EDUCATION AND SOCIETY

THE SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

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CHAPTER ONE

NATURE OF SOCIOLOGY

Before studying sociology of Education, It is necessary first of all to put into perspective the broad and general field, sociology itself. This chapter deals with the nature of the discipline before it examines Sociology of Education as a special area in the field. The methods sociologists use in gathering information for their work is discussed. At the end of the chapter the student should be able to explain the main features of sociology and sociology of Education using local examples.

What is Sociology?

Sociology is a branch of knowledge. It has been variously defined by social scientists. This goes to show the vastness of the discipline and the values of the different writers. The following definitions give a beginner in the field an idea of the variety of areas of interest for sociologists.
Sociology has bean defined as:

- the science of human interaction
- the science of social behaviour
- the science of human society
- the scientific study of social organisation
- the scientific study of human relationship
- the scientific study of the phenomena arising Out of the group relations of human beings.[1]

Looking at these definitions, two key concepts emerge: first is that sociology is a science and secondly It deals with man. Let us look at the two concepts. Science is a systematic and definite way of observing or studying and documenting reality.

[1] These definitions are from text books on Introduction to Sociology. See D Duane Braun, Cliff's Course Outline. Sociology, Lincoln, Nebraska: Cliff's Notes. Inc. 1971, p.1. Bruce J. Cohen. Introduction to Sociology. Schalum's Outline Series New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1979. p.1.

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For example one may want to study marriage as a social phenomenon. He begins by asking some questions with a view to finding explanations: what is marriage? Why is marriage contracted in society? What effects has It for man and society? Who are involved in it? To get rational explanation to these questions, he sets about gathering information, carefully documenting it in a logical and ordered manner. All this is a common feature of science a rational and systematic study of phenomena.

The second aspect of the definitions is the Idea that sociology is concerned with the study of man in his group relationship. Sociology is interested in the study of man, his group and his activities in the group. Man is a social animal. He lives in society made up of various individuals with similar but sometimes different interests. These interests reflect the needs of man. He needs food and shelter, he needs to associate with others, he needs to relate to the supernatural, he must prepare himself for the life of his society. Society establishes the means and avenues for man to meet his various needs The organs of society for meeting the needs of its members are called institutions. There are five basic institutions in any given society: the family, economy, polity, education and religion. The family is the basic social unit. Its needs are, met by marriage, through which sexual life of man is satisfied and through procreation children are raised for society to ensure its continuity. Economic institution is concerned with the distribution of goods and services. The political needs of man are realised through the distribution of power for the maintenance of law and order. Man must live in an ordered society, so society provides the means for this realisation by establishing agencies of social control. Man's relationship with the supernatural and man's efforts to understand the unknown, and regulate his moral behaviour in society are the responsibility of Religion. When a child is born into society, he does not know the society's language and its way of life. The child must learn them to prepare himself for his destined role as an adult member of his society. Moreover he must acquire skills required to perform his role. It is the educational institution that performs these functions of preparation the young generation for their roles as adults. These five institutions are necessary for the survival of society.

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Areas of Sociology

Every activity of man and society is of interest to the sociologist. For this reason sociology has many areas of specialization that are of concern and interest to the scientist. Each of the areas of sociology points to the diversity of human values, interests and activities. Sociology covers such wide range areas as: general sociology, comparative sociology, economic, sociology, sociology of education; historical sociology, industrial sociology, sociology of culture, sociology of knowledge, sociology of law, mathematical sociology, political sociology, sociology of morals, sociology of science, sociology of language, rural sociology, sociology of migration.[2] One may want to add such recent areas as sociology of sport, sociology of sex, sociology of marriage, sociology of aging, sociology of Religion and so forth. From this long list, it can be seen that there is hardly any area of life that is not of Interest to the sociologist.

In any given society one of its great concerns is the training of the young for their future roles as adults. In traditional society the family carried out this function. Immediate family members which comprised the parents; elder brother and sisters performed the primary function of socialization of the child. Members of the extended family made up of grand parents, uncles, aunts and cousins also took part in the training of the child. The tasks to be performed and the skills to be acquired were few and simple. The acquisition of the skills required direct observation and participation until proficiency was attained. Thus the teak of the family was to teach its members what they needed to know about life and life's expectations.

In modern society, the family cannot cope, let alone, offer the complex knowledge and skills which the child must acquire to live and function in the fast changing society. Knowledge has become complex and specialised so that there are experts in different fields of knowledge whom society selects and gives the authority to prepare children for life. The school is a modern Institution which prepares children for membership of society. The function of the family in the training of the child has been taken over by the school.

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[2] *Ivor Morrish, The Sociology of Education: An Introduction London: George Allen & Unwin, 1978, pp. 18-19.*

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Sociology of Education

Education is an institution established by society for the training of a new generation. Education, Durkheim noted is:

> the influence exercised by adult generations on those that are not yet ready for social life. Its object is to arouse and to develop in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual and moral state which are demanded of him by both political society as a whole and the special milieu for which he is specifically destined.[3]

Durkheim further observed that the nature at society determines the type of education that the society offers to its young. Thus sociology of education studies the total social system, the society, of which the school is an extension. The culture of society is reflected in what is done and learnt in the school. In other words, the sociology of education is interested in the type of social arrangements such as:

> The class system, cultural values, the power structure, the balance of Individual freedom and social control .... religion. nationality, the degree of urbanisation and industrialisation - all these factors exert a strong and inevitable influence on the school system of any community or society.[4]

At the school level sociology looks at the school as an extension of the norms and values of the society. The school is made up of individuals with positions and roles to perform. There era accumulated sets of skills, customs, tradition and fads that are acquired by teachers, students. and non-teaching staff. Even within the classroom In the school, the mode and patterns, of interaction between teacher end students and among students have set down norms and expectations. All these are of interest to the sociologist.

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[3] Emile Durkheim. Education and sociology (trans. Sherwood D. Fox) Glence ILL. The Free Press. 1956. p. 28.

[4] Mavis Hiltunem Biesanz and John Blesez Introduction to Sociology (2nd ed.) Englewood Cliffs. New Jersey. Prentice hall. Inc 1973. p 614.

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Education is regarded as a conservative institution because It transmits culture of society from one generation to another. The key values of society such as patriotism, respect for authority, punctuality, hard work and even reading, writing and counting which past generations have been taught are carried on in school with little modification. However, education is also an instrument of social change. No society is static. Society undergoes changes and the changes are manifested in its various institutions. The family, for example. has undergone change in its function and size in the recent past, the population of society increases posing problems of adjustment, villages assume urban status, there is a greet change as society moves from traditional and simple economy to modern economic, Industrial and technological innovations. Political changes take place as village government by elders gives way to elected government. All these changes affect the school. It is the school that Is looked upon to initiate measures to cope with the changes. Higher institutions of learning are expected to carry out research to bring out new ideas and inventions to meet the challenges of change in society. The sociology of education examines the function of education for social stability and change. It asks such basic questions, what does education do for the society and for the individual?

Education and Society

In every society education is expected to play the vital role of ensuring that the culture of society is preserved end passed on to the new generation, Education transmits culture:

> It teaches beliefs, values, knowledge, and skills that all members of society presumable should share.[5]

Education trains individuals for skills needed for jobs; It places individual In various social positions according to ability and achievement. This is why society spends a great part of its resources for the education of the young because they are expected to fill various occupations for the economic development of society and also train In different professions crucial for the continuity of society.

[5] Ibid., p. 616.

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The individual and Education

Parents see education as the means for their children to advance in life. Well-to-do parents invest on qualitative education for their children as a means for the maintenance of the family social status. For some lower class parents they view a good education for their children as a means for upward social mobility. In modern economy, the level of education attained determines the type of job and the level of income offered to the individual. High level of education leads to high-status job and high income. Thus by and large education determines the opportunity open to the individual In Nigeria today.

Methods in the Study of Sociology of Education

Sociology is a social science. It employs scientific methods in investigating issues and problems relating to education. Basically sociology of education uses the same techniques as pure sociology. There are different methods used in sociology. Whatever method used, is determined by the nature of the topic and the purpose of the study. The following methods are commonly used: the experimental method, the observational study, sample survey, and case study. Each of these methods will now be examined briefly.

(a) The Experimental Method

Kerlinger defines an experiment as "a research study in which one or more independent variables are manipulated and subjects are assigned at random to experimental group.[6] In this method, the researcher observes and records what happens as he manipulates the independent variable.[7] For example, an education researcher may attempt to determine the effect of audio-visual aids on achievement among his students. He measures the achievement of two groups of students with equal characteristics. One group becomes "control group" the other. "experimental group". The researcher exposes the experimental group to audio-visual aids while the "control group" is left as it is. At the end, both groups are given a test.

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[6] *Fred N. Kerlinger, Behavioral Research: A Conceptual Approach. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978, p 83.*

[7] *Bruce J. Cohen, introduction to Sociology, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1979, p 10.*

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If the experimental group records a higher achievement in the test than the control group, one can conclude that audio-visual aids have effect on achievement. The experimental method is very efficient in establishing cause-and-effect relationships.

(b) The Observation Study:

In this kind of study the researcher does not manipulate any variable as In experiment, instead he closely observes what happens in a given situation that he studies and records what he has observed. Observational study is a systematic method of observing and recording of actual situation under study. There are two types of observation: participant and non-participant observations. In participant observation the researcher involves himself in the situation by becoming part of it. For example, he may want to study students life in the university. He participates in the students activities, attending lectures with them, joining in their games, recreation, social life etc. At the end of these activities he records what he has observed. In the non-participant observation, the researcher detaches himself from the activities of the subjects and observes them, the subjects may not be aware they are under observation.

(c) Sample Survey

This is a method which a researcher uses to gather data either through questionnaires or interviews.. A researcher may want to study a group which could be as large as the inhabitants of a city, a nation or let say all university students in Nigeria. He wants to make a general statement regarding their beliefs, values and attitudes towards various issues. By observing and asking each individual questions he will be able to have a fairly accurate picture of what their beliefs, values and attitudes are. But considering the sheer number of Individuals involved, It is impossible for him to interview everybody in all the universities or even in a whole city. What the research can do is to take representative sample of the subjects from the population. A sample is a smaller number of individuals who are in some way representative of a population. The individuals selected in the sample must possess the general characteristics of the population as a whole. The purpose of

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sampling is to help the researcher make conclusions about the entire population from a small portion of it.[8]

(d) Case Study

Case study method is generally used for field observation. The researcher builds up a comprehensive record of the thing he is to study, which could be an individual, a community, or an event, Case study is an intensive observation of subjects under study. The research pours into records and documents and analyses then. He may also interview persons known to the individuals, community or those familiar with the events he is studying.

Summary

Sociology is a social science concerned with the study of man, his institutions, and his relationship with others. Sociology studies group life. There are many areas of sociology which reflect the diverse activities of society in pursuit of its needs; Sociology of Education is a sub-field of sociology. It is concerned with how society prepares its young for their future lives as adults. The young have to learn the culture of society and acquire necessary skills to function as productive members. In all societies the purposes of education are the same but the methods can vary due to nature of each society. Sociology considers the main functions of education to include:

Function of Education

> Learning to be productive members of society; passing on culture, selecting, training and placement of individuals in society; change and innovation; social and personal development.[9]

These functions serve the needs of the individual as well as the overall interest of society,

Sociology of education as part of the broad field, uses various methods to carry out its investigations. These methods include experiment, observational study, sample survey and

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[8] MavisHitunen Biesanz and John Biesauz, *Introduction to Sociology*, p.41 case study. The method applied is determined by the nature of the study.

[9] Jeanne H. Ballantine. *The Sociology of Education: A Systematic Analysis*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc. 1983, p.25.

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CHAPTER TWO

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

In this chapter the nature of social institutions will be examined. The types of social institutions will be discussed. A detailed attention will be given to education as an institution. Education is generally regarded as a conservative institution because it preserves and teaches those cultural elements that society requires the young to acquire. Education is also an agent of social change in that society expects the school to teach new ideas and bring about scientific discoveries to meet the challenges of a changing society. Thus education will be discussed as a conservative institution and as and agent of social change.

Nature of Social Institutions

Man has basic needs which he must meet in order to survive. To meet these needs, the society sets up some means. The means set up by society to meet the basic needs of man are what sociologists call INSTITUTIONS. Social scientists have variously defined the term institution. Summer notes that "institutions involve not only the socially sanctioned patterns of activity to meat human needs but also the organisational pattern for their execution" . For Malinoski institutions are:

> ...Units of culture which organise the activities of people striving to satisfy such basic needs as those for food, reproduction, and shelter.

Storant Chapin states that institutions exist to:

> establish the behaviour of men striving to accommodate such fundamental needs as sex, hunger and fear.[2]

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[1] Gunter W. Remmling and Robert C. Campbell. *Basic Sociology: An Introduction to the Study of Society*. New Jersey: Littlefield, Adams & Co. 1970. p 93.

[2] Ibid. p-105

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In all these definitions the meeting of the basic needs of man is the common denominator. Man needs food, clothing, shelter, security and some measure of happiness and contentment. Thus society has established institutions to meet these needs.

Types of Institutions

There are many social institutions depending on how they are perceived as meeting the needs of man in society or as to what functions they perform. However, we have the commonly recognized institutions: the family institution, the economic institution, the educational institution, the political Institution and the religious institution.[3]

The family is the basic social unit. As a social institution it caters for the sexual needs of man. Through procreation the family ensures the continuity of society. It is the family that begins the socialization of the child into the cultural and social requirements of his society. There are two kinds of family: the nuclear family and the extended family. The nuclear family is composed of parents and their children, while the extended family embraces parents and their children, grand parents, uncles, aunts, cousins, nephew etc. In western societies the nuclear family system tends to dominate. In traditional societies especially in Africa the extended family system is the common feature. Prior to western civilization in traditional society the family was the centre of economic activities, producing what was needed to sustain itself. It trained its members in the skills to function in their limited world; it taught the moral and religious beliefs and practices of the community. The child learnt to relate to the authority of his community which was based on hierarchy of age and social status. In modern society these functions of the family have been taken over by other institutions.

The economic institution is charged with the provision and distribution of goods and services; the religious institution regulates the moral conduct of members and explains their relationship with the supernatural. The educational institution socialized the young generation into the skills and values of society necessary for productive adult life. The political

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[3] Georrge A. Theodorson and Achilles G. Theodorson. *A Modern Dictionary of Sociology*. New York: Thomas Y. Cronwell Company, 1969, p.206.

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Institution is responsible for the preservation of law and order for good governance.

Education as a Social Institution

One of the great educational theorists, Emile Durkheim has defined education as:

> the influence exercised by adult generations on those that are not yet ready for social life. Its object is to arouse and to develop in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual and moral states which are demanded of him by both the political society as a whole and the special milieu for which he is specifically destined.[4]

Durkheim observed that education has varied in form according to time and place it is given. From his definition, two important points emerge: first education is the process by which individuals are selected and allocated to their various adult roles; secondly, the nature of society determines the type of education given to its members.

One of the functions of education is the training of individuals to acquire the skills they need to function in various roles as adults. The skills to be acquired are determined by the nature of society. Durkheim distinguished traditional and modern societies and observed that societies prepare the young differently. In traditional society, Durkheim noted, life is simple relationship among members is face-to-face and informal. The skills required to function in traditional society are simple and can be acquired within a short time. There is also a little division of labour since members of the society are likely to engage in similar occupations. For example, in small, rural communities people are likely to engage in farming or fishing. On the other hand, in modern society life is complex. The skills required to function are diverse, complex, end specialized. Since skills are highly specialized, there is a complex division of

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[4] Emile Dukheim, *Education and Sociology* (Trans. Sherwood D. Fox) Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press. 1956, p.28

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Labour. Each member contributes to the welfare of society according to his occupation and/or profession. In modern society, we have teachers, doctors; lawyers, engineers, priests et cetera. The society is able to function because of the mutual interdependence of members.

