as their perception of the employment market and the ability of their school to promote their status mobility. This paradox raises a fundamental question regarding the relationship between schools and society. To what extent and by what means are schools independently able to influence the outlook of their students, and hence lead in the diffusion of new attitudes and values, and to what extent are they bound

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to simply follow and reflect the dictates and priorities of the wider society? It is important to attempt to answer this question because of the faith of educators that schools can be used to transform attitudes and values, and because the prospects for educational change are bound up with the answer.

Nowhere in Africa has faith in the transformative potential of formal schooling been more explicitly demonstrated than in Tanzania. What is being attempted there is the adaption of the inherited Western-shaped school system to achieve radical changes in the outlook of Tanzanian youth. Educational policy gives pre-eminence to altering the social function of schooling so that students come to regard it not merely as a means of skill training and personal advance but as a preparation for socialist service to the national community. The student is expected to go out into his society and personify and diffuse the new values acquired in schooling. Thus the goal of creating socialist citizens merges into the goal of transforming society. Tanzania is the latest of those countries which have attempted to use their schools for massive directed culture change. The line of descent includes the attempt to create 'New Soviet Man', the continuing transformation of political culture in Cuba, and educational policy in China. Educational policy in Tanzania, as in the three other countries, is based on the assumption that undesirable attitudes are a consequence of particular characteristics of Western schooling and that more appropriate dispositions can be achieved by means of the restructuring of school experience. Yet the reorganization of the school system in Tanzania is proceeding on the basis of very little empirical evidence to confirm that schools can be effectively adapted for social transformation on the scale envisaged and by the means suggested.

The central assumption of this paper is that systematic examination of Tanzania's attempt to get schools to perform a new social function can provide important insights into the wider conditions of successful educational change. As a start in this direction the paper attempts to apply what is known about educational effects in general to Tanzania's specific attempt to use schools to create socialist citizens. The purpose is firstly to permit a tentative assessment of the relative influence of school and society in determining student attitudes and secondly to identify some structural features of schools which may be important in this impact. The overarching objective is to derive implications for policies of educational innovation.

SCHOOLS AND THE CREATION OF SOCIALIST CITIZENS

The extent of educational innovation intended in Tanzania is best illustrated by a description of the type of citizen which schools are expected to produce. Outstanding characteristics of the official citizenship role are the explicitness with which its desired qualities have been specified, the wide range of qualities involved and the whole-heartedness with which their rapid inculcation is being attempted. Examination of policy statements reveals that two distinct types of individual capacity are implicit in the officially expected citizenship role. Firstly, citizenship in Tanzania assumes the acquisition of qualities necessary

for any national polity. In this aspect the role demands capacities permitting participation in, and prior allegiance to, institutions which extend beyond the confines of kinship, tribe and church. These are the qualities which are prominent in the voluminous literature on nation building and 'modernization'.¹ However, official criteria of citizenship in Tanzania go far beyond these capacities and suggest a more encompassing relationship between the individual and the nation than is usually treated in the literature. A particularly explicit statement of these criteria can be found in the opening pages of the primary school syllabus for political education.² Listed in parallel columns are the twenty-four qualities of the 'good' and the 'bad' citizens. The 'good citizen' has not only the familiar duties of obeying the law, paying his taxes and understanding national politics, he is also expected to work hard at co-operative tasks, to be conscientious at seeing jobs through to their conclusion, to eat sensible food, and to eschew gambling and laziness. It is thus clear from the official model that citizenship in Tanzania does not simply describe the minimum civil rights and social responsibilities of new nationals. The concept *mwananchi* (citizen) is an inclusive call to action inviting people to merge individual qualities with national purposes in almost every aspect of their daily life. The defining principle of the socialist strand of Tanzanian citizenship is the notion of social service: the willingness to yield self-interest for the collective cause of national development. The distinction between the two types of citizenship which has been made is important because, as will be shown, they may be differentially amenable to the impact of the school. However, it is an article of faith among Tanzanian educators that schools can inculcate *both* types. This faith has been proclaimed in *Education for Self Reliance* and in a number of subsequent policy statements. Schools are expected not only to: "... inculcate a sense of commitment to the total community and help the pupils to accept the values appropriate to our kind of future, not those appropriate to our colonial past" but also to "emphasize cooperative endeavour, not individual advancement . . . stress concepts of equality and the responsibility to give service . . ."³

Having outlined Tanzania's faith in the social function of formal schooling we can turn to consider some factors relevant to its implementation.

THE 'INEVITABLE' EFFECT OF SCHOOLING

Important cross national studies have concluded that education has a substantially similar effect on its participants in different countries.⁴ In sum-

1 Examples of this type of analysis are contained in C. Geertz, ed., *Old Societies and New States* (New York: Free Press, 1963). For a discussion of the nationalist aspects of Tanzanian citizenship see G. Hyden, *Tanu Yajenga Nchi* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1968), Chs. 1 and 2.

2 *Muhtasari Ya Mafundisho Ya Elimu Ya Siasa, Shule Za Msingi, Madarasa ya IV-VII* (Dar es Salaam: Wizara ya Elimu Ya Taifa, 1969).

3 J. K. Nyerere, *Education for Self Reliance* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1967).

4 J. Kahl, *The Measurement of Modernism, A Study of Values in Brazil and Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968); A. Inkeles, "Participant Citizenship in Six Developing Nations," *American Political Science Review* (January 1970).

mary the argument is that formal schooling induces an attitudinal syndrome characterized as 'modernity'. On the one hand this principle lends support to Tanzania's assumption that schools are important in the formation of social values. On the other hand, by postulating a common and universal effect of schooling the principle implies a limitation on the possibility of controlling that impact. One explanation which has been advanced to account for the allegedly common impact of education suggests that it is due to the unique pattern of organizational properties and derivative social experience which is provided by all schools in all places. In other words, schools as a distinctive type of institution may provide certain collective experiences which shape their members' expectations in a common way.⁵

Tanzanian schools share with schools everywhere a distinctive pattern of organizational properties: schools are buildings in which students are contained for the major portion of each day; pupils of similar age are assembled in groups of between thirty and fifty in a classroom where they are under the authority of a certificated teacher; they are subject to a regular rotational sequence of daily and weekly activities and at the end of a year are promoted to the next level of activities; above all the classroom is a place of public performance and collective sanction where students are differentiated in terms of their academic achievement. There can be little doubt that the modal characteristics and sequential nature of formal schooling in Tanzania, as elsewhere, provide a unique type of experience. Precisely what is learned from the invariable structure of the school beyond the acquisition of knowledge and skill is an empirical question. However, the important point implied is that to the extent that the institutional effect is inevitable, and its lessons are not congruent with Tanzanian objectives, there is a limitation on the achievement of these objectives.

A second explanation stresses that the effect of education is not so much a product of any organizational feature of schools but rather the result of status considerations consequent upon attainment of a given level and type. An educated or rather a certificated person has different social expectations and hence a different outlook on society and his role in it than his uncertificated or less certificated fellow. This viewpoint stresses society as a whole rather than the schools themselves as the source of student attitudes.

Philip Foster is perhaps the most articulate advocate of the view that schools reflect their social context and cannot be used instrumentally to initiate changes of social attitude. Writing with specific reference to Tanzania, he argues that schools cannot be expected to transmit notions of social duty in a society where élite privileges accrue to education.⁶ In such a situation he claims society and school inevitably complement each other in transmitting notions of individualism and competitive effort and that these inevitably subvert any

5 For systematic speculation on what these experiences and their effects might be, see R. Dreeben, *On What is Learned in School* (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison Wesley, 1968).

6 The summary of Foster's thesis in this paragraph and the subsequent criticisms of it refer particularly to P. Foster, "Education for Self Reliance, a Critical Evaluation," in R. Jolly, ed., *Education in Africa* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969).

egalitarian objectives of the educational programme. He cites his West African studies and the inability of Russian education to create 'New Soviet Man' in prophesying failure for Tanzania's educational policy. His prophesy is based on the view that Tanzania's schools have become functionally interwoven in a largely irreversible pattern of development inaugurated by colonial rule. ". . . under these circumstances," he contends, "attempts to effect a major transformation of the functional relationships between the schools and the broader social structure are likely to meet with limited success."⁷

Again, in the Tanzanian scene one can identify much to support the Foster thesis, in that vestiges of colonial society have had, and continue to have, a strong influence on student expectations. For example, educational demand is still a demand for the kind which in colonial times was perceived to provide its recipients with the best material prospects, i.e., academic schooling certified by examination. Furthermore, there are signs that parental expectations of financial and status returns to education have a significant influence upon student outlook. The plea of university students who demonstrated against the requirements of national service in 1966 was their need to gain what they saw as their just reward for their years of school, in order to pay back the investment of their parents in them. Mbilinyi has shown how an investment philosophy still guides parental decisions on the allocation of scarce school fees between boys and girls.⁸ The manifest interest which parents continue to attach to national examinations implies that schooling is still perceived in terms of social mobility. These perceptions are hardly surprising, as they reflect a fairly accurate response to the prevailing reward structure which continues to favour the most educated. Occupations are still defined largely according to education, and income increases geometrically with level attained. Nyerere himself has drawn attention to the power of societal expectation in Tanzania:

. . . he [the student] will often find that his parents and relatives support his own conception of his difference and regard it as wrong that he should live and work as the ordinary person he really is. For the truth is that many of the people in Tanzania have come to regard education as meaning that a man is too precious for the rough and hard life which the masses of our people still live.⁹

Part of the picture which is visible in Tanzania is that of stridently explicit Government expectations set off against tacit but strongly held family and student expectations. The Government assumes that schools will inculcate attitudes of socialist commitment and rural orientation. Many parents still treat the same schools as vehicles of individual mobility for their children and family investment. In this situation the continuing task before the Tanzanian Government becomes that of changing the terms of educational demand by altering the status expectations associated with levels of schooling or certification. As expectations tend to reflect the reality of opportunities open to students, their alteration seems more likely to come from manipulation of the

7 P. Foster, "Education for Self Reliance, a Critical Evaluation," in R. Jolly, p. 100.

8 M. Mbilinyi, *Education of Girls in Tanzania* (Dar es Salaam: Institute of Education, 1969).

9 J. K. Nyerere, *Education for Self Reliance*, op. cit., p. 11.

wage and prestige differentials associated with particular occupations than through direct action in schools. The reduction of civil servants' salaries after the 1966 student demonstration was an early recognition of this fact. Subsequent measures making income tax more progressive, the Leadership Code, and the curtailment of private property ownership are similarly aimed at the reduction of élite privileges. The ultimate objective is to develop social incentives to education which replace the conventional expectations of wage employment and its associated status.

The argument so far supports the conclusion that the instrumental use of schools for socialization is limited both by their existing institutional properties and by the nature of the societal expectations which apply to them. Yet Tanzania continues to pursue a policy of adapting school structures for the purpose of transforming social attitudes. The outlook for this strategy would seem to depend on the extent to which the foregoing analysis has overstated the inflexibility of schools. Critical scrutiny of this analysis gives a number of grounds for the view that schools are not entirely powerless to contribute to social change.

VARIABILITY IN SCHOOL SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND IMPACT

Those who conclude that schooling has an inevitable and uncontrollable impact place great emphasis upon a single aspect of school socialization, i.e., its impact on occupational and status expectations. From a demonstrated association between such expectations and educational attainment they have inferred a general and uncontrollable impact upon student values. However, while status expectations constitute an important area of self-image there is yet no empirical reason for believing that they are entirely encompassing of a student's outlook. There may be a range of socializing consequences of schools which cannot be subsumed under a particular status expectation effect and which furthermore may be subject to the internal influence of the school social structure. A given status expectation is compatible with a variety of orientations. For example, the desire, engendered by schooling, to occupy an important position in the Tanzanian State Trading Corporation is compatible with both a sense of social responsibility or irresponsibility along a dimension which is central to the official citizenship role in Tanzania. As a consequence of the decision to use the inherited formal school system for socialization Tanzanian students are inevitably an élite in the sense that they are given special treatment and singled out for a special task. However, the content of the citizenship concept which students take with them to élite positions is not wholly a function of particular status expectations. Thus for Tanzania, the important task facing secondary schools is how to modify the terms of school-inspired élitism.

A related criticism of the 'inevitable effect' thesis concerns its underestimation of students' ability to reconcile seemingly opposed expectations in their definition of an integrated role. We have implied that Tanzanian students are subject to conflicting demands. For example, the official citizenship demand

stresses equality and the obligations of service while the lessons of the economic reward structure, reinforced by the organizational pattern of formal schooling, emphasize individual élitism and competitiveness. Yet there is some reason for believing that Tanzanian students have a much greater ability to tolerate different perspectives in a single view than is allowed by Foster, although little is known about the extent to which the internal social structures of schools are significant in this process.¹⁰

Foster tends to invest his predictions with a stamp of global or at least continental inevitability. To assume a "present stage of African development" and that the pace of advance from it is determined by a common colonial inheritance seems to be invoking a continental determinism by assigning all African countries a common destiny.¹¹ The success of Tanzania's divergent course is a test of the hypothesis. But the extent of present difference in school structure at least implies that the latitude for successful national experimentation may be greater than allowed by Foster.