It is in the school that individuals are selected and allocated to various occupations. Thus the main function of education is the selection and allocation of individuals to various social roles and positions. Some roles, however, are more important and crucial than others because of the length of time it took to master such skills to perform the roles. Persons who perform these roles receive high monetary rewards and occupy high social position.

Education as a Conservative Institution

Education is generally regarded as a conservative institution. This is rather surprising because in society today the school is expected to teach the young generation something new and advance the frontier of knowledge to meet the challenges of modernization. In this regard there are two sides to the functions of education: It Is a conservative institution and at the same time an instrument for social change.

Education is a conservative institution for several reasons: Education has as it main function the transmission of the culture of society from one generation to another. Cultural reproduction is the primary function of education. The school is expected to transfer from one generation to the other the stock of beliefs, values, norms, acquired knowledge, sentiments and mode of behaviour of society.[5] This process of teaching, and what is taught the young are conservative because they are preserved and carried on in a recurrent fashion with little deviation.

If we consider that culture is the way of life of a people and that this way of life must be taught each generation, then we will appreciate the crucial role of the school in this regard. Let

5. Robert James Perelius. and Ann Parker Parelius, *The Sociology of Education*. (2nd ed.) Englewood Cliff, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1987 p.22.

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us take our traditional society for Illustration. In our traditional society children learn from their elders the expected standard of behaviour and whatever skills they require to function in society. Learning is by observation and imitation. Respect for elders and those in authority, hardwork, love of the community and participation in its activities, team spirit and honesty are hallowed customs which the adult population passes on to the young. The same culture is transmitted in our modern educational institutions. Emphasis is placed on obedience and respect to constituted authority, reward is given for hardwork in form of prize-awards, scholarships and certificates; pupils are taught team-spirit and fair play, they go through the daily ritual of singing the national anthem and the recitation of national pledge. All this is aimed at insisting the spirit of patriotism and completion for excellence. Each generation learns in the school obedience and respect for authority, patriotism and hardwork..

The school is the mirror of the society that it serves. Whatever its political inclination, the education system of the society presents to its member idealized picture of its society. It teaches the young to regard it as the best. Songs are composed in praise of its achievement, the lives of the heroes are documented and their names enshrined in the national pantheon. Drama and dance reflect national character. The school has perpetuated some colourful symbols, for example, in our higher Institutions we have the annual rituals of matriculation, convocation and award of prizes and degrees. This ritual began in the middle ages and they will continue down the academic ages.

Children are easily influenced and affected by what they learn. Attempts are made to teach them what the society considers culturally and socially relevant. They learn the dominant values of society. The school in this regard becomes the centre for value socialization.

Education serves as an agent of social control. Emile Durkheim has noted that children are generally selfish and self-centered. Durkhelm maintains that the function of the school is to curb this egoism which is a threat to

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social order. [6]Furthermore, while at school, children are kept out of trouble and the mainstream of society as they are not yet ready for economic and social life.

The school can also promote social order through the ASSIMILATION of various sub-groups. There is a realization in Nigeria the need for national unity among the different ethnic groups. Federal Government Colleges are called "Unity Schools" because of the underlying Philosophy of unity of children from different states and ethnic groups through education, In the new national policy on education, students are expected to learn one Nigerian Language other than their own.

In summary, education is regarded as a conservative institution in that it serves the following aims: cultural reproduction, that is, it teaches the norms, values and behavioural patterns of society to each generation, it teaches the young to revere their traditional and hallowed institutions, it presents to the young an idealized picture of their institution, holding them up as the best; it keeps children out of trouble while preparing them far their future roles; while recognizing their ethnic differences, the school assimilates them, into the mainstream of social, economic and political life of society.

Education as an Instrument of Social change

Even though education functions for social order and stability in society, it can also be an agent of social change and social unrest. [7]Smith defines chances as:

> a succession of events which produce over time a modification and replacement of particular patterns or units by other novel ones.[8]

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[6]Robert James Perelius. and Ann Parker Parelius, *The Sociology of Education*, p.23,

[7]Ibid., p.27,

[8]Anthony Smith, *Social Change, Aspect of Modern Sociology Social Processes*. London: Longman, 1976.

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While education is expected to preserve the culture of society, it is also to bring about modification or even replacement of some aspects of society's way of life. The school teaches new ideas. For this reason, the school from time to time modifies its curricula to reflect new scientific and technological imperatives of society.[9] If we look at the development of education in Nigeria we will discover that our educational system has tended to reflect the nature of the Nigerian Society and its needs at any given period. During the early Missionary activities schools were established to propagate the Christian faith, the curriculum of the school was oriented towards religion. During the colonial are the curriculum was British in character and content. Students studied the British Empire Constitution, and in Geography the British Isles, Australia and New Zealand, North America and Asia formed the bulk of the curriculum. African history in general and Nigerian history in particular had no place in the syllabus. The same with African and Nigerian geography. Nigerian education at independence and after witnessed political and cultural assertiveness. The curriculum was changed. Nigerian history, Government (political science), Geography, Civics, and even literature found their way into the school syllabus while the British-oriented curriculum was gradually phased out. The domination of the humanities during the colonial period reflecting Oxford and Cambridge classical models began to give way to science for economic and technological development. The present 6-3-3-4 system of education is an innovation geared in the direction of scientific and technological development. Thus education has become the catalyst for change in modern society.

In modern societies, one of the functions of education is CULTURAL PRODUCTION.[10] Universities and institutions of higher learning are expected to carry out research for national. development. Government and private agencies award grants to universities and research institutes to bring out new ideas and discoveries and push on the frontier or knowledge. Some

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[9] Robert James Parelius and Ann Parker Parelius, *The Sociology of Education*, P.22.

[10] Ibid., p.27

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Universities have consultancy services that help government and business improve quality of services and productivity.

Apart from teaching, university lecturers publish books and articles in learned journals, produce works of art and design equipment for public use. The publications are meant to disseminate knowledge and information for the benefit of the academic world and the general public. University teachers attend seminars, conferences and exchange ideas in their various disciplines. The purpose of all this is cultural diffusion, The school becomes a clearing-house for new discoveries and scientific break-through.

The school is also regarded as the centre for the young generation to acquire the attitudes values and the critical minds for the analysis of society and its problems. Social events and trend are analysed in Universities. Universities and higher institution in different parts of the world in recent times have become centres for upheaval and rebellion. The reason for this revolutionary spirit is their perceived need and duty to change the status quo. Parelius and Parelius note:

> In many countries, especially in the West, higher education, particularly, involves an intense and often critical analysis of institutions and values. Research suggests that one effect of higher education is to create a more skeptical attitude toward traditional institutions and liberalize social and political attitudes.[11]

Education has assumed great importance as a means for social mobility In Nigeria. The level of educational attainment determines the opportunities for employment and career prospects and for social class destination. In modern society skills required to function effectively and productively are complex and specialized and are acquired through high level of education. This schooling not only brings changes for society but for Individuals as well. Education offers lower class individuals the opportunity to move to the middle-class. During the colonial era, education was the means by which the

[11] Ibid., p.28.

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traditional society was restratified. The lower-class who received Western education became the dominant group which assume economic and political power hitherto wielded by the traditional authorities.[12] Education was also the instrument by which Nigeria attain nationhood:

> Western education did not merely facilitate the emergence of a separate class; it endowed the individuals in that class with the knowledge and skills, the ambitions and aspirations that enabled them to challenge Nigerian colonial government and ultimately to arrest control over the central political power from it.[13]

Summary

Education is an institution whose function is the socialization of the young in the norms, values, attitudes and the common perceptions and ideals of society. Education prepares them for skills required for their future roles in society. Education is a conservative institution because it preserves and teaches the culture of society from one generation to another. Education also contributes to social change. The needs of society are reflected in its educational institutions. Universities and research centres carry out research to bring out new discoveries. Educational Institutions are centres for dissemination of new ideas, values and attitudes for young generation. Education plays an important part in modernization; it provides experts in various fields, Furthermore, education creates new elite by assigning them to various roles and statuses. Significantly, education creates social inequality in that people are rewarded and allocated into social positions according to their levels of education.

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CHAPTER THREE

THEORIES IN SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

In this chapter we will first of all find out what we mean by a theory and why it is important in the study of society and then give a few examples of theories sociologists have used in their studies. Since education is one of the important activities of society, in which members of society are engaged, it will be necessary to discuss the various ideas sociologists have about the role of education in society. These different ideas are as a result of varying sociological perspectives.

What is a Theory?

Theory is a difficult concept. However, a simple definition may help to understand it. A theory can be regarded as abstract ideas used to explain reality, that is, occurrences in the universe. According to writers, a theory includes a basic set of assumptions and axioms and is composed of logically interrelated, empirically verifiable propositions.[1] In other words, theory helps us understand through explanation what we take for granted or what is not clear and in the first instance does no make much sense. Things happen in society. We are confronted with events, relationships, and tragedies and we want to know why they happen, why they are the way they are. We may ask the following questions and want answers to them: why are there conflicts in society? Why are some individuals more powerful than others? We may answer that conflicts exist in society because individuals have different interests which they pursue and which may run counter to the interests of others. Some individuals are more powerful than others because they have more money, and influence, they are better educated and articulate so that their opinions are respected in society. Relationships are entered into and sometimes break up. Some may want to know why some people fall in love and marry and sometimes such marriages break up in divorce. By the time we offer explanations to these

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[1] Fred. N. Kerlinger. *Behavioral Research: A Conceptual Approach*, New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1979. p. 64.

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phenomena, we are giving "theories" on marriage and divorce. So theory is abstract ideas that offer us explanations about events in society. The function of a theory is to explain why things happen or are the way they are.

Theories are important in understanding society and persons as they interact and relate to each other. Since sociology deals with man and his society, it has different theories that explain the nature of society, the relationships that exist among actors in society. Karl Marx propounded the theory of class-conflict which he based on economic factors. Emile Durkheim explains why there is order in society and members are held together. According to Durkheim traditional society is held together and order is maintained because of face-to-face interaction of members where individual actions and behaviour are closely monitored. This relationship he called mechanical solidarity. He further explained that modern and complex society is held together because of mutual inter dependence of members.[2] Modern society is complex; individuals specialise in various occupations and make their contributions to the survival of the society. Each member depends on others to survive. For example, the doctor depends on the lawyer, the lawyer also depends on the doctor, both of them depend on the farmer or the teacher or the engineer. It is this mutual interdependence that brings stability in society. The relationships of these social actors, doctors, lawyer, farmer, teacher and engineer are based on contract. This mutual interdependence Durkheim called organic solidarity.[3] Another important theory in sociology is the theory of stratification. In this theory sociology tries to explain and offer reasons for inequality in society. This theory tries to show that individuals do not contribute equally to the survival of society. Those who contribute more are rewarded more than others. We shall come back to this topic in a later chapter. We now look at theories Sociology of Education uses in its investigations.

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[2] Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labour in Society. trans. George Simpson. Glencoe. ILL: The Free Press, 1960

[3] Ibid

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NATURE OF SOCIETY : FUNCTIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Theories in the Sociology of Education

There are two major theories that have bean widely used in the sociology of education. These are the functional theory which is sometimes called consensus theory and conflict theory. Functional theory has dominated areas of Sociology as well the sociology of Education for many years. Conflict theory is recent in the field. It is a radical approach to the study of society and its institutions and it is an attempt to break from the old and conservative approach of looking at phenomena by Functional theory. Each theory offers a different explanation of society and the functions of education in society.

Nature is Society: Functional Perspective:

Scholars of this school are called functional **Theorists.** Functional theorists believe that societies are to some extent like the human body. Although it is one, the human body has many, distinct but interrelated parts. Each part has a function to perform for the survival of the whole body.[4] By this analogy, society is made up of various "parts" that is, individuals who perform different roles for the survival of society. The role which each part plays is its function hence the name functionalism or functional theory. Functional theorists explain that when one part of the body is threatened by illness, the other parts react to bring that part back to normalcy. This analogy between the human body and society is well illustrated by Parelius and Parelus.

> Our own bodies destroy threatening bacteria, keep body temperature within tolerable range, and maintain proper levels of oxygen, in the blood. In analogous fashion, societies adapt to the physical environment, maintain adequate levels of production, distribute essential goods and services, keep violence under control, and so on.[5]

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[4] Ann Parker Parelius & Robert of Parelius. *The sociology of Education* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc, 1978. p. 4.

[5] Ibid, p.4.

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Functional theorists point out that societies cannot survive and carry out their functions unless the members have common values and norms they share with one another. These norms and values come from common sets of perceptions and attitudes which we can simply call culture. It is culture that binds society together in a web of relationships for common purposes.

These theorists stress those common elements that hold society together while they overlook and downplay those things that tend to bring disagreement and conflict. The following are elements that functional theorists emphasise:

(a) **Structure and Function:** As indicated earlier, functional theory views society as made up of "parts". These "parts" are referred to as the structure of society. They hold that each part makes contribution to the survival of society. The contribution which the part makes is its function. Thus for them, Individuals occupy social positions, perform social roles which are their functions for the survival of society.

(b) **Integration:** Functional theorists maintain that various parts of society are integrated. The parts are interdependent and complement one another, For order and effectiveness of society, the activities of member are coordinated. For example in the university system we have the academic and non-academic staff. The university Is further divided into faculties and again into departments, There is a central body, the Registry that coordinates the various units in the university.

(c) **Stability:** These theorists observe that no society is completely static; there must be elements of change. It must change to remain the same. But the change should be gradual rather than abrupt and radical, According to the theorists there are enduring features in our

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various institutions such as the family and school, yet they undergo continuous changes. These changes which are orderly, gradual and sometimes imperceptible make for stability of society.

(d) **Consensus:** Functional theory is also known as consensus theory. As the name implies, for society to function, there must be agreements among members on important sets of sentiments, perceptions, attitudes, norms and values. When such agreements exist there is a consensus. Society is stable and functions because members share certain beliefs and values which guide them to work for the good of society.[6]

Function of Education: Functional Perspective

For the functional theorists, education serves various functions. The primary function of education is the socialization of the young generation. in school they acquire the knowledge, skills and appropriate behaviours necessary for order in society and their future adult roles. According to Emile Duhkheim, a great proponent of this theory, the school is expected to curb egoism in children, teach them moral values, discipline, self-control and prepare them for their roles as adults. He noted:

> Education is the influence exercised by adult generations on those that are not yet ready for social life. Its object is to arouse and to develop in the child a certain number of physical, Intellectual and moral states which are demanded of him by both the political society as a whole and the special milieu for which he is specifically destined.....?

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[6] *Parelius and Parelius. The Sociology of Education, p. 7*

[7] *Emile Durkheim, Education and Sociology, (trans, Sherwood D. Fox) Glencoe, ILL: The Free Press, 1956, p. 28.*

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Another important function of education from the functional perspective is selection. Students are prepared for various roles in society. It is difficult for society to decide who plays what role:

> It is the function of the educational system to 'select' students for different occupational slots as well as to appropriately socialize those selected. The most important selection is between those who will go to college (University) and those who will not.[8]

Talcott parsons observed that the basis on which selection is made in school is on achievement, that is academic performance. This point is particularly relevant to Nigeria where academic credentials or certificates are crucial for admission into higher institutions and for placement in various occupations. In modern societies education has assumed great significance in the training, selection and placement of students in various occupations. No mailer how lowly a job is, it is expected that the applicant for the position has attained a certain level of education to fit into that occupational slot. Newspapers that carry advertisement for jobs illustrate the importance employers attach to education, the position advertised is described, the educational qualification to obtain the position is stated and the salary grade level is specified, only persons who feel qualified by education, training and experience are encouraged to apply.