At the national level the view that schools can only follow and reflect their society implies a static and one-way relationship between the educational and social system of a country. Even if the direction of the relationship is conceded, the extent and rapidity with which schools are able to follow the priorities of the wider society are not absolute or inevitable conditions. At the very least the speed of response to societal imperatives is contingent upon features of school organization, procedure and social structure. Status expectations are the type of social attitudes most subject to the reality of the opportunity and prestige patterns outside the school. Yet even in this area, student perceptions of reality can be subject to factors operating within the school.¹²

One can agree with Foster that the use of schools to achieve certain types of social objective is unlikely to be successful unless the objectives are rooted in corresponding social change outside the school. It may well be that socialist society in Tanzania has to reach a threshold of strength, institutionalization or acceptance before schools can begin to complement or supplement the socialist course. Our argument is that when this state is reached what happens inside schools has an important effect upon student attitudes and hence on social change. Foster's analysis has little to say about the response of schools when the society itself begins to change. In Tanzania social transformation is underway. Socialist objectives have been defined and a socialist institutional framework established. If, as seems the case, schools are already lagging behind their society in Tanzania, the important issue becomes not that broached by Foster of why they are unable to *lead*, but in what respects they can be restructured so that they are better able to *follow*.

It is important to emphasize that the existence of unique structural changes

10 D. Court and K. Prewitt, "Nation Versus Region: A Note on Political Learning," *British Journal of Political Science*, forthcoming.

11 Foster specifically prophesies a common educational destiny for countries as diverse as Ghana, Tanzania and the Ivory Coast.

12 H. C. A. Somerset, "Education Aspirations of Fourth Form Pupils in Kenya," in D. Court and D. P. Ghai, eds., *Education, Society and Development: Perspectives from Kenya* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

in the schools of Tanzania is not itself evidence for any correspondingly distinctive impact. Foster does not deny the possibility of major structural changes in Tanzanian schools. He simply questions that they can have the egalitarian consequences hoped for. Indeed the centrally directed changes in the organization of Tanzanian schools—compared say with those of Kenya—provide a continuing example of what is possible in terms of changing the inherited structures of colonial education. They do not however define the consequences of those changes. In questioning some of Foster's arguments we have implied that there is an area of school impact which is not an inevitable effect of basic institutional characteristics or external societal expectations, but the product of systematic alterable features of school social structure. However, it is easier to produce marginal criticisms of an otherwise significant statement, than it is to identify which aspects of school social structure have what effects. The weight of evidence seems to support the universalist case which has been outlined, but it is important to ask if there is any evidence to support the prospects of Tanzania as a successfully divergent case.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND CITIZENSHIP IN TANZANIAN SCHOOLS

The second part of the paper introduces some dimensions of school social structure relevant to Tanzania's objective of creating socialist citizens and presents some evidence appropriate to an assessment of their significance. Five areas are discussed:

- (a) the formal instructional setting including the role of teachers and curriculum;
- (b) the social isolation of schools;
- (c) the composition of student membership;
- (d) the role of extra-curricular participation; and
- (e) the authority and administrative structure of the school.

These dimensions are chosen because they are prominent in the theoretical literature on school impact and because they are all dimensions which are within the control of educational policy-makers in Tanzania. Furthermore they are areas on which some descriptive and empirical evidence for Tanzania is available. The empirical findings presented here are drawn from a continuing study of education and social transformation in Tanzania.¹³ They are based on questionnaire responses from a national sample of students in Tanzanian secondary schools. The questionnaire included a variety of items relating to student perceptions of their citizenship role. The objective of the larger study

13 The survey data reported here are responses to a questionnaire administered to 1246 secondary students from a national sample of 14 secondary schools. They constitute part of the Tanzanian segment of the Education and Citizenship Project. Further information on the whole project can be found in the introduction to K. Prewitt, *Education and Political Values* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1971). The survey data are supplemented by the author's previous experience as a secondary school teacher in Tanzania, and further field research carried out in 1970. For a more comprehensive analysis of the data see D. Court, "Schooling Experience and the Making of Citizens: A Study of Tanzanian Secondary Students," (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Stanford University California, 1971).

is to relate citizenship values to distinct types of school experience.¹⁴ The more limited purpose here is simply to suggest and illustrate some important aspects of school social structure.

Formal Structure

The clarity of Tanzania's goals and the vigour of her educational policies over the past five years tend to give a misleading impression of the extent to which relationships between specific school practices and student outcomes are understood. Changes intended to implement 'Education for Self Reliance' are familiar. They initially centred on curricula aspects of school experience and aimed to eliminate the colonial character of Tanzanian education. They have included the more intensive use of Swahili, the achievement of virtual self-sufficiency in pre-university teachers, the removal of foreign references from school names, the localization of the syllabus content at all levels and the introduction of cooperative agriculture, political education, paramilitary drills and defence training. These changes undoubtedly amount to a major nationalization of education in Tanzania in the sense of removing the most visible excrescences of inherited colonial practice. It is likely too that they have contributed to a corresponding nationalization in the frame of reference of students. Less certain however are the ways in which changes in the instructional setting contribute positively to the new social function intended for schools in Tanzania, i.e., the creation of a sense of socialist service. The achievement of a sense of cultural autonomy and of socialist commitment are not synonymous products although the first is probably a prerequisite for the second.