In addition to. the functions of socialization and selection, functional theorists identify other important roles of education. They hold that the school teaches the young to revere and honour cherished traditions. For instance, children, learn to be patriotic. Every morning in primary and secondary schools, students sing the national anthem and recite the national pledge. In the classroom and the playground they acquire the spirit of cooperation, tolerance and fair play.

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[8] Talcott Parsons: "The School Class as a Social System" Havard Educational Review, 29 (Fall 1959).

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Character training is no longer left to the family alone, the school has assumed a great role in shaping the character of the young. Furthermore, society does not remain static. It undergoes changes. It is in the school that new ideas are born and discoveries are made through research to meet the challenges of changing society.

Conflict Theory

Conflict theory is a recent approach to the study and interpretation of society. In opposition to the functional view of society, conflict theory asserts that society is full of tension, disagreement and conflict. According to the conflict theorists society is composed of two groups whose interests are opposed to each other. One is the dominant group which has power, influence and controls the scarce resources of society, while the other, the subordinate group has no power and influence and has no access to the resources of society. These resources could be good education, occupation, health care, decent housing, and recreation for the Individual and family. For this reason there is constant struggle between the two groups. The dominant group clings to power to protect its Interests, while the subordinate group tries to have a share in the distribution of power and resources. Power struggle has become the main feature of relationship In society. Conflict theorists are followers of Karl Marx who saw society divided into two diametrically opposed interest-groups: in modern society, between the capitalists and the proliteriats.

Conflict theorists emphasise two elements:[9] Force and Change, whereas functional theorist stress Integration, mutual interdependence and the complementary nature of different parts of society, conflict theorists maintain that different parts of society have divergent interests and work against each other's Interests.

Force: Conflict theorists hold that the apparent order and stability in society come about because those in power use force to ensure compliance, of those who do not have power, with the norms and values of society. This force need not

[9] Ralf Dabrendorf, Class Conflict in Industrial Society, Stanford, California: Stanford university Press: 1959, 162 ff.

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always be physical. it could be in the use of propaganda and some forms of indoctrination. In Nigeria for instance, one noticed some forms of propaganda mounted by the new government after the second Republic had been overthrown: "We have no other country, but Nigeria, we must stay here and salvage it together." In history the divine right of Kings was used by the Stuart Kings to legitimize their oppressive reigns. Those in power could use rewards, cooptation of vocal members of the opposing group, and appeal to patriotic sentiments to whip up support for continued stay in power.

Change: Conflict theorists advocate abrupt arid radical change in society. The struggle for power between the two groups is continuous. Change occurs when those in power are overthrown through revolution and there is new leadership. Whatever calm that exists is an uneasy calm because from time to time upheavals take place and disturb the peace and stability of society.

Function of Education Conflict Perspective.

Conflict theorists agree with Consensus theorists that the main function of education is to prepare the youth for adult life. They however disagree on whose interest is served in the process and in the long run. Functionalists believe that education serves the interest of the individual and his society, while conflict theorists assert that education serves the interest of the ruling class (capitalists) in their popular book, [10] Samuel Bowles and Herbert Ginitis advanced the view that public education, that is, mass education came into effect with the rise of capitalism. Before capitalism education was exclusively for the children of the nobility. After the industrial Revolution Schools were established for the lower class to socialise them In regular habits of punctuality, obedience and respect for constituted authority. In other words, education at the lower class serves the Interest of the capitalists because whatever skills they acquire at school will be used for the benefit of the capitalist. Obedience, punctuality and respect for authority which schools emphasize are the qualities required of workers in industries.

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[10] Samuel Bowles and Herbert Ginits, Schooling Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradiction of Economic Life, New York: Basic Books, Inc. 1976.

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Also, Conflict theorists maintain that education functions to perpetuate and legitimise inequality in society. In modern society education is used to place people in various occupations. The level of education attained and the type of education received are crucial in this placement. Conflict theorists argue that -middle-class -parents give their children good education to ensure that the children maintain their social class. Middle-class children are enrolled in academic progrmmes that lead to good occupations, while lower-class children are stirred into vocational programmes, that lead to menial low-paying jobs. The mode of selection of students into the different programmes is not always based on merit but on extraneous factors such as family background, ability of parents to pay for the education and other hidden qualities which -school, authorities look for. Thus they hold that education does not bridge the gap of inequality but instead widens it.

Observations on Both Perspectives

Functionalist and Conflict theories have assumed great importance in the study of society and the function of education. The positions of both perspectives have attracted comments and criticism of writers.

Functionalist Perspective: Scholars have labeled the Functionalist approach as a conservative paradim in the study of society and its institutions. Critics had that it emphasises stability and order while ignoring potential areas of conflict in society. Accordingly it "fails to recognize the number of divergent interests, ideologies, and conflicting interest groups in society". [11] It is also observed that functionalist perspective is more concerned with the wider interests of society while the individual is ignored. Furthermore, Functionalist theory concentrates on structure of the educational system without input on the content of the education process.

Conflict Perspective

Conflict theory is correct in pointing out the competing interests of groups in society and potential areas of conflict.

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[11] Jeanne H. Ballantine, the Sociology Education, p.13.

[12] Ibid p.14.

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The theory is appropriate in explaining different situations of conflict but does not explain situations where stability and harmony exist in society and people work for common purpose.

Summary

In this chapter we have discussed what a theory is. We said that a theory is a set of related concepts that represent the nature of social reality.[13] Its function is to explain reality Why things are the way they are or why people behave the way they do

In the sociology of education two main sociological theories are discerned. The function theory regards education system as serving the interest of society, integrating the different parts, carrying out functions for the survival of society and above all ensuring that shared norms and values are passed on to the new generation.

Conflict theory sees society as full of tension and conflict because of different competing interest groups. The "haves" possess access to power and the resources of society, including the educational system. The "have-nots" lack the power to gain access to the scarce resources of society. Thus there is constant struggle between the two groups one struggles to retain its power, the other to have a share of it. Access to quantitative and qualitative education is identified as one of the resources of society.

[13] Gerald S. Fermand and Jack Levin, Social Science Research A Hanbook for Students. New York: John Wiley & Son, 1975, p.22.

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CHAPTER FOUR

SOCIALIZATION

Introduction

In Chapter Three we saw the dominant sociological approaches to the study or explanation of the nature of society or social reality. Here we shall examine the process by which a society creates these versions and perceptions of social reality thought to be appropriate for its survival and progress. It is by the same mechanism that every generation is prepared for effective participation as members of society. The role played by the school, the family and the peer group in this socialization process will receive high-focus treatment here. The adolescent peer group sub-culture and the influence of peers on school achievement will also be examined. Of course we shall at least give honourable mention to the other agents of socialization: the mass media, the church or mosque, the age-grade, work or occupation, and a host of other institutions or agencies.

The Nature of Socialization

What Is Socialization?

Every social group and every society, whether it be an occupation group, an ethnic group, a traditional society, a modern industrial society, or for that matter a society in transition such as ours, the group or society has a dynamic induction process for new and continuing members. This makes it possible for the social group or society to ensure conformity to its norms and values, transmit its cultural heritage and thus perpetuate itself. That is what is known as socialization: that dynamic cultural induction process by which individuals are prepared for participation as effective members of their society or social group. By transforming the biological animal of a baby into a specific cultural being or person, the learning process that is socialization makes it possible for us to become truly human.

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Socialization is the internalization of social norms, that is, the rules and expectations that govern social behaviour. Such rules and expectations are based on "etiquette, morality, rationality, religion socio-political ideology, and aesthetic judgment. "[1] As a life-long culture-acquisition process, socialization involves the learning, by every generation of the norms, values, habits, behaviour patters; attitudes beliefs, knowledge, skills, and traditions of their society. This is often called enculturation. Due mainly to the accessories of colonialism and neo-colnizalism - schools, churches, corporations, communications network, etc - the culture of a society like ours is a medley of both indigenous and foreign elements. In our situation, then, it may be more appropriate to see socialization as a life-long process of enculturation and acculturation. The latter has to do with contact with and assimilation of certain elements in another culture.

In one of his numerous articles,[2] Talcott Parsons sees socialization in terms of preparation for the performance of adult social roles. For him "the socialization function may be summed up as the development in individuals of the commitments and capacities which are essential prerequisites of their future role-performance."[3] Parsons breaks down commitments into first, the implementation of the broad values of society and, second, the performance of a specific type of role or job within the structure of society. He sub-divides capacities into two components: the skills to perform the tasks required by the individuals social role - teaching, nursing, driving, trading, etc, and living up to the normative expectations of other people as one performs on that job. The point here is that apart from having the information and the skills to deliver it, the teacher is also expected, by students and parents and even colleagues, to be human, understanding and assuring. His professional training or socialization emphasizes

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[1] Ansu Datta, *Education and Society: A Sociology of African Education*, London Macmillan, 1984, P. 54.

[2] Talcott Parsons, "The school Class as a social System. "*In Harverd Education Review*. 1959: Vol. 29, Pp. 297 318.

[3] Ibid. P. 298.

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that. The same thing is applicable to doctors and nurses and mechanics and so on.

As we saw in Chapter Two, it is possible to conceptualize society as a struction comprising different social institutions and/or social groups. The family, the economy, the polity, education, and religion are examples of social institutions. Ethnic groups, occupational groups, social clubs age-grades, etc are social groups found within and across social institutions. Each of the institutions or groups constituting the social struction is "made up of a number of social positions which interlock in a patterned way because the members have mutual expectations of each other. "[4] Within the family, the social roles or positions include those of child (son or daughter) and parent (father or mother). In the polity, we have the positions of electorate, president, governor, minister, commissioner, assemblyman, etc. Within education, there is the principal, the pupil, the teacher, the vice-chancellor, the professor, the student and so on. The positions of manager, messenger, mechanic, and driver are some of the pathways that interlock in the economic institution of society.

The different roles in the different institutions tend to criss-cross in the broad social structure. And socialisation takes place as individuals learn to occupy and/or go through these institution- related roles which form possible routes or pathways in the social structure. The child soon takes on the additional role of pupil, later becomes an elector, a parent, and. who knows, a manager. The adult functions concurrently as a parent, a worker, and may be governor. This interconnectedness of social positions helps to ensure social and societal continuity:

> One very important effect of having to play successions of roles and several roles concurrently is that the social structure holds together in a more or less cohesive, manner,

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[4] P.W. Musgrave. *The sociology of Education*, London, Methuen and co Ltd , 1972, P. 18.

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since individuals have many connections with many different parts at the society of which they are members.[5]

The immediately preceding paragraph appears to lean overly towards the school of thought known as functionalism or structural functionalism in sociology. Chapter Three drew our attention to both the functionalist (consensus) and the Marxist conflict) perspectives in the social sciences Thus, consensus or cohesion is not all there is in society. We have conflict in the thousands. And conflict or disagreement has led to improvement or social transformation in many instances. Workers and students, for example, improve their work and study situations respectively, The point, then, is that socialization will be lopsided if it is merely a question of fostering social adaptation and social conformity. Who then will transform poverty into plenty? Who then will lay to rest the ghost of non-colonialism in Nigeria and the rest of the so-called Third World?

Inya A. Eteng[6] offers what I consider an impressive definition that takes cognizance of the two sides of the coin.

> Socialization ..... otherwise known as internalization of culture is a life-long process by which human beings transmit and learn particular thought feeling and behaviour processes and patterns required for social perpetuation or social adaptation to; and social transformation of culturally determined conditions and expectations, such as learning one's language, behaving according to the norms, customs and value of the culture, understanding social roles one is expected to perform as one relates to others and developing complex skills and

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[5] Ibid.

[6] Inya A. Eteng, "Changing Patterns of Socialization and National Development In Nigeria", Lecture Mimeograph prepared for the Division of General Studies, university of Nigeria, Nsukka, 1979, P 1.

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> techniques with which to adapt to as well as transform, one's social and physical environments. For some, socialization is the internalization process by which individuals are inducted into their total cultural way of life. And by internalization we mean the avert and imperceptible processes whereby individuals absorb culturally determined as well as innovative patterns of behaviour which become so habitual that their expressions and manifestations frequently require no formal reflection or rationalization.

In seeking to underscore what he calls "the transformative and revolutionary aspects" of socialization, Eteng departs from the practice of over-emphasizing the adaptive functions. In fact following the seminal works of Emile Durkheim, and more especially, during the reign in the 1950's and the early 1960's of the functionalism (the consensus orientation) of Talcott Parsons, society was presented as all powerful and all dominating in the literature on socialization. This was so much so that Denia H. Wrong had to deride that analytic tradition as the "oversocialized conception of man"[7]. Note here that we are not denying that the socialization process "acts selectively on the possibilities of man by creating through time a sense of the inevitability of a given social arrangement, and through limiting the areas of permitted change."[8] Instead, we are saying that much as we are born into an ethos of 'cultural givens' spanning several generations, the Parsonian kind of analysis was and still is at the expense of the human agency, which has great potential for social transformation. For human action is capable of mediating and contesting the messages and ideologies communicated by the socializing agencies in society.

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[7] Denis H. Wrong, "The oversocialized conception of man in modern sociology" *American Sociological review*, VOL. 26, Pp. 183 - 193.

[8] Basil Bernstein "Social Class, Language and Socialization" *In Power and Ideology in Education*, ed. Jerome Karabel and A.H. Halsey, New York: O.U.P., 1977, P. 476.

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It is thanks to the transformative aspects of socialization that the march of human civilization has been sustained. Rather 'than merely regarding, as the obsession with adaptation and conformity in functionalism could suggest, "overtime man and his society and culture have continued to develop increasingly in complexity and diversity, as well as in form and content"[9] Although the creative and transformative capabilities of man vary between and within societies, yet everywhere "men are capable of seeking after new knowledge and of acquiring new skills and techniques, and new. values' and behaviour patterns enabling them to improve cumulatively the social and physical environments inherited from preceding, generations, and to qualitatively transform existing modes of production, distribution and consumption,"[10] The transformative aspect of socialization accounts for not just the great cultural-material and non-material strides constantly logged in the industrialized world, but also the modest efforts being made in the developing world in the areas of science and technology, agriculture and natural resources, education and health, communications and transportation the arts and entertainment etc.

If we are honest with ourselves, however, we must admit, to borrow the expression of Chinua Achebe,[11] that it is "morning yet on creation day in our society, Nigeria is still light years away from the innovations and transformations her human and material resources are potentially capable of achieving. If something is not wrong with us, then it is with our socialization agencies, or else with the two. Our youth whose future is at stake, have to rise to this challenges.

Modes and Dynamics of Socialization

Thus far, we have seen the meaning and functions and aspects of socialization. We also need to examine the mechanisms and modes and agents of socialization. A note of caution here is that these categories or distinctions are actually

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[9] Inya A. Eteng, OP. Cit; P. 3.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Chinua Achebe, Morning yet on Creation Day, London, Heinemman, 1975.

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for ease of study, and so should not be understood as it they are discrete.

The use of sanctions as a social control mechanism is part of the dynamics of the socialization process. By social control we mean those processes and techniques by which a society seeks to ensure conformity to its norms and values. Directly or indirectly, persuasion, training and coercion are all worked into the mechanism of social control. It Involves not only training the individual towards the prescriptions (the Do's) but also restraining him from the proscriptions (the Don'ts), of the society.

The application of sanctions makes training and restraining possible. There are positive sanctions or rewards as well as negative sanctions or punishment. While positive sanctions reward behaviour that conforms to the norms and value of the society, negative sanctions seek to restrain deviant behaviour Rewards may range from a nod to praise to a smile to an applause to high grades to material things. And punishment may be in the form of a fine, legal confinement, withholding of love or affection, denial of rights ad privileges, inflicting of physical pain, assigning of manual labour verbal abuse, scorn or ostracism, Children and the young and even adults experience all that in homes and schools and churches and work places and associations. In passing, the various attempts to foster conformity to societal norms and values tend to presume that there is such a thing as normative or value consensus. But the fact that all works of criminal end pen-criminal deviant behaviour abound inspite of social control instruments suggests the existence of a pluralism of norms and values in our society.

Social learning, through socio-cultural participation and the observation and imitation of models, is another way socialization takes place. Children imitate not only adults (teacher and parents), but also peers and siblings. It is more often than not the case that male children start early to try to dress like, walk like, talk like, and get involved in those activities (even if as fun and concert) performed by; fathers and other male adults. By the same token, female children try to dress, giggle, 'flirt', and cuddle dollies after the fashion of mothers and female siblings' or adults.

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Language, as a major instrumentality of human intercourse, is very serviceable in the process of socialization. It makes social learning human and positive. Language after all gives expression to everything that goes by the name, culture. And socialization is the internalization of culture. Actually, the social development of a child goes hand in hand with his language development, By being able to communicate with the people around him, a child learns not just what to do; but also why it should be done and the other way round.

Sociologists sometimes distinguish between anticipatory and concomitant socialization. The former emphasizes the forward looking type of socialization. Concerned with securing a smooth transition to future positions of roles, anticipatory socialization involves "learning roles, role expectations, values, skills and technique related to a social position and status one intends to occupy at a future date." [12] Examples include training to become a tailor, a mechanic, an athlete, studying to graduate as a lawyer, teacher, nurse, food technologist, etc. The teaching of civics or social studies in our schools Is in the hope of preparing children and youth for future participation as effective citizens in the polity and the economy.

Concomitant socialization, on the other hand, is a form if resocialization. It is the training one gets consequent upon the assumption of new position or status. Such on-the-position learning fills up the finer points which anticipatory socialization cannot have supplied. Children and adults alike are continually resocialised as they join new social groups or classes, and as they assume new position of statuses. As skills and values formerly acquired may have become dysfunctional in the new dispensation, the concurrent unlearning of the absolute capabilities or competence could be part of the bargain. A civil servant who losses his job and decides to be a taxi driver will have to learn to dance a new music, so to say. The same as the long-time business man who has to go back to school in uniform.

There is also this distinction between formal and informal modes of socialization. Formal socialization occurs in structured

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[12] Inya A. Eteng, O.

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and rigidly institutionalized contexts like classrooms, schools, military units and corporations. In these situations, the authority structure is clearly spelt out, and everybody knows who is what and what is expected of him or her. Conversely, informal socialization takes place in such relatively casual and unstructured settings as the home, the neighbourhood, playgrounds and pubs.

Nicholas Abercrombie et. al.[13] identify three stages or socialization, which join the preceding distinctions to signal the next section in our discussion - the agents of socialization, that is:

> Socialization may be divided into three stages; the primary stage involves the socialization of the young child in the family; the secondary stage involves the school, and the third stage in adult socialization, when actors enter roles for which primary and secondary socialization may not have prepared them, fully (for example,' becoming an employee, a husband or wife; a parent).

Let us now turn to the agents of socialization, proper.

Agents of Socialization

The major agent of socialization in contemporary societies are the family, the school, the peer group, The mass media, the church or mosque, work or occupation, as well as sundry institutions and organizations. However, there are to this day pockets of communities where age-grades, kindred forums and Women's groups still wield much influence in the internalization of the norms and values of people concerned. Even in our modern urban centres, one will run into slum neighbourhoods with sub-cultural characteristics. Such neighbourhoods socialize residents towards the alternative values and behaviour patterns for surviving in those kinds of environment.

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[13] N. Abercrombie, Stephen Hill and Bryan Turner, *Dictionary of Sociology*, Harmonds worth, England: Penguin Books, 1984, P. 201.

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The Family

The family is the primary or foundation unit for the socialization of new members of society. That is its major educational function. As the first social 'thing' the child comes into contact with, it is in the family that the basics of societal norms and values are implanted in the newcomer.

In the past, the family was a sole dispenser of the stock of skills, knowledge and values which the individual needs for getting along in life. Today there are institutions better equipped to perform some of these functions. But the family to a greater or lesser extent continues to imbue the child with certain perceptions and orderings, of social reality, certain patterns of acceptance and rejection of authority, certain assumptions about getting and spending, giving and receiving, right and wrong, etc.

As the foundation institution that mediates to the child the culture of his society, how well or how badly the family performs this role will affect the social development of the child for better or for worse. When we say a child has no home training, we are in effect saying that the child has internalized the wrong values, beliefs and behaviour patterns. Should such a child end up as a delinquent or deviant case, it might require resocialization in reformatories or counseling institutions to bring him back to normality. Much as institutions like the school and work or occupation have tended to erode the traditional socialization, functions of the family, it cannot be gainsaid that in the final analysis the cultural stamp impressed on the child by the family exerts limits on the possibilities of other socializing agencies in moulding the self or personality of the individual. For "the important identifications with ethnic group, culture, religion, social class, and even how he views himself as a male or female have their origins in the family."[14]

Social class is one sociological factor that makes a difference in the ways families socialize the young. The combination of wealth, power education and occupation commended by a family locates it high or low on the social scale. A favourable

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[14] D.L. Dubey, DA Edem and A.S. Thakur, *The Sociology of Nigeria Education*, London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1979, p. 22.

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combination labels the family as middle class, while an unfavourable combination falls Into the category of lower or working class. Class differentials in socialization techniques go into the question of success versus failure in school.

Socialization pattern in the middle class family is said to be achievement oriented. Every effort of training is geared towards success in school and in later life. There is a democratic home environment, with a participatory.
style of family interaction and the opportunity for initiative, independence and experimentation. Aside from generous dose of school related material provisions, parental motivations and aspirations combines with a preference for the language of the school to ensure continuity and harmony between home and school. Little wonder it is often said that the school is a middle class institution.

Sociological literature shows that on balance the reverse is the case for the working class family. There is abject poverty. There is an authoritarian home climate. Initiative is interpreted as disobedience. The mother tongue a language different from that of the school, is employed. There thus tends to be discontinuity and disharmony between home and school. That is one reason working class children on the average, tend to do less well in school than middle class children: But teachers and school and social policy, or else radical social action cap help to reduce this kind of class-related inequality in school and society.

The School

Included here are primary schools, secondary schools, and tertiary-level schooling. Schools mediate to children and youth the nature of the society. As a microcosm of the larger sociological marocsm (the society). the school replicates in. smaller doses the homogeneity and diversity, the struggles and challenges, the groupings and associations, the hierarchy and strata, the stigma and stereotype etc, of the society. In the pupil's interaction with teachers, fellow pupils and the non tutorial personnel, he "will find something of the security, the love, the fear, the authority, the impatience, or of friendship, of

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the larger society." [15] As a theatre for social living in miniature, the school offers a kind of dress rehearsal for the perhaps more complicated life challenges in the larger society. It helps to ease the passage of the individual in and through society. To say into society would suggest a non-existent dichotomy between school and society.

The school is that social institution whose charter purpose is to saturate the consciousness of children and the young with the norms and values of the society. In fact the curriculum of the school as translated into subjects of instruction, is a selection from the culture of the people concerned. Through socialization, schools seek to preserve, transmit and advance the cultural heritage of a society. As culture is dynamic, school subjects are constantly revised to incorporate new elements of culture; update existing ones, and where necessary, cut out obsolete skills and information. Side by side with the formal corpus of school knowledge, is what is called the hidden curriculum. That is a term for those symbolic meaning and tacit assumptions which get across to students in the routine enactment of the day to day activities in the school. School do's and don't's are worked into that normal rhythm of school life.

In the furtherance of its socialization activities, the school has emerged as a socio-culturally institutionalized generator and distributor of the official knowledge and skills, the competencies and capabilities required for employment or useful living in society. It has become a role or job allocator in our credentialist society. For in both the public service and the modern sectors of the economy, nobody can operate effectively today without some dose of schooling. Whether that is innate to the work environment or is by social convention is still open question. In fact the school under capitalist arrangements has been accused of producing a mainly loyal, obliging and docile labour force for private enterprises and industrial corporation. That is the basis of the

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[15] Ivor Morrish, The Sociology of Education, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1972, P. 248

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argument of Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis[16] that the social relations of production in the classroom and school (where the school is seen as an Industry manufacturing pupils and knowledge) the relations of schooling approximate to the social relations of production in industries, of work in the public service. In both situations, for example, instructions from the top just have to be carried out. The wisdom or good judgement of higher officers is taken as given. Those who try to disobey get queries or expulsion or suspension. There definitely is some match between the school context and the work contact.

The Peer Group

(a) General: The term **Peer group** actually stands for group comprising individuals who are equals on some chosen characteristics, say, age, rank, merit and ethnicity. But sociological literature of adolescents propelled by the buoyancy of youth, in the matter of socialization, the peer group is to contemporary societies what the age-grades have been to traditional societies. In fact the age-grades often were, and still could be, used for community development activities or citizenship education.

The years of childhood are the formative period for the peer group. Although peer-group boundaries are fluid in the sense that children join or leave as they wish, there is sharp sex differentiation in the groupings. Boys and girls belong to separate groups. The school environment, the family neghbourhood, and the routes to and from school, all these offer settings for the activities of pear groups. And the peer groups help children broaden their horizons and develop viewpoints that transcend a number of families,

In time the adolescent peer group develops its own dynamic power and organisational structure, its own goal, norms and values, its own pattern of reward and punishment, of acceptance of rejection of members, in a word its own sub-culture. The peer group offers the opportunity for the exercise of independence from adult control, as well as approval or

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[16] Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, *Schooling in Capitalist* America, New York. Basic Basic Books, 1976.

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disapproval by one's peers. How far the individual is esteemed by his peers as a group or within the classroom goes into the making of his self concept or personality.

Training in leadership and followership, in cooperation and competition, besides the opportunity to acquire and display certain cognitive, affective and psychomotor skills add to the socializing functions of the peer group. Also, one usually unspoken function of this group is that it provides information, useful and 'dangerous', about those things schools and parents often shy away from: making friends with the other sex, necking, the experience of sex and the possible consequences, besides the precautions to take. These are matters that confront society in proportion as we pretend they are not there.

(b) Adolescent Sub-Culture: The adolescent peer group with time has developed its on sub-culture. By sub-culture we refer to a system of values, attitudes modes of behaviour and life-styles of a social group which is distinct from but related to the dominant culture of society."[17] Once certain cultural patterns have become identifiable with a given social group within the society, then there is a sub-cultural formation. The sociology of youth, ethnic formations, deviancy or delinquency take up a good proportion of the literature on sub-cultures.

The sub-culture of the adolescent peer group is our concern here. It is this sub-culture that is internalized as the peer group socializes the individual. Usually, it is young people with a constellation of goals, interests and motivations - academic, social, psychological, physiological, etc - that gravitate towards the same grouping(s). And group goals and interests are pursued in some style:

> The peer group provides the norms or standards of thought and behaviour to be pursued by its members, and establishes the attitudes, options, opinions, and cultural ideas

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[17] N Abecrombie, Stephen Hill, and Bryan Turner, *Dictionary of sociology*, Op. Cit., P.212.

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> which they are expected to adopt. It is through such peer group that sub-cultures are established which may provide variations in standards of social behaviour or dress and fashion.[18]

In our society, some peer groups take smoking, drinking beer and 'chasing chicks as indicators of being 'on' or having arrived. Of course our schools and homes generally do not approve of young people getting involved in such matters. Other groups may be more interested in athletics, adventures, sneaking out of school in mufti, gate-crashing at parties or night-clubs, etc. And there are groups that have a partiality for 'swotting and earning prizes or high grades. The nature of the goals and interests of members tends to match the means and strategies considered appropriate for achieving them. For some groups, it may not matter if you have to tell lies in order to win a girl's heart. And there may be groups that believe that cheating for the purpose of passing one's examinations becomes a problem only arid only if one is caught. 'Thou shall not be caught' is their eleventh commandment. They try to perfect the techniques of lie-telling and examination malpractice.

In fact there are schools where certain peer groups become so deviant or dreadful as to take on the murky image of a secret society At this stage it may be better to say that the peer groups concerned have degenerated to the level of a clique or syndicate. But as the peer group provides some opportunity for getting feelings of stability and solidarity, besides satisfying the socio-psychological needs of belonging and esteem, most members would rather comply than run the risk of being expelled or even beaten up.

Adolescents usually go for the spectacular and attention-catching. They like reading thrillers and romance and science fiction. They love parties and disco and occasions that provide for interaction with the other sex. They wear dark spectacles and hair styles named after musicians or entertainers. Wearing

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[18] Ivor Morrish, The sociology of Education. Op. Cit., P. 241

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bright colours and combinations of dress, a preference for tight-filling, contour-displaying jeans and trendy names in the ready-made business, appearing in fashionable shoes or canvas adopting, fanciful nicknames and, slang expressions, being known as a 'big guys' or 'big chic' in the school - all this defines the sub-culture of adolescents. Needless to say that organised hooliganism in sporting engagements gives them the pep, especially where the other sex is around.

(c) Peer Group Influence on School Achievement: The preceding sub-section may have created the impression that the peer group in usually affects learning adversely. There is actually this tendency to over-emphasize the negative influences of the peer group in relation to school success. Should the teacher happen to be so biased, the peer group may represent for him the 'enemy' to be conquered., or youthful 'animals' to be tamed and restrained, or educands to be won over and taught"[19]. Such a teacher then goes on to. organise teaching-learning contexts rather too rigidly. His class-room management strategies also become inflexibly per-emotive. This kind of unprovoked aggression against adolescent peers sets off a dynamic that sooner or later helps these students develop negative adaptive responses; and so 'achieve school failure' by graduating (or degenerating into the so-called discipline problems. As the prophecy of the teacher fulfills itself, peer group stigma and stereotypes live on.

Much as peer groups can and do get into excesses, it is our contention that more often than not peer antisocial behaviour is a reaction against the aloofness, the double standard, the high-headedness and insensitivity, the 'colonial mentality' of over-bearing teachers and school heads. It is front-page news when students pour water over their kitchen personnel. But our elitist mass-media never bother to find out whatever happened to the bags of garri that should have naturally substituted for those staff.

Potentially, the pear group can effect school achievement for better or for worse. Much depends on the value systems of

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[19] Ibid.

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society, the attitudes of teachers and, of course, the motivations of the groups membership. But serving as an anchor for security, identity, belonging and esteem, the peer group provides the psychological balance and the social skills for mixing freely, trading ideas with class mates, concentrating while studying, and working hard in order not to fall n the estimation of one's peers. There is hardly anyone who will like to disappoint either himself of his friends in the matter of academics. Some peer groups are often effective study or discussion groups. It has been found in "Makurdi Nigeria, that positive attitudes towards school and patterns of achievement were more highly related to peer group association" than ethnic group and sex."[20]

We have also noted that the peer group promotes cooperation and competition, besides offering the opportunity for leadership and followership. These attributes no doubt hold out promises which teachers can intelligently exploit to promote school achievement. Such attributes make peer group serviceable in teaching-learning contexts based on projects and problem-solving. As members cooperate to achieve their group and individual goals, overall cohesiveness and productivity tend to increase. Assigning projects to identifiable peer groups in inquire-oriented classrooms has a high chance of promoting overall school achievement for the members and for the class. For there is here a buddy situation, whereby the able students act as support for the less able ones. In fact the buddy strategy' is right now being employed in advanced societies as a technique of seeing women through science and technology courses.