That there is less certainty than is often implied in policy rhetoric over what changes contribute to what results is suggested by a number of recent educational debates. Examples are the debate over whether there can be 'socialist' mathematics, the nature of socialist leadership training following the reorganization of the former Tabora School, and the issue of whether prizes for individual academic achievement are a useful spur to intellectual excellence or foster an undesirable individualism. Similarly the checkered history of Development Studies at the University of Dar es Salaam is perhaps indicative of limitations to the mobilizing potential of formal pedagogy.¹⁵ In short, it is difficult amid the welter of innovation in formal structures to distinguish those changes which contribute to national awareness and self-confidence, i.e., aspects of *national* citizenship and those which lead to a strengthening of the *socialist* character of citizenship. The recent decision on examinations is a particularly good example of this point. The removal of Cambridge from any influence over the content of study and the allocation of students in Tanzania is a significant step towards national self-reliance in education. The more

14 The principal mode of analysis was purposive sub-sampling to permit comparison of the citizenship values of groups of students who were similar in their personal background characteristics—such as ethnicity, sex, religion and form—but differed in distinctive features of their schooling experience.

15 The issue received prominent coverage in the Tanzanian press between March and mid-April 1971.

difficult question which remains is the role of examinations themselves and criteria of selection which are relevant to the development of socialist aspirations. Since access to successive levels of education is restricted, and the rewards of access high, selection examinations have an all pervasive influence in schools which is independent of the content or national origin of the examinations. Their purpose as presently constituted is to differentiate people on one particular criterion—academic achievement—and the lesson they tend to inspire is that rewards go to those whose individual achievement in this restricted sphere is greatest.

The main conclusion of the theoretical literature on school impact is that the informal features of schooling experience are more important than formal instruction in the development of social values.¹⁶ Thus, while it is widely believed that teachers transmit social values to their students, there is very little evidence to document this notion. A similar inconclusiveness characterizes research attempts to link exposure to specific curricula with subsequent student attitudes. There is as yet no indication from Tanzania to contradict these general findings. This is not to conclude that political education and curriculum change are unimportant, but simply that excessive faith in their independent effect upon attitudes and values as opposed to information—on socialist as opposed to nationalist citizenship—may be misplaced. At the same time it raises the possibility that the major sources of socialist citizenship values lie outside the classroom in the complex social structure of the school.¹⁷

The Informal Social Structure

The formal structures of colonial schooling are relatively amenable to central fiat, but those which are strategic in the achievement of socialist citizenship are perhaps less formal and less accessible. The Minister for National Education acknowledges this fact when he points out that the inculcation of socialist orientations requires the achievement of an entirely new socialist environment in schools: "It remains for us to ensure not only that our courses really provide the expertise needed, but also that the school itself is a living model of the ideal community to which we wish trained students to return."¹⁸ As formal schooling—the chosen weapon of social transformation in Tanzania—is itself a product of the colonial inheritance, the consequent strategy of adaption must be predicated on a distinction between the important and the superficial characteristics of the inherited social structure of schools.

Social Isolation. Many of Tanzania's secondary schools are boarding

16 The bulk of the work on the effect of educational institutions refers to the American College. For a summary of this work see K. A. Feldman and T. M. Newcomb, *The Impact of College on Students*, Vol. I (San Francisco: Jossey Bass Inc., 1969).

17 For a discussion of possible sources, see L. Cliffe, "Socialist Education in Tanzania," and G. Von der Muhll, "Education, Citizenship and Social Revolution in Tanzania," in K. Prewitt, *Education and Political Values* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1971).

18 C. Y. Mgonja, "Annual Report of the Minister of Education to the National Assembly," (mimeo), 1969.

schools and share some of the characteristics of 'total institutions'.¹⁹ The isolation of such schools has been identified as one of the sources of major ills within the educational system. To it has been attributed the intellectual arrogance and separatist thinking of Tanzanian students. Thus, the President:

Tanzania's education is such as to divorce its participants from the society it is supposed to be preparing them for. . . . This is particularly true of secondary schools which are inevitably almost entirely boarding schools. The school is always separate—it is not part of society. The few who go to secondary school are taken many miles away from their homes; they live in an enclave, having permission to go into the town for recreation, but not relating the work of either town or country to their real life—which is lived in the school compound.²⁰

The powerful implication here is that physical isolation leads to social insularity which in turn produces student dispositions which are inappropriate to the type of society being sought.