Lastly in the section, the peer group that has been driven, so to say, Into subversive tendencies, could be manipulated or cajoled back into more socially acceptable behaviour. There was this case of a supposedly recalcitrant group being constituted by a dynamic principal first, Into a punctuality army, for the school. They were supposed to know the byways appeared to be enjoying the job and doing it well, they were

[20] O.L. Dubey, D.A Edem and A.S. Thakur, The Sociology of Nigerian Education, Op. Cit. P.20.

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and pathways of late corners. When the members of the group divided into two. One group became games' wardens, the other pre-captains. With time the games' wardens warp made class prefects. The ring leader became the school's labour prefect and graduated in perfect division II in their West African School Certificate (W.A.S.C) examination. If we realize that school achievement is not simply a matter of academic excellence, the certificate of recognition which the school awarded that boy for exemplary dedication as a labour prefect may in the long run serve this country far better than fanciful credentials our school leavers now carry about as photo albums. And the boy in any case later graduated from university as an agricultural economists. Today he is in successful large-scale farming.Given the popularity of guidance and counselling courses in our school system today, teachers and school heads simply have to do more intelligent work, and forget about the old and cheap tactic of labeling and blaming the victim.

The Mass Media

The mass media of communications cover the radio, television, newspapers, magazines, cinema, or films, posters pamphlets and general books or novels. They are sources of information, entertainment, and role models for young and old people. As such they are powerful instruments of socialization in contemporary societies.

The mass media can and are used for the political socialization of the citizenry. There is a possible misuse here: propaganda and tendentious distortion of information are part of the expediency in political calculations. Those in power can thus employ the mass media to confuse the population or else to buy unmerited popularity.

New ideas, new beliefs, new fashions, new techniques, new products, etc all of which update the culture of the society concerned, are communicated to the masses of the population through the mass media.

But the television in particular has been accused of carrying dramatized crime into our living rooms. The role models films provide in the pay offs of violence, criminal and official, are definitely not in the beat interest of developing societies like

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Ours. The same thing is applicable to the pornographic shots and the conspicuous consumption habits which television advertisements endorse. Such things are at cross purposes with the efforts of the other agents of socialization. Some measure of control of especially foreign influence in this regard may not be completely out of place.

The Church/Mosque

Religious establishments like churches and mosques also play their pan in the internalization of especially altruistic norms and values. The moral or spiritual education of the Individual, for the greater good of society and to the glory of God or Allah, is a major socialization function of the institution of religion.

One problem religion faces is that most of its claims and promises are predicated on faith rather then reason and science. And it talks about life hereafter even when people do not appear to have had a fair deal here end now.

Through religious or moral instruction the school seems to he assisting religious establishments in moulding the heart and, to some extent, the head of individuals. The belief is that society needs a sound moral bedrock in order to progress. Unless individuals are honest and upright, the good life or the good society may continue to elude us. It is the business of religious establishments to try to make sure that does not happen.

Religion teaches people to be their brother's keepers, to help the needy and the poor, and to lead exemplary lives. But any religion, that preaches the destruction of human life under any guise or that think we must destroy other religions in order to build and expend our own, such a religion must have been misinterpreted by human beings somewhere along the march of history. For the sanctity of human life is at the core of all sound religions.

Summary

We have noted that socialization is the internalisation of culture. It is a dynamic cultural induction process that equips individuals with the skills and values for functioning effectively in whatever position or status they find themselves throughout life. Socialization his both a stabilizing, consensus function and a transformative, conflict function.

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Socialization involves the use of positive sanctions (rewards) and negative sanctions (punishment) for purposes of social control. Training, persuasion and coercion are all worked into the bargain of social proscriptions (the do's) and social proscriptions (the don'ts). There is here social learning through participation and the observation and imitation of model peers and adults. And language significantly mediates the entire exercise.

When socialization is towards a future role or status, it is anticipatory. But when it is a consequence of one's new position in society, then it is concomitant. Formal socialization occurs in structured settings like schools and military formations. But casual contexts like the home and the neighbourhood provide informal but decisive socialization. Socialization moves from primary to secondary to tertiary stages as one goes from the home to the school and to work.

The agents of socialization in contemporary societies are the family, the school, the peer group, the mass media, the church or mosque work or occupation, as wall as a medley of other institutions and organizations. There is a trend towards specialization in the socializing activities of those agencies. You can check on that in the following statement.

> ....those organs of modern socialization in Nigeria such s various educational institutions have as their central function the cumulative imparting of skills and knowledge required for wage employment either in government or in private ventures. Some like business and commercial establishments whose primary goal is profit maximization, as wall as government institutions and agencies primarily concerned with public administration and service, do provide opportunities for learning on the job, in addition to inculcating vocational skills. Others, representing the security and coercive arms of government such as the military, the police and the prisons, by their very structure and 'law and order' orientation, are well suited for resocialisation of their inmates. Some like the

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church, the mosque and related religious bodies specialize in the internalization of morel values and ethics, thereby controlling men's minds and ensuring a high degree of conformity to values, beliefs, customs and traditions of a conservative nature more or less, imposed on society by the dominant classes. Others like the mass media (books, magazines, journals, newspaper, radio, television and the cinema) tend to operate more subtly and benignly (and hence often more dangerously) in imparting new, predominantly foreign values of a generally technical, religious, commercial consumptionist and propagandist nature. Finally, some like underground organizations and institutions (such as crime syndicates) and commercial tourist and entertainment centres, specialise in having immoral and pornographic hardwares and other anti-social values and behaviour sets.[21] (underlining added)

One interesting thing about the quotation above is that It acknowledges the status of underground organisations as agents of socialization. That is one fact of life in modern societies which we cannot wish away. And avoiding the subject will entrench rather than eliminate it. Addressing the problem of such underground organisations may be more effectual than our present concern with the surface manifestations of crime. We are attacking the symptoms, not the root causes of the disease.

[21] Inyi A. Etong, Op Cit. P 10.

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CHAPTER FIVE

STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT

Social Class and School Achievement

One of the most important factors sociologists have identified as having a great Influence on the performance of children in school is social class or what is generally referred to as home background of children. Sociologists have found that families have different resources available for the training of their children. These resources are both cultural and material and they go a long way in facilitating children's learning and performance in school.

In this chapter the concept of social class will be examined in order to help understand its impact on school performance and achievement. Another concept that is related to social class and is said to affect achievement is **SOCIALIZATION.** Socialization is known to vary according to social class, Differences in socialization patterns are believed to affect academic performance. When these concepts have been examined the impact of social class on performance will be considered taking examples from studies conducted in this area.

Social Class

Social class is an important concept in sociology. It has been variously defined and analyzed by social scientists depending on their theoretical perspectives. Basically, social class can be defined as s level in society made up of individuals who consider themselves as equals because of their similarities in such areas of life as education, occupation, income and style of life.[1] Individuals with relatively the same level of education, occupation and income are said to belong to the same social class. They are likely to have the same view of the world, share the same attitude to life and social issues.

Karl Marx regarded a social class as made up of a group of Individuals who stand in the same relationship to the means of

[1] Robert J Statcup: Sociology and Education; Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1968, P. 17

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Production. He believed that social class is determined by economic imperatives. Those who have the means of production form a social class, while those who lack the means constitute another class.[2]. For Max Weber social class is determined by three factors, wealth, power and prestige. People belong to different social classes according to the status and power they possess, that is, according to their social prestige and style of life. 'All persons who are accorded the same estimations of social honour or prestige and who live according to similar standards generally belong within the same status group."[3]

Talcott Parsons believes that social class consists of a number of kin groups, that is, families, lineage and. clans which enjoy toughly equal status.[4] What is central to these views of social class Is that it is composed of a group of people who behave in a similar way; they are conscious of their common identity and interest and thus act in concert for the protection of these interests.[5]

Types of Social Classes

Social classes have been differently classified depending on the criteria used. The major breakdown of social class Is that of three categories.

Upper - class
Middle - class
Lower - class

In a more elaborate classification, warner identified six social classes in his study, Yankee City based on life-styles:

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[2] Neil G. Smelser, Sociology: An Introduction (2nd Ed.) New York: John Wiley a Sons, 1973, P. 134.

[3] Ibid, P. 140.

[4] Ansu Datta: Education & Society: A Sociology of African Education, London: Macmillan Publishers, 1984, Pp. 159-160.

[5] Peter Worsley: Introducing Sociology, Midlesex. Penguin Education books Ltd., 1973, P 317

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1. Upper-Upper: the elite, based on inherited high family status and wealth, socialized in aristocratic etiquette.

2. Lower-Upper: families with patterns of income, occupation and participation similar to the upper-upper, but with more recently acquired wealth and hence lacking old family prestige; professionals and businessmen.

3. Upper-middle: moderately successful business and professional people without distinguished lineage; respected civic leaders,

4. Lower-middle: Small businessmen, white-collar workers, craftsmen and firemen, living in neat houses; conservative, self-consciousness about respectability,

5. Upper-lower: lower white-collar employees, semi-skilled factory workers; service workers; "poor but hardworking,"

6. Lower-lower: not "respectable" people; unskilled workers, live on charity of government and society.[6]

Members of the upper-class are regarded as the elite, based on inherited high family status and wealth that have stood the test of time, they are socialized into aristocratic manner of behaviour. The middle class consists of successful professionals and big businessmen whose success is achieved rather than inherited but there can be a mixture of both. A typical middle class has good education, especially university education and a good occupation, in Nigerian context

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[6] Raymond W. Mack and John Pease, Sociology & social Life (5th Ed.) New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1973, P. 286.

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university teachers, top civil servants and people with similar positions in the private sector belong to this class.

The lower class which is sometimes referred to as the working class is made up of lower white-collar employees in skilled and semi-skilled occupations. In a rather simple distinction, Bernstein considers working-class synonymous with manual workers while he regarded middle class as non-manual workers.[7] Parelius and Parelius hold that social class can be measured in a number of different ways. It can be measured by father's education, occupation or income' either separately or jointly; one can sometime use mother's education or occupation, family income or household possessions[8].

In Western societies apart from education, occupation and income other indices of social class include race, religion, residential pattern and even political affiliation. For our practical purpose, In Nigeria we confine ourselves to the three indices of education, occupation and income.

Social Class and socialization

Socialization is a process by which a child learns the cultural requirements of his society in order to become a functioning member of the society. It is regarded by Biesanz as:

> a process that turns a helpless infant into a functioning members of his society.[9]

When a child is born, he does not know the language and the culture of his group. He has to learn them in order to participate in the activities and functions of his group and society. This process of learning to acquire all that is required to be a fully integrated and functioning member of society is called socialisation. Human nature is universal, that is, it is the

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[7] SeeJack Demaine, Contemporary Theories in the sociology of Education, London; The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1981, P. 45.

[8] Robert James Parelius & Ann Parker Parelius; the Sociology of Educatiorf (2nd ed). Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1987, P 265.

[9] Mervis Hiltunen Biesanz & John Biesan, Introduction to sociology (2nd ed.), Englewood Cliff; New Jersey. Prentice Hall, Inc, 1973, P.6.

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Same everywhere but there are differences from group to group and even from one individual to another, but every individual must learn how to become a member of his society.

The cultural requirements which a person is expected to acquire turn out to be a set of norms, values, attitudes, and common perceptions of the society. The child begins to learn these at home before his contact with others outside the home. Before he goes to school, he has already formed ideas about right and wrong, and what are expected of him. The family plays a crucial role in the socialization process. The family does this by direct instruction, demonstration, rewards and punishment.[10] The type of family a child is born into has an effect on the kind of socialization the child receives. It has been found that middle-class and lower-class families socialize their members differently. This difference in socialization is attributed to some factors: difference in educational attainment, life style, attitude to life and views of the world around them. Middle-class parents tend to be more liberal in their views than lower-class, allowing the child freedom to express himself,, participate in adult discussions and activities. When a child has misbehaved, middle-class parents use moral appeal, withdrawal of privileges and denial of affection as form of punishment. Whereas lower-class parents use corporal punishment. The two methods of punishment have significant psychological implications: the middle-class child is given the opportunity to reflect on what he has done and make amends, while no such opportunity is offered to his lower-class counterpart

Cohen has noted that:

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[10] Scott G McNall. The sociological Experience A modern Introduction to sociology (2nd ed.). Boston: Little, Brown & Company 1971 p.77

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> Working-class parents have been found to place a high value on obedience, discipline, cleanliness, respect and conformity to traditional standards of behaviour. On the other hand, middle-class families were found to place more emphasis on the child's motives for behaving in a given manner than on the behaviour itself. Middle class children are encouraged to be innovative and independent and assume a position of leadership.[11]

The difference in socialization pattern has been observed to affect students' school experience and ultimately his achievement. Apart from the family, the school is another important agency of socialization. The primary purpose of education is the socialization of the young in the values of society. Usually it is the dominant values of society that the child is expected to learn in school. These values are regarded as middle-class values since the social class exerts great influence in social, economic, religious, political, scientific and technological life of society. In effect the school teaches middle-class values. According to Ornstein:

> It is generally expected that the orientation of the school is basically middle-class. The strong emphasis on punctuality, responsibility, hard work, honesty and achievement are middle-class values. Similarly, the language spoken by teachers is middle-class, and the curriculum and tests tend to coincide with middle-class culture...,[12]

The implication of this is that children from middle-class homes before going to school have already been exposed to these values, while their lower-class peers are only introduced

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[11] Bruce J. Cohen, Introduction to Sociology. Schaum's Outline series, New York; McGraw-Hill Books Company, 1979, P 48.

[12] Allen C. Ornstein, Education and Social Inquiry. (Itasca, Illinois F E Peacock publishers, Inc. 19781 p.60

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to them in school. Thus, before entering into school the middle-class child has an advantage over his lower-class counterpart. Ornstein made a further observation on this:

> Students from low-class backgrounds are at a disadvantage; they usually lack inner control and are not always "good"; they often speak a different language than the formal one spoken by their teachers and lack the
>
> academic skills necessary for school success. In general, they possess a set of values that does not coincide with the values of the school. As a result they experience culture shock when they first begin school, and they are put at a disadvantage throughout most, if not all, of their school careers.[13]

Studies on social class and academic achievement

A lot of studies have documented the relationship between social class and school success. Whatever measure of social class was used, the results have shown high consistency: the higher the social class of parents of the student, the higher the student's academic achievement in such areas as grades in schools, test scores, retention at various class levels, academic honour and awards received, number of years in school and plan for higher education. On the other hand, the lower class student is likely to experience failure, become truant, exhibit behaviour problems, be suspended from school and finally drop out from school.[14] Parelius and Parelius put this phenomenon pointedly:

> Whether we look at scores on standardized ability or achievement tests, classroom grades, participation in academic rather than vocational high school programmes, involvement in extra

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[13] Allan C. Ornstein, ibid. p.60.
[14] Ibid. p.86.

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-curricular activities, number of year of schooling completed, or enrollment in or completion of college(undergraduate and professional school, children from more socio-economically advantaged homes out-perform their less affluent peers.[15]

In Nigeria one observes the efforts of middle-class parents to send their children to good schools such as Federal government colleges and university staff schools and demonstration secondary school where they receive high quality education. Middle-class parents can afford the cost and they do not mind the distance of such schools from home. A part from sending their children to good schools, they also, engage private teachers after school hours to teach their children especially in preparation for public examinations like primary school leaving certificate, common entrance to secondary school, Joint Admission and Matriculation Examination (JME) for entrance to university and higher institutions. Lower class parent who have many children to educate do not have the means to send their children to good quality schools rather they send them to community and state schools that are of low quality where school fees are also low. These schools lack basic Infrastructural facilities, science laboratories and equipment. Moreover the schools lack qualified and experience teachers especially in science subjects. Most middle-class parents are top civil servants, business entrepreneurs and professionals who live and work in urban areas; where high quality schools are located. Significantly children from both social classes are expected to take the same public examinations.

A study by Obanya and Ezewu showed that children from high socioeconomic status families complete primary school in younger age than their counterparts from lower class.[16] The researchers also found that middle-class children showed higher

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[15] Robert J. Parelius & Ann P. Parelius, The Sociology of Education, p255

[16] See Edward Ezewu, Sociology of Education: Longman Company Ltd. 1983, p.24.

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aspirations to highly rated professions than lower class children.[17] O'Connell and Beckett in a study of the social status of Nigerian undergraduates found that significant number of students especially among female students were from high socioeconomic status families.[18]

Summary

Social class has been defined as a level in society made up of individuals who consider themselves as equals because of what they have in common. They have the same level of educational attainment, and have the same levels of occupation and income. Above all, they share the same outlook on life generally. Different social classes have been identified. They are distinguished by the cultural and material resources available to them. Consequently these resources influence the kind of socialization given to their children.

The middle class is the dominant group, exerting powerful influence on society in different realms of endeavour; education, government, politics, business and the various professions. They determine the norms and values of society. The lower-class on the other hand have little education and work at low-income occupations. They do not have access to the good things of life or what sociologists call the scare resources. These resources refer to good quality education for their children, health care, housing and recreational facilities.

Middle-class send their children to good schools regardless of the cost because they regard education as a vital instrument for placement of Individuals in occupations and key position in society. While in school middle class children have better academic achievement than their lower-class counterparts because middle-class families, and school teach behavioural expectations that make for school success.

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[17] Ibid, p.27

[18] Paul Beckett and James O'Connel, Education; and Power in Nigeria: A study of University Students, New York: African Publishing Company, 1977, P44.

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CHAPTER SIX

EQUALITY Of EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

In this Chapter we need to know the meaning of Equality of Opportunity and the application to education. After this, the factors that led to inequality of educational provision in Nigeria will be examined. The Federal Government has made efforts to provide equal educational opportunity in Nigeria, for instance the Universal Primary Education (UPE), Quota system in admission to higher institutions of learning, the establishment of Federal Government Colleges are some of the efforts. These efforts will be considered. In spite of governmental efforts, there are factors that make equality of education opportunity difficult to attain. These factors will be examined. Some studies have shown that equality of educational opportunity as an official policy does not necessarily solve the problems of inequality in society. Some of these studies despite their difference from Nigeria socio-cultural situation will be used to show that education, as envisaged by Nigerian policy makers,, may not after all be the solution to in equality in our society.

Concept of Equality of Opportunity

Equality of opportunity "refers to all people having equal chance of achieving a high socio-economic status regardless of sex, race or class..."[1]

Social scientists note that origins of inequality are found in social class structure of society. People. do not have the same level of wealth, influence and power. Differences exist among individuals in achievement some individuals are better educated, have better occupation and material rewards than others. Aware of these differentials, society attempts to give all individuals equal chance to strive for the things that bring success in life. In otherwords, equal opportunity means giving everybody the same chance to compete for whatever resources are available in society.

When one talks of equal opportunity in reference to education, it embraces, according to James Coleman!

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[1] Jeanne H. Ballantine, The Sociology of Education, p. 75

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> Providing a free education up to a given level which constitutes the principal entry point to the labour force, to providing a common curriculum for all children regardless of background; to providing that children from diverse backgrounds attend the same school; and to providing an equality within a given locality....[2]

The concept of equality of educational opportunity means providing equal facilities, finances for schools and availability of school.[3] Again Hurns notes that:

> The heart of the idea (equality of educational opportunity) has remained the belief that all should have an equal chance to successes or failure in a common school system.[4]

Equality of educational opportunity therefore is an attempt to correct educational imbalance in society.

Origin of inequality of Educational Opportunity in Nigeria

The uneven development of education in different parts of Nigeria is due to religious, ethnic and socio-cultural differences. Christianity which brought western education was accepted in the South much earlier than in the North. In the South some ethnic groups were more receptive to new ideas and change brought by Christianity. The groups that received early education became the dominant groups in the colonial and post-colonial political arrangements. These groups make up in modern Nigeria what are referred to advantaged areas," While the late recipients of western education are regarded as disadvantaged areas." It must be noted that the educational

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[2] James S. Coleman. "The concept of Equality of Educational Opportunity," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 38, 1968. pp. 7-22.

[3] Jeanne H. Ballantine. The Sociology of Education, p. 61.

[4] Christopher J. Hun. The Limits and possibilities of schooling: An-introduction to the sociology of Education (2nd Ed.), Boston: Allyn and Bacon. Inc., P. 110.

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imbalance is not only geographical and ethnic, it is also socio-cultural. Families from high socio-economic category have better educational provision for their children than families of low socio-economic background. Thus the social class of parents has an influence on the level of education the child attains.

Government Efforts Towards Equality of Opportunity

Nigeria is a multi-ethnic and socio-cultural nation. Efforts have been made to wield the country together by making each citizen have a sense of belonging and assured of his rights like any other person. Education has been used to ensure equal treatment of citizens. During the colonial administration education was the privilege of a few whose parents could afford the cost or who were sponsored by government and/or private organisations. The universal primary Education (UPE) scheme was Federal Government's effort at providing equality of educational opportunity to every child. Durojaiye notes:

> The promise of UPE is the hope it holds out for each child that education is now available as an inalienable right.[5]

The Universal primary education scheme offers each child the opportunity to have a certain level of literacy and cognitive skill. It is ostensibly the first stop pf government towards achieving a just and egalitarian Society. Primary school education offers very minimal skills for employment. The new education system. envisages that diversified programmes that entail practical skills in technical and vocational fields would equip the child in the junior secondary school for self-employment or employment in the, public sector of the economy. The new 6-3-3-4 system has gone into operation in most states of the country but it has run into problems of

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[5] M.O.A. Durojaye., "Egaliterianism and inequalities In Nigeria Education" in Aloy; PA. Ejiogu and Duro Ajeyalemi (eds) Emergent issues In Nigerian education, Vol. 1. Ikeja Lagos Joja Press Ltd. 1987, P.12.

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implementation. Not many states have free secondary education for all. The Federal Government has left secondary education to state governments. In states where school fees are paid, many children from poor homes that cannot afford the fees have dropped out of school. Equipments needed for the junior secondary school programmes have not been provided to all schools. In schools where they are provided, they have not been installed because there are no technicians, qualified technical teachers, and money to man the equipments. 'But in Federal Government secondary schools the junior secondary school programmes have taken off in full force due to government subsidy. In effect state, secondary schools and Federal Government schools are not equally provided for in the new educational dispensation.

Federal Government Colleges

Federal Government Colleges were established to stress national unity In Nigeria especially after the three years of civil war. Some people however see the Federal colleges as "a perpetuation and extension of the colonial privileged schools.[6] Federal Government colleges are well-financed, equipped and staffed. The majority of the students are from high socio-economic background. The colleges are now seen as the nursery for the future elite class. Durojaiye points out:

> Present Federal Colleges are conceived as unity schools. Nigeria is a country of diverse ethnic people and diverse cultures. Unity schools take children from all the nineteen state in accordance with some predetermined criteria. The lucky youths who come out of these schools may indeed have experienced unity in diversity but they era elite finished products, set apart, high and shoulder above the rest. There are advantages of their privileged educational facilities open to them, uncomparable access to higher education and

[6] Ibid., P.15.

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> thence to high professional, commercial, industrial and administrative cadres of employment in the public end private sectors. They in turn will ensure that their children follow the educational path they have followed. Unity schools are not egalitarian schools. They are political institutions for ensuring that equal number of elite young persons from each state, each main culture and ethnic group are produced...[7]

Government may provide universal primary education but if the same opportunity is not extended to secondary school, the much vaunted equality of opportunity will be a mere political gimmick. Research has shown the importance of secondary education for upward social mobility. Secondary education opens the way to higher education and to skilled employment. To enter a profession that enhances one's social position requires the attainment of higher education in the university or related professional schools. Education remains one of the means of ensuring a good social position in modern society. Hence equal access to qualitative and quantitative education will ensure that contest to be equal, it must be just and fair.

Quota system is another-means the Federal Government has applied to ensure equality of opportunity at the higher educational level. Quota system is aimed to reflect Federal character In admission to higher education as is done in appointment to positions in the civil service and government parastatals. Some states are regarded as advantaged, while others are called disadvantaged, depending on the development of education in the states. Under quota system, criterie for admission into Federal universities are merit, catchments area, and state of origin. All this is to ensure fair and balanced representation of candidates from various states in our universities. The drawback of quota system is that cometimes qualified students from advantaged states era denied admission while their less qualified peers from

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[7] Ibid., P.16.

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disadvantaged areas are offered admission. This can be regarded as reversed discrimination. Higher institutions need to be expanded to accommodate qualified students from advantaged and disadvantaged states.

Factors that make Equality of Opportunity Difficult to Attain

Researchers have shown that despite efforts to provide education for all, there are factors that make equality of educational opportunity difficult to attain. These factors are: Socio-economic status of the family, sex of student, location of school, quality of school and teachers. Even on Individual level such factors as I.Q., motivation, personal ambition and aspiration have been identified as responsible for different educational achievement among individuals.

Family Socio-economic Status

The effect of the family background on achievement and the opportunity open to the individual has been well documented. Family background determines the quality and quantity of education the child receives, his ability to pursue a course of study, and complete It, and his ultimate success in a given occupation. Parelius end Parelius note:

> Whether we look at scores on standardized ability or achievement tests, classroom grades, participation in academic rather then vocations high school programs, involvement in extra-curricular activities, number of years of schooling completed, or enrollment in or completion of college end professional school, children from more socio-economically advantaged homes out perform their less affluent peers.[8]

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[8] Ann Parker Parelius and Robert J. Parelius, The Sociology of Education, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey. Prentice Hall, Inc, 1978; pp. 284-285.

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Children from high socio-economic status (SES) families are more likely to attend good secondary school, have the means to pursue higher education at the university or related professional school, and to complete the proramme without academic and financial difficulties. The lower class children are constrained to attend low-quality secondary school, they may be unable to complete the course because of financial problem. They are likely to perform poorly in West African School Certificate/General Certificate of Education examinations and this seals their chances of going on for higher education. We have seen that some secondary schools in Nigeria are better in quality that other. The higher the quality of the secondary school, the better the chances of success of its students and the more assure they are places in higher education. Despite government efforts, the family by and large determines the kind and quality of education of its members. Since families are unequal, there is bound to be unequal provision of education by different family group.

Sex

In Nigeria at least the past, girls have not had the same opportunity as boys to go to school. For cultural reasons, the education of girls was considered unnecessary and wasteful since they would eventually marry and leave their families. Recent government efforts have been directed toward equal educational opportunity for boys and girls. The wall of prejudice against female education is crumbing. At the primary and secondary levels female enrollment have shown marked increase from what they were twenty years ago. However, in higher education men still have better opportunities than women. There are more male students in higher education than female students. For instance in the 1986/87 academic year in University of Benin 1624 male and 667 female were enrolled. These figures represented 71 per cent and 29 per cent respectively.[9]

More men pursue courses in mathematics, pure and applied sciences than women. In professional course such as

[9] Figure obtained from Admissions Office, University of Benin.

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medicine, law and engineering girls are under-represented. Ballatine note that:

> Once in college (University), women tend to study nursing, and social work, whereas high concentrations of men are found, in sciences, business and related field.[10]

Women are now venturing into academic discipline which were exclusive for men. Such areas as medicine, law, architecture, engineering and business now have female students. They need to be encouraged and they have to prove they can hold their own in these field as their male counterparts.

Location of School:

Location of school refers to whether the school is in urban or rural area. The location of school to a great extent tells something about the quality of the school. Schools in urban areas have better facilities and more access to information and facilities outside the school. Many of Federal Government Colleges are located in urban centres. Urban schools have the convenience of electricity, pipe-borne water, electronic and print media, public libraries, amusement parts, zoos and other sources of education and recreation that stimulate learning.

In rural areas most schools are community-built schools and are ill-equipped. It has been shown that these schools tend to offer Art subjects because they have readily available teachers to teach them and they are less expensive to run than science subjects.[11]

Better qualified and more experienced teachers are found in urban schools. Many teachers do not want to teach in rural schools because they lack basic amenities. Thus unqualified and inexperience teachers find themselves in rural schools not

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[10] Jeanne H. Ballantine. The Sociology of Education, p.83

[11] Jones Nwaogu. "Philosophy of Education and Technological Development In Nigeria' Nigeria Journal of Education Philosophy, Vol. 2, No 1, 1984, p. 44.

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out of choice but because they have no other alternatives. When the alternative comes they work their way to urban schools. In a typical rural school, the principal may be the only graduate. In some cases he does not even teach as he is more involved with school administration.

Efforts have been made to attract qualified and experienced teachers to rural areas. Science allowance was offered to science teachers and 'bush' allowance to other categories of teachers. But these incentives have not solved the shortage of qualified and experienced teachers in rural schools.

Individual Differences

It must be noted that even when the same opportunity is offered to a group of people, they all cannot come out with equal result, in the realm of education with the same academic achievement, and in the world of work, enter the same occupation. Individual differences exist: Some students are more intelligent than others, some have higher aspiration, ambition and motivation than others. Intelligent and highly motivated students work hard and set goals for themselves. They aspire to have good education and enter high-status occupations, while low-intelligent students find school tedious and uninspiring and desire to end school as early as possible. Even if both categories of students are placed in the same school with the same facilities and teachers, one group will emerge better enriched by educational experience than the other group. Thus equality of educational opportunity does not necessarily mean equal results. In effect individual differences contribute to inequality of opportunity and results of students regardless of their social background.

Cautious Note on Equality of Educational Opportunity:

At the end of World war II, western societies, because of the prevailing ideological climate towards equality among races and social classes, began to offer education t the lees privileges of society. It was believed that equality of educational opportunity would solve the problem of social inequality. In the United States for instance, education was made available to blacks

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to the lower class end to women, the three - categories of persons who had been victims of discrimination. More than twenty-five years after the massive educational programmes to equalize opportunity, studies have indicated that the social equality is ever increasing. Jencks' study inequality shows "that even when the educational attainment gap between minorities and whites is narrowed, economic inequality among adults continues to exist."[12]

Boudon has pointed out also that equality of educational opportunity has not brought the desired social and economic equality envisaged by western societies since the end of world war II.[13] Huurs shares the same view with Jencks and Boudon when he notes;

> Educational opportunities, have greatly increased, but the disadvantages suffered by poor and low status students in the competition for desirable jobs have- not proportionately diminished. Education has not been the great equalizer that its proponents expected.[14]

In Nigeria, we have seen, government efforts at equality of educational opportunity assume that making education available to all would solve the educational imbalance among ethnic and social groups and the consequent unequal access to jobs and economic rewards. One needs to observe that Nigerian social mobility system has begun to assumes the features of western societies. Well-to-do parents are becoming increasingly aware of their privileged positions and the need to bequeath the same to their offsprings. This is shown in the concern they have to ensure that their children receive the best education. They send the children to the best schools. They keep their children in school for as long as it takes to acquire

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[12] Jeanne H. Ballantine, The Sociology of Education, p. 88.