If separation is itself a major determinant of student outlook we would expect this to be revealed in a comparison of the attitudes of students from boarding schools and those from day schools. A comparison of the two, however, found very little difference across a wide range of citizenship attitudes. But when the sample of schools was subdivided to take account of their urban or rural location as well as their residential type a more distinct pattern of relationships emerged. Students at the two types of residential school, i.e., urban and rural, differed consistently while there was substantial similarity in the citizenship views of those at urban day schools. This pattern maintained itself when the religious and socio-economic status of individual students were taken into account. Thus despite the marked difference between boarding and day school experience in Tanzania the dimension of residence is not alone a distinguishing feature of school social context. The demonstrable effect of school location suggests the importance of the extent to which school experience—boarding or day—is integrated into a range of community activities. There is little evidence to suggest what types of integrative activity are crucial. Attempts to relate school and community during the secondary years in Tanzania have got little beyond such token measures as open days and brief vacation stints in ujamaa villages. It is doubtful whether such experiences make much inroad into the overwhelming impact of the conventional regularities of formal schooling. Much more important in its impact on nascent socialist citizenship, is probably the intensive integrative experience of national service which follows secondary school.

Social Composition of Schools. The importance of student peer groups in the development of individual attitudes is familiar to teacher and researcher alike. Particularly influential in the learning of important social values is the degree of homogeneity of school peer groups on a significant background characteristic such as sex, social class, tribe and religious affiliation. The process has been described thus:

19 For a description of such institutions see E. Goffman, "The Characteristics of Total Institutions," in A. Etzioni, ed., *Complex Organizations: A Sociological Reader* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962).

20 J. K. Nyerere, *Education for Self Reliance*, op. cit., p. 11.

A person's contacts with other individuals affects his way of viewing the social and political world. The composition of a student body can aid in the development of community identification or prevent it. It can help create inter-group cooperation and harmony, or isolation and conflict.²¹

Tanzanian schools continue to differ markedly in both ethnic and religious homogeneity. To the extent that either of these ascribed characteristics is associated with dispositions inimical to the qualities of socialist citizenship, we would expect such qualities to be less strongly held in homogeneous than in heterogeneous schools. As one way of investigating this issue, the study of Tanzanian students compared two groups of Catholic students who were similar in all respects except that one group had attended exclusively Catholic schools while the other had attended schools which were religiously heterogeneous in their membership.²² A similar comparison was made for Protestant students. Responses to three questions from the study can be used to illustrate the point we are making. The first asked students to indicate on a four point scale how important it was for them to marry someone of their own religion, i.e., an issue which is close to their religious identification. The second question asked whether they thought students should assist in self-help projects during their vacation, i.e., a question not directly relevant to their religion but bearing centrally on the service ethic of Tanzanian socialist citizenship. A third question similarly probed students' sense of self-reliance by asking them to weigh dependence upon Government assistance against personal efforts as means of improving their standard of life.

As one might expect, both Catholics and Protestants in the religiously homogeneous schools attach significantly greater importance to marrying a co-religionary than their fellows in schools where the religious composition is more varied. Much more interesting however is the fact that a similar pattern of responses is found for the questions bearing on social service and self-reliance. The strong inference is that the social composition of a school influences a student's emerging concept of a socialist citizenship role.

Table 1—THE EFFECT OF RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION OF SCHOOLS UPON THREE ASPECTS OF CITIZENSHIP

	Catholics		Protestants	
	Homo-geneous	Hetero-geneous	Homo-geneous	Hetero-geneous
% who attach little or no importance to marrying a co-religionary	21	40	24	33
% who favour the idea of student community service	54	69	64	72
% who rank high on self-reliance (N. 100%)	50 (160)	63 (72)	54 (58)	62 (102)

21 R. Dawson and K. Prewitt, *Political Socialization* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1968), p. 168.

22 A more thorough discussion of the rationale behind this notion is contained in K. Prewitt, G. Von der Muhll and D. Court, "School Experiences and Political Socialization: A Study of Tanzanian Secondary Students," *Comparative Political Studies* (July 1970).

The evidence of this and other data not presented here would appear to confirm the wisdom of current policies in Tanzania which aim to establish greater religious and ethnic balance in school composition than previously existed.