[13] Raymond Boudon, Education. Opportunity and social Inequality, New York: John Willey & Sons 1973, p. 196.

[14] Chriatopher J. Huns. The Limits and Possibilities of Schooling, p. 133.

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good education and attain the highest level of education. When education Is completed, the parents use their influence and social connections to place their children in the best paying jobs. Thus when the aspirations of parents for their children are attained we have what the conflict theorist call the 'social reproduction of labour', that is, children assume the social positions of their parents. On the other hand poor parents cannot afford to send their children to the best schools, they cannot afford to keep their children much longer in school since It is expected that the children have to come out of school to work in order to supplement the family income. Studies have reported high drop-out rate among low socio-economic status students. With low level of educational attainment they ara placed in low-status jobs as their parents, thus entering into the vicious circle of poverty.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Nature of Social Stratification;

Social stratification refers to levels or positions occupied by individuals in society. These level help are determined by such things as wealth, power, privilege and prestige which individuals enjoy in society. Scholars have noted that in any society whether In ancient or modern times there has been inequality arising from different levels of wealth, power, privilege, Influence end prestige. Some people enjoy more of these things than others. People who have acquired great wealth are likely to wield power in society and accorded respect by members of society.

Inequality in Society

Inequality has existed in different forms, in society from time immemorial. Plato, In his Republic envisioned a society comprised of three social classes, the Philosopher kings, the auxiliaries and the workers. Each is placed In a given social class in the Republic through personal ability and aptitude.[1] The philosopher kings were destined to rule after achieving this status through long and arduous intellectual training. The auxiliaries were the military caste, while the workers were to take care of agriculture and material provision for the sustenance of society. For Plato inequality exists because individuals do not make equal contribution to the welfare and affairs of the state.

Karl Marx attributed inequality in society to difference in economic positions by individuals.[2] Some members of society have greater economic possessions than others and as such exert more power and influence than others because of their wealth. Max Weber, the Germany sociologist attributed Inequality not only to economic factors but to differential

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[1] Melvin M. Tumin, Social stratification: The forms and Functions of Inequality. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey. Prentice. Hall, Inc, 1967, p.1.

[2] Ibid, p. 4.

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power and prestige of individuals.[3] Some people are born into noble families where they enjoy respect and privilege; while some attain through personal efforts positions of power and influence. In modern society personal achievement has become increasingly important in determining one's social position. This brings us to the idea of social class.

Determinants of School Class

Social class is a group in society composed of individuals who consider themselves as equals because of characteristics they have in common. The characteristics can be the same level of educational attainment, occupation, income end life style. As the saying goes "water seeks its own level." In society people associate with those with whom they have certain things In common. In modern society one's social class determines the person's life chances by which we mean opportunities open to individuals throughout life. The opportunities can refer to chances of being born into a rich family, of receiving a good education, entering into a good education, in short, or making success out of life.

There are three social classes; although some writers can still break the classes into six layers, others into five layers:

Upper Class	Upper - Upper Lower - Upper
Middle Class	Upper - Middle Lower - Middle
Lower Class	Upper - Lower Lower - Lower.

Five layers of social class:

Upper - Class
Upper - Middle
Lower - Middle
Working
Lower.[4]

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[3] Ibid, p. 6.

[4] Jeanne H. Ballantine, The sociology of Education, p 56.

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The upper-class is made up of families that are well of in society. They have enormous wealth, Influence and prestige. Members do not have to work to live comfortably in life because they have resources stored up in the family heirloom. The middle class comprises of professionals in various prestigious occupations. These people have succeeded in life through education in their chosen fields. Education, at least at the University level is required for entry into the professions and the attainment of middle-class status. Lower class is made up of people whose education is low and are employed in the manual semi-skilled and unskilled categories of the labour force. Social class determines a lot of things in individual's life experiences.

> One's position in the class stratification system implies a certain life style, membership in certain groups, political affiliations, attitudes towards life-chances; health, childrearing patterns and many other aspects of life.[5]

For one to attain a middle-class status in modern society, he must obtain a good education, he must have a good occupation and income. Thus education, occupation and income are strong indices of social class, though in western societies other indices include, residence, race and religion. In Nigeria and other developing countries education has assumed great significance in placing persons in social positions. Before the advent of western education in Nigeria in 1843, traditional kings and chiefs were the ruling class. When western education was introduced, it was the common folks and slaves who responded to the western influence. This latter group received education and began to exert influence during the colonial period, while the traditional rulers and their heirs were relegated to the background.[6] Thus there was a restratification of the Nigerian society.

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[5] Ibid p. 56

[6] Edward Ezewu. *Sociology of Education*, London: Longman; 1983. pp 21-22

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Main Theories of Stratification

Inequality has for long attracted the attention of social scientist. They have observed that in all societies inequality appears natural. permanent and pervasive. Everyone seems to take it for granted, no matter what is done, inequality is difficult to eliminate in society. Moreover, it cuts across every area of social, economic and political life, Inequality exists in education. We have different levels of schools., primary, secondary and higher institutions, there are different types and quality of education. Some children receive vocational/technical education while others receive liberal arts/science education. Rich parents send their children to high quality schools that money can afford, while poor parents are restricted in their choice of schools for their children. Students on completion of schooling are placed in occupations commensurate with their training. The salary scale structure in Nigeria reflects educational preparations and qualification. We shall return to education and inequality later.

Since inequality appear natural permanent and pervasive, social scientists have turned attention' to explaining why inequality exits in society Two main theories of stratification have emerged: the Functional and the conflict theories.

Functionalist Theory of Stratification

The functionalist theory of stratification is represented by the work of kindsley Davis and Wilbert Moore.[7] These writers try to justify inequality in society they argue that:

(a) Every society must meet certain needs in order to survive,

(b) In order to meet these needs society offers rewards and incentives to encourage members to enter those occupation related to the survival needs of society.

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[7] Kingsley Davis and Wilbert Moore, Some Principles of Stratification *American Sociological Review.* Vol. 10, 1945, pp. 242-249.

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(c) Since some positions are more important In meeting the needs of society then others, those positions must be attached higher rewards to attract individuals to remain there.

(d) Therefore inequality exists because individual do not occupy equal positions and do not receive equal rewards.

Another functionalist theorist, Talcott Parsons, argue that some people are more valuable to society than other.[8] These individuals enjoy the respect and esteem of society because of their high-status and occupations. Thus inequality inevitable for some will always remain at the top while others remains at the bottom of the social ladder.

If we apply the above arguments to education functionalist theorist hold that Education Is required to train people to acquire skills necessary for occupation in society. In modern society skills, have become complex. The more complex and important the skills the longer and higher the training and the intelligence expected. Education selects individuals into various job categories. Hence those who have acquired the complex and necessary skills are placed in high-status position with high rewards.

Conflict Theory of Stratification: Conflict theorists see society as divided into two opposing groups, the "haves" and the "have nots." The "haves" are made up of those who have power and are in control of the resources of society. They do not went to share power and the resources with the "have nots." Education is one of the resources of society. It is one of the means which the dominant group uses to ensure its continued stay In power. According to conflict theorists the educational system perpetuates inequality in society. Lower class children receive low quality education which teaches

[8] Talcott Parsons, "Equality and Inequality in Modern Society or Social Stratification Revisited"in Edward 0. Lauman (ed). New York: Bobbs-Merill, 1970, pp. 13-72.

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them the values, docility, and discipline of capitalist society. while middleclass individuals receive the type of education which prepares them for leadership roles in the labour force. Moreover, the education system is an instrument of repression and coercion on students according to Conflict theorist.

Hurns points this differing educational goals of the two social groups:

> Although all schools must repress and coerce students to secure a compliant and efficient adult labor force, different schools accomplish this function in different ways. The values and qualities required by an efficient manual worker on the production line are different from the values and qualities needed by an executive of a large corporation. While the manual workers must be taught punctuality, the ability to follow instructions, and some degree of respect for superiors, the executive needs some degree of flexibility and ability to tolerate ambiguity, and favourable attitudes towards change and innovation.[9]

Thus education functions to socialize different individuals in the particular social traits of the groups to which they are destined. Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, are major proponent of the conflict perspective who used the United States educational system for the conflict, theory analysis of the function of education. Samuel Bowles maintains:

> (1) that schools have evolved in the U.S. not as part of pursuit of equality but rather to meet the needs of capitalist employers for a disciplined and skilled labour, force, and to provide a mechanism for social control in the interest of political stability;

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[9] Christopher Hurn, The Limits and Possibilities of Schooling, p. 64.

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(2) that the economic importance of skilled and well educated labour has grown, inequalities in the school system' have become increasingly important in reproducing the class structure from one generation to the next.

(3) that the U.S. school system is pervaded by class Inequalities, which have shown little sign of diminishing over the last half century;

(4) that the evidently unequal control over school boards and other decision-making bodies in education does not provide a sufficient explanation of the persistence and pervasiveness of inequalities in the school.[10]

Nigeria may not have attained the subtleties of class-structure and distinction of western societies such as the United States, it can however be noted that Nigerian education offers different schooling experience In terms of quality, clientele and destination of students in the labour force. University staff schools and demonstration secondary schools, Federal government colleges and military-operated schools are high quality schools to which well placed and rich parents send their children. These schools are higher in quality than most state-owed schools. Furthermore, powerful and better endowed parents have often sent their children into academic and liberal, educational programmes regardless of intellectual abilities, while children from poor homes overwhelmingly went into vocational programmes that offered low-level positions in the labour force. Moreover, educational imbalance exists in Nigeria. This imbalance is attributed to regional and ethnic differences. It is on account if this the Federal government embarked on programs of equality of educational opportunity in the new National Policy on Education. The purpose of the new educational system is to exposes all students to the same educational programmes.

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[10]Samuel Bowles "Unequal Education and the Reproduction of the Social Division of Labour" in Jerome Karable and A.H. Halsey (eds) *Power and Ideology in Education*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1877, p. 137

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Myth of Education for solving Problems of inequality in Nigeria.

In recent times especially in developing countries education has been regarded as an answer to may problems of society. Economic and political developments of African Countries were tied to the provision of education at the different levels. Education was expected to improve the lot of society and the individual as well. Equality of educational opportunity has become a social philosophy which has gained the support of industrialized and developing societies. After World War II there were growing sentiments and awareness of equality of all men. Scholars and policy makers in western societies believed that social inequality could be solved through the provision of education to all classes in societies. The United Nations' Universal 'Declaration of Human Rights In 1948 asserted the inalienable rights of man in different areas of life and guaranteed hI$ freedom to education. Article 26 of the charter declared that:

1. Everyone has the right to education. This shall be free at least in the elementary and primary stages.

2. Elementary education shall be compulsory, while technical and professional education shall be made generally available.

3. Higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

4. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.[11]

Following this declaration western societies began educational programmes that opened opportunity to the less privileged in society to go to school. It was believed that

[11] N.A. Nwagwu (ed) *Universal Primary Education in Nigeria: issue, Prospects and problems* (Benin City: Ethiope Publishing Corporation, 1976), p.4.

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offering equality of educational opportunity to different social classes would bridge the social gap between the privileged and the underprivileged. This was the underlying philosophy of equality of educational opportunity as Boudon observed:

> For decades both social scientists and policy makers had thought about and acted on the basis of an optimistic philosophy. It was uncritically assumed that education could cure all kinds of social problems and, particularly that it could bring about more equality among men. As the sociology of Education developed, this view was progressively reversed and a new philosophy, a pessimistic one, emerged more and more convincingly. It may be summarized in the statement that schooling is unable to reduced to any considerable extent the inequalities among individuals which result from social background.[12]

Boundon and others have shown that the educational programmes mounted by western societies to achieve social equality have not yielded the desired result. Instead the social inequality that existed between the social classes has continued to widen.

> Indeed, the educational growth witnessed in all western industrial societies since 1945 has been accompanied by an increase rather than a decrease in economic inequality, even though the educational system has become more equalitarian, in the meanwhile.[13]

Since the establishment of western education in Nigeria, education has played an important role in placing individuals in

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[12] Raymond Boudon, Education, Opportunity and social inequality: Changing prospects in Western Society, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1973, p.XII.

[13] Ibid, p. XIII.

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social positions. The first generation of educated Nigerians offered education to their children who later assumed positions of responsibility at independence from colonial over rule. This group ever since, has made sure that their children receive good education as a means of preserving the family status. In Nigeria the socio-economic status of the family by and large determines the type of education the child receives. High socio-economic status families, send their children to best nursery, primary and secondary schools, which ultimately lead to the university. They do all this to ensure the entry of the children to best professions and uphold the family social status. Obanya and Ezewu in their study found that more Students from high status families aspired to high-ranked professions than children from low-status families.[14]

Family background has been shown as an important factor in children's school achievement and the success in adult life to which they are destined. James Coleman's Equality of Educational Opportunity study (1966) and Christopher Jenck's. Inequality (1973) agree that family background is crucial in school performance even when equal facilities are provided for different school. Jencks has noted that education does very little to change individual's social position in society after completion of schooling. He holds that family influence plays a significant part in job placement, adult occupational success and ultimate social position. It may be argued that these studies conduction in western society can hardly apply to the Nigeria situation. It must however be observed that a gradual crystallization of social class after that of the west is emerging in Nigeria. In Nigeria the rich and powerful are using education to ensure good social positions for their children while the poor cannot afford such investment.

The Universal primary Education (UPE) was aimed at giving Every Nigeria child the opportunity to receive education. There are student who stop at the primary school because the parents cannot afford to send them to secondary school. Also some parents cannot train their children beyond secondary school. Thus, it cannot be said that equality of educational

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[14] Edward Ezewu, *Sociology of Education*, p 27

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opportunity exist at all levels especially at the secondary and higher levels which are important for placing individuals in jobs and social positions. Nigeria cannot attain 'a just and egalitarian society' unless government redresses the unequal access to qualitative education between the rich and the poor by awarding scholarships to deserving but indigent students. Moreover, institutionalization of merit instead of family and social connections would minimize discrimination against the lower-class in the search for higher education and employment.

Summary

Stratification refers to individual's position in society. In every society, Individual's position is determined by his social class. A person's social class is also determined by several variables such as education attained, occupation, income, power, prestige and Influence he wields in society. Stratification basically means inequality.

There are two major theoretical perspectives in the explanation of stratification. The functional theory sees inequality as inevitable because people are rewarded according to their contribution to the welfare of society. People do not make equal contribution. Education is the means by which individuals are selected and trained for unequal positions they are destined in society.

The conflict theory does not agree that inequality is inevitable. Instead it holds that inequality is perpetuated by those in power for their selfish interests. Education perpetuates inequality. It cannot solve the problem of inequality. The solution to inequality is to restructure society through abrupt and radical change.

Western societies after World War II had thought that extending education to the lower class would bridge the social inequality of their societies. Studies conducted years after the educational programmes show that despite the education of the lower class, the social gap is over widening between the middle and the lower classes.

Nigeria has embarked on educational measures to address the problem of inequality. The Universal Primary Education (UPE) is one of such measures. It is noted that secondary education is not free and that many who received free universal

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primary education are forced to stop at this level.

Furthermore there is need for a cautious note for Nigeria as has been demonstrated in other societies that education cannot serves as panacea for inequality in society. Nigeria should restructure its social system to ensure equal educational and employment opportunities to different social groups and guarantee a measure of well-being of all without discrimination.