Extra-Curricular Participation. Another type of experience inside schools which is thought to relate to a student's concept of citizenship is the extent to which the school provides opportunities for participation in activities which require qualities students are expected to assume in adult life. Yet again, despite the substantial faith of educators in the socially redeeming quality of various types of extra-curricular activity, there is little solid evidence to connect specific types of participation with a subsequent attitude or value. In the Tanzanian study the effect of student participation in the Debating Society and the TANU Youth League was examined. The interesting conclusion from analysis is that the influential factor in predicting certain salient citizenship attitudes is not individual participation but the formal political atmosphere of the school. The point can be illustrated by quoting the distribution of responses on a social trust scale. This was intended as a measure of the extent to which respondents felt able to trust and therefore cooperate with various identifiable groups of fellow citizens in the country and an indicator of a virtue which is central to the role of a socialist citizen in Tanzania.²³ The results for individual membership of the two organizations are shown in Table 2.

The significant percentage difference between the TYL and the Debating Society members seems to suggest that the school organization to which a student belongs may be an important determinant of certain citizenship dispositions or vice versa. Commitment to and participation at the school level in the nationalist political organization may inculcate a stronger sense of citizenship than participation in the more academic pursuits of the Debating Society. However, the relatively high scores of 'neither' in Table 2 counsel against unquestioning acceptance of this interpretation. Closer examination of the membership pattern for each school in the sample revealed that TYL membership was concentrated in a number of schools. The possibility implicit in this fact is that the apparent influence of TYL membership is in reality the impact of the formal political atmosphere of the school where the TYL is prominent.

Table 2— THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP AND SOCIAL TRUST

	Organizational Membership			
	Debating Society	T Y L	Both	Neither
<i>Social Trust</i>				
High (%)	31	55	39	43
Low (%)	69	44	61	57
(N. 100%)	(190)	(160)	(55)	(205)

23 The groups identified included: teachers, Government leaders, the army, and tax collectors.

By dividing schools between those where the TYL is strong and those where it is non-existent or relatively weak, and looking again at individual membership, it is possible to investigate this alternative hypothesis.²⁴

As is clear from Table 3, the effect of individual membership disappears when the strength of the TYL in a school is taken into account. Looking at the top line of the table one can see that in schools where the TYL is strong members do not differ from non-members in their social trust. It seems reasonable to conclude that membership of the organization is not itself a determining influence. A vertical reading of this table reveals the corollary that the strength of their TYL seems to be an important factor distinguishing schools. In other words the important variable is a school culture factor rather than an individual level factor.

Table 3—THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIP IN THE TANU YOUTH LEAGUE AND SOCIAL TRUST WHEN STRENGTH OF SCHOOL TYL IS TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT

School Strength of TYL	Membership in TYL	
	Member	Non-member
Strong	57% (154)	57% (86)
Weak	38% (21)	43% (115)

Probably the presence of an active TYL has itself influenced students' citizenship role but neither this table nor other available evidence permits this inference. We cannot separate the effect of the TYL as a specific causal factor and as an indicator of the level of politicization of the school. Knowledge of the individual schools involved, suggests that a strong TYL is the most important among a number of ingredients of politicization. Other factors might be a vigorously socialist headmaster, contacts with the outside Party, self-help schemes within the school and nation building schemes outside it. Further work is needed to specify which factors combine to raise the politicization level of a school and what the relative effect of each is on student outlook. The scanty data presented here at least do not refute the view of Tanzanian policy-makers that a politicized school is the appropriate environment for the development of committed citizens, or the utility of a vigorous TYL in such a task.

The Administrative and Authority Structure of Schools. As Tanzania's schools are intended to exemplify the self-reliant socialist community, it is clearly important to distinguish which features of the administrative and authority structure are most congruent with socialist objectives. The point has been strongly made with regard to the University of Dar es Salaam:

What kind of social structure exists at the University? How do decisions get made? Who makes them? What values guide them? Are all the different strata of the social structure involved in making the decisions? What is the nature of the hiring and the promotions policy with regard to members of staff, (i.e., what kind

24 Schools were treated as highly politicized if their proportion of TYL members exceeded forty per cent.

of behaviour is rewarded within the University system?) What kind of reward-punishment system operates for students? In all this investigation the essential question must be, how consistent is this with socialism?²⁵

Similar questions apply to the administrative structure of Tanzanian schools. One might ask, for example, what effect the World Bank-inspired introduction of student lockers is having on the concept of property of budding student socialists. Two very visible features of the inherited system seem to be particularly relevant to the attempt to achieve a socialist school environment: Prefects and Houses. The House and Prefect systems are the twin pillars of the administrative and authority structure of the inherited colonial model. It is conceivable that they have a correspondingly significant influence in the development of a student's sense of citizenship. The question which arises is whether a hierarchical and authoritarian prefect system is the most appropriate form of self-government for an embryonic socialist community. A similar question is whether the House or similar administrative divisions do not promote exclusiveness and fragmentation rather than the corporate spirit of unity and responsibility which is being sought from students in Tanzania.²⁶ In the absence of any suggestive data on this dimension, we can do little more here than raise what seem to be pertinent questions.

The foregoing section has identified four broad dimensions of school social structure in Tanzania and assembled some evidence suggesting that differences between schools on these dimensions may be associated with particular student dispositions. As these dimensions are all within the control of policy-makers they would seem to be strategic areas of 'leverage' in the drive to create a school socialist environment.

CONCLUSION: SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

The objective of this paper has been, by examining the case of Tanzania, to increase understanding of the capacity of schools for performing a new social function. Its method has been to contrast two distinctive views about the extent and means of the social impact of schools. The one view, exemplified in the writing of Foster, proclaims that as schools are part of an elaborate economic and social context they cannot have an independent effect upon the attitudes and values of their students. The alternative view is evident in the faith of Tanzanian educators that schooling can be used to initiate comprehensive socialization. In Tanzania the two hypotheses have their reference points in the two main types of expectation to which students are subject. On the one hand, a student's perception of his future role is influenced by expectations engendered by the social and economic context and expressed most forcibly by parents and relatives. Pitted against these are expectations emanating from Government, defining a comprehensive set of attitudes and behaviours required of socialist citizens, which are intended for inculcation through the school. The

25 M. Mbilinyi, "What's Wrong At the Hill?" *Sunday News*, 13 June 1971.

26 That this is believed in Tanzania is indicated by the fact that in some schools a community dining hall has replaced separate Houses as the eating place for students, and by various experiments varying the size of the prefect body.

evidence assembled in this paper is sufficient to challenge belief in a one-way and all-inclusive pattern of interaction between schools and their society. The actual capability of schools for performing a prescribed social function probably lies somewhere between the instrumental view of Tanzanian policy-makers and the contrasting Educational Darwinism of Philip Foster. It has been suggested that the two main types of expectation to which a student is subject are not as mutually exclusive as has been claimed. Beyond this, our principal point of emphasis has been that the socialization process in which these expectations are forged into a perception of a future role is determined in large measure by the variable social structure of the school.

The conclusion that the social structure of schools has a determining influence on their impact has important implications for educational change. It places the burden of responsibility for educational innovation inside rather than outside the school. Educational policy-makers are not at the mercy of immutable institutional forms or intangible economic social forces. This is not to say that educational innovation merely awaits the necessary will, but to conclude that the school social structure is itself a major factor impeding successful change.

Tanzania is one of the few African countries which is attempting serious structural change in education. It is confronting the fact that the inherited way of doing things reflects considerations that have little or nothing to do with the intended object of creating socialist citizens. It is daring to imagine alternative means to the achievement of its newly defined objectives. Successful change requires that intended outcomes are clear, that acceptable criteria exist for assessing whether these outcomes have been achieved, and above all that a clear concept exists of the relationship between a desired outcome and the process of change which leads to it. As shown at the beginning of this paper the objectives and priorities of educational policy in Tanzania are clearly defined, and acceptable criteria of evaluation are almost self evident. The analysis of this paper leads to the conclusion that what is most lacking is understanding of the relationship between a desired outcome and the process of change which can produce it. The reason for this vulnerability in Tanzania as elsewhere, may be because not enough is known about the realities of the social structure of schools and the ways in which it conditions the attempts at social and technical innovation. In this respect the clarity of Tanzania's objectives constitutes a danger in suggesting that there is a correspondingly simple and single route to given goals. To have any chance of success, educational policy has to take into account the complexities of the school social structure—its informal as well as its formal aspects—some of which have been emphasized in this paper.

To state the condition is to imply a research need. The general requirement is for a constant flow of careful evidence on what is actually happening in schools. The more specific research need is suggested by the preceding argument and the very tentativeness of our substantive conclusions. It is clear that little is known about the range of social outcomes of schooling and the relationship of different outcomes to each other. For instance, it is clear that

status and occupational expectations are a consequence of schooling. To the extent that they are important in a student's self-image, they are likely to relate to a wider range of attitudes and values. In deciding exactly what is learned in school we can begin to specify what aspects of school social structure are particularly relevant and what types of structural change relate to given objectives. Because Tanzania is engaged in change much can be learned from the accumulation of systematic data on its experience. By tracing the history of individual and aggregate innovations, important understanding should emerge concerning the conception, initiation and implementation of change and more generally the potential of East African schools for breaking away from the inherited colonial mould to perform a new and constructive social function.