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CHAPTER 8

SOCIAL MOBILITY

Introduction

In delineating the patterns of inequality in society Chapter Seven has drawn attention to the existence of social classes. A social class, you will recall is a layer in the social hierarchy made up of comparable income, background; education influence, and attitude to life issues. Individuals, or groups of individuals, who posses a favourable combination of wealth, prestige and power are said to belong to the upper or middle class. On the other hand, people who have a poor combination of the counts indicated are regarded as members of the lower or working class.

Social mobility is predicated on the existence of social classes in the stratification pattern in society. Unlike the Indian Hindu caste stratification system and the apartheid race stratification in South Africa, the Social class system is appreciable open or fluid. This means that the individual can attain the highest social role or position, once he has the ability and talent. People are generally free to enter or leave a given social class, as long as they meet or fall short of requirements. There is no doubt that the majority of our people go through this constantly striving to improve their condition. They would like to be some day called a 'big' man in the Nigerian sense; money, power, position and connection. Should our sometimes bothersome policemen ask them "Wetin you carry?" at check-points, the ready-made reply would then be: "Do you know whom you are talking to?"

In the process of people struggling to become big men, they move, other things being equal, from one social position or class to another that is higher and better. Because life is one long drama of vicissitudes, of ups and downs, everybody cannot get to the top. Instead, some may be rising at the same time as others are actually falling, in the society's estimation of their power, prestige and influence; their social class; that is.

It is against the foregoing background that we shall examine the nature of social mobility. We shall also look at the factors influencing social mobility. Eventually, we shall take a close

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look at the role of education in bringing about upward social mobility in Nigeria.

What is Social Mobility?

Social Mobility is "basically the movement of individuals, or groups of individuals, from one social position to another"[1] within the class structure or the stratification patterns in society. It is the process by which people, as individuals or as groups, move upwards or slide downwards, or else, experience some relocation on the ladder of social status, depending on whether they are appreciating or depreciating in the society's estimation of their wealth, prestige, and power.

There are two major typologies of social mobility: one is vertical mobility: another is horizontal or lateral mobility. Vertical mobility comprises upward social mobility and downward social mobility. In the former, there is a definite social ascent, say from the working class to the middle class. In the latter, there occurs a social decent, as for example, when an individual thanks to misfortune, slumps from the middle class into the working class, or from the upper class down to the middle class. Vertical mobility is thus an inter-class type of social mobility.

To turn to horizontal or lateral mobility this is an intra-class form of social mobility. Analytically, we can slice up any social class into three layers: lower, middle and upper. Horizontal mobility occurs between these layers within a given social class. It is simply a matter of intra-class social relocation, of adjusting one's standing or rating within the same social class. The changes that may have occurred in one's social-economic circumstances are not substantial enough to push one across the border into another social class. It is like a man promoted from the rank of Executive Officer on G.L. 06 to that of Higher Executive officer on G.L 07. No significant change has taken place in his social status. As the sarcastic Igbo proverb would say, if a bird flies off the soil only to perch on an ant-hill, it is still in the same place.

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[1] Ivor Morrish, *The Sociology of Education*, London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd , 1972, p. 145

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Thus far, we note that social mobility takes place between and within the different social classes in the stratification system in society. Another term that is frequently mentioned in the literature is intergenerational mobility. This refers to "movement up or down the hierarchy from the starting point of parental social status of position in society. For example, to rise from a small farm to professional status in one generation is considered upward social mobility."[2] A very interesting work by G.M. Miller has also noted the existence of both upward and downward trends in intergenerational mobility in different countries.[3] That is to say that just as the sons of peasants and manual workers are moving into white-collar jobs, so also are the sons of men in managerial and kindred jobs ending up as factory hands. It is this kind of contrariety in the affairs of men that makes life curiously interesting.

For whatever reasons, upward social mobility is easier to recognize in developing societies such as Nigeria. One explanation. Perhaps, is that development and increasing industrialization bring about status-enhancing opportunities and conveniences. There, for example, would be job openings, educational expansion, better pay-packets, and a good assortment of goods and services. All this is aside from the fact that society is ever ready to forget people who have lost out in the race to social recognition. It is those who have 'made it' that social climbers must always try to associate themselves with. If such rich and influential persons are not claimed as distant uncles or cousins, then they are said to be way-back school mates: Besides, once an individual has fully attained a certain height on the social ladder, the only thing that could happen to him is a stagger, not a complete fall. He might simply experience a relocation within the very social class he belongs to in the social hierarchy. That is today the

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[2] Kenneth Blakemore and Brian Cooksey. *A Sociology of Education for Africa* London, George Allen and Unwin 1981. p. 259.

[3] S M. Miller, 'Comparative Social Mobility' in Ivor Morrish, *The Sociology of Education. O. Cit., p. 150.*

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experience of most of he politicians who had risen meteorically into social eminence during Nigeria's first and second republics. The ones who had to crash-land following the military coup of December, 1983, were the newly-rich party lords, assemblymen and Abuja emergency contractors who obviously did not have all it should have taken (education, prestige, strong family background, etc) to be full-fledged members of the middle or upper class. Perhaps these issues will become clearer as we examine the factors that influence social mobility.

Factors Influencing Social Mobility

The factors which influence social mobility include family background, nature of the society, economic boom, occupation, skill/talent, marriage, political or/and religious status, and education.

Nature of the Society

One area for consideration here is the location of the society concerned on the continuum of the progress of human-kind through history. Is it a traditional, non-literate, agrarian society? Or a colonial, marginally literate, pre-industrial society? We shall return to these considerations later.

Another area of concern, which we shall at once dispose of, is the dominant stratification system in that society: the social class system, the caste system, or, her twin-sister, the apartheid system. This raises the question whether it is an 'open' society, as in the social class system, or a 'closed' society, as in the caste or apartheid system. In an open society like Nigeria, the assignment of social status and role is based on the individual's capacity and talent (what is called the achievement criteria). In closed societies like Hindu, India and apartheid South Africa, on the other hand, it is the ascriptive criteria, that is, the circumstances and attributes of the individual's birth (e.g. sex, religion, race, skin pigmentation, etc), that peg or fix social status and role.[4] As far as social

[4] T.O. Odetola, O. Oloruntimehin and D.A. Aweda *Man and Society in Africa*, London, Longman, 1983, p. 70.

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mobility is concerned, therefore, closed societies are God forsaken societies. Your position or role in life is fixed at birth. It should be noted, however, that closeness or openness is a matter of degree. For ever in societies said to be open, tribe and sex often circumscribe the individual's role or position.

Let us now return to the question of the stage of historical development of the society The situation or nature of things, in a given society determines what is valued or treasured, the indicators of social status, how easily such indicators are recognised, and if and how far the individual can move up or down the social scale. In the non-literate, pre-colonial, agrarian Nigeria of old, for example, individual shot into social limelight if they excelled in farming, hunting, herdsmanship, cattle raids, wrestling, inter-tribal warfare and so on. Okonkwo, the major character in Chinua Achebe's **Things Fall Apart** is one shinning example of a remote young man who; by reason of extraordinary success in farming, bravery in war, and dexterity in wrestling, attains the highest social status in Umuofia.[5]

In colonial Nigeria, teachers, preachers and clerks who could deploy a smattering of the whiteman's language were held in very high esteem. The political elite that emerged in the struggle for independence used the same instrument to a great advantage. Bamboozled village audiences were most willing to place them on the same social scale as the whitemen on that count alone. Anyone who in addition could afford the whiteman's cigarette, hot drinks, gas lamp, bicycle, transistor radio, not to mention refrigerator television set, motorcycle or car was almost a deity.

Today, the values and status indicators have changed. Nigeria has evolved into a post-colonial, modestly literate, increasingly modern, industrial, capitalist society. Farming, wrestling, and warfare have been technologized and institutionalized out of the grasp of the folk mind. The most successful village farmer today is at best an ordinary country peasant or talakawa. Even children now deploy with careless abandon what used to be regarded as the whiteman's language. Vocational training acquired through formal

[5] Chinua Achebe, *Things Fall Apart*, London, Heinmann, 1958.

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Education is more prestigious than any acquired from a local craftsman. The master-craftsman who was once a community star has gone into social oblivion. It is the modern, well-educated, highly professional person that has come on the line. Refrigerator, electric fans and black-and-white television sets are no longer choice possession in high society home It is the deep freezer, the air-conditioner, the colour television and video outfit. It is no longer enough merely to own a car. The volkswagen Beetle, for example, is derided as "wetin man go do?" in Nigeria. The number and the make of the cars now count for much in determining status. Posh and sleek automobiles like Mazda, Volvo and Mercedes of the latest brands are fully in the race. Having two or more is a better bargain. Duplexes, whole bungalows, or, at least, three-to-four-bedroom flats would not be bad idea at all.

Family Background

This is, like the first one, something of an omnibus factor controlling all the life chances or opportunities of the individual. The socio-economic status of one's family usually measured in terms of parental income, education and occupation, greatly determined how socially mobile the individual can be. The simple fact of being born into a well-off family is, other things being equal, enough leverage for having a much better go at social ascent. It does not matter if the route you have chosen is totally education and paid employment, or partly education and then business. The generous doses of connections and influence at the disposal of rich and powerful parents would always be applied towards ensuring that their children climbed the social ladder up to a level above and beyond that attained by the parents.

We have noted that home background controls the life opportunities of the individual, whether they be educational, occupational, political or social. It is equally, noteworthy that social advantages and disadvantages first translate into educational advantages and disadvantages which later translate back into socio-economic advantages and disadvantages. Even the Bible acknowledges that the haves would receive something in addition, while the have-nots run the risk of losing even the little in their possession.

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Operating with differences in material factors, cultural environment, motivations and aspirations,[6] home background not only causes school enrolment and performance variations but also determines the type and level of schooling experienced by children. Middle class families have the material resources to keep their children healthy and comfortable in school, pay school fees and deliver books promptly, engage private teachers even from the nursery level, as well as provide educational facilities for leisure and study in the home. Such a rich cultural environment combines with school-oriented or achievement-oriented socialization, to instill in the children the values, and attitudes, the motivational, aspirational and linguistic disposition for performing well in school. The reverse is the case for the working class child. The home is poor materially, culturally and aspirationally. Even with the best of intentions on the part of parents, his would still be schooling with tears. He frequently truants from, and may even have to drop out of school to help his parents eke out a living by farming or hawking. At best he acquires secondary-level technical or commercial education - the type that is poorly regarded in Nigeria. So, he has little or no chances of moving up the social hierarchy.

In sum, a mainstream point here is that, irrespective of native intelligence, children from better-off homes are much better prepared, motivated and helped to get the best from schooling than impoverished homes. Getting the best from schooling means attaining the best qualifications, which are highways to the top professional, high-paying, high prestige jobs around. A high, upward mobility component is certainly implied here.

Economic Boom

This is usually episodic in developing nations. It brings in its wake socio-economic changes such as rapid industrialization and increase in the volume of goods and services needed in the society. The economy is very buoyant. Business is moving. A

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[6] Kenneth Blakemore and Brian Cooksey, *A Sociology of Education for Africa*, op. cit. p 55

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lot of valuable money is in circulation. There are new business opportunities. There are wage and salary increases. New ministries, establishments, parastatals and institutions spring up to render the emerging social services. All this means more employment opportunities in both the public and the private sectors of the economy. Workers and businessmen have a field day choosing high-paying jobs or bargaining for fat contract awards. The consequent high-income levels improve their socio-economic circumstances and so bring about upward social mobility. As T.O. Odetola et. el. have noted, "vertical mobility tends to be highest during periods of rapid change in any society. For example, industrialization in many African societies which makes high levels of education and training necessary has increased the rate of upward mobility."[7]

The reverse would be the case in a depressed economy. Wage freeze, lay-offs and economic hardships become the order of the day. The bulk of the population are further impoverished. There is thus a downward trend in social mobility. In the like manner, the Nigerian Government's austerity measures and structural adjustment programmes have had a deleterious effect on the social standing of the crop of newly-rich businessmen and emergency contractors who had experienced some social ascent in the oil-boom days.

Occupation

Most of the scales measuring socio-economics status (S.E.S) require respondents to check 'father's occupation.' Also, most men depend upon success in their chosen occupation to achieve upward social mobility. There are high paying, high-prestige and powerful occupations or professions. There also are low-paying, low-prestige and socially degrading occupations.

Entry into law, medicine, career lecturing, and other top professional jobs no doubt has a salutary affect on the social ranking of individuals. It is a sure high-way to upward social mobility. Such jobs come with liberal dose of income, power and prestige. It is not a bad idea at all to be introduced as

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[7] T.C. Odetola et. al., *Man and Society in Africa*. op. cit. P.78.

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barrister this, or Doctor that or Engineer that, or else, as a lecturer in this or that university. Carpenters, masons, and artisans do not have the experiences of being introduced. Who would even make the introductions? Who cares for that, anyway? And what would the occasion look like?

The Nigerian experience is that to leave primary school teaching and join secondary-level teaching fetches a rise in social status. A high level of social ascent in involved if the individual leaves teaching entirely to take up a management position even in the civil service. Little wonder, then, that some writers often equate[8] occupational mobility with social mobility.

Skill and Talent

Individuals who demonstrate extraordinary skill or talent in the world of sport, writing, show business or entertainment frequently experience a meteroric rise to social limelight. Our own controversial Afro-beat king. Fela Anikulakpo Kuti, for example, is a music celebrity. The Black American Michel Jackson, too, is a deity with a large suppliant following in the world of show business. Who has never heard about Pele of Brazil, that football wizard? Or about the 1986 world cup Star, Argentina's Diego Maradona? They have made a lot of money and prestige out of sport. Back home here, 'Chairman' Christian Chukwu is part of the football folklore in Nigeria, what about sensational Segun Odegbami one of Nigeria's best-known touch-line footballer? Socially, they have all arrived.

Should we turn to the world of writing, Nigeria's Wole Soyinka, that writer of mythic imagination, is before our very eyes a Noble Laureate. Nothing could be greater: nothing could be better. Our own Chinua Achebe has also given the world, of prose fiction one of its widest acknowledged, classics **Thing Fall Apart**. The two writers are highly esteemed in Nigeria and elsewhere. What about Dele Giwa of blessed memory? Skill in writing made him ascend the social hierarchy as far as the status of the founding-Editor-in-Chief of **Newswatch**. Within

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[8] Kenneth Blackmore and Brian Cooksey. *A Sociology of Education for Africa*: op. cit., p. 259.

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the short period of his meteoric writing career, Dele Giwa was able to bring class and elegance into journalism in Nigeria. His was a high-society burial, with everybody that was somebody, not to mention the elements, in attendance. Finally, Rotimi Williams and Gani Fawehinmi are charismatic legal luminaries in Nigeria today. They are wealthy, prestigious, and thanks to due process, powerful.

Marriage

For women in particular, marriage is a major means of moving up the social ladder. Contracting a marriage with a man of a higher social status than herself enables a woman to take on, by association over time, the social ranking of the husband's background. The eligible suitor for most of our young girls is a young man, or even a middle-aged man, with a favourable combination of wealth, prestige and power. Formal education up to the secondary school at least, a car, a modestly furnished home, one or two powerful uncles or cousins, a brother overseas, some executive position in the work place, or else, one or two rounds of overseas business trips would not be a bad bargain. While it is true that harsh economic realities nowadays are pushing some men into contracting marriages of convenience with girls or ladies in circumstances easier- than theirs, "It has been shown that woman do marry 'above themselves' significantly more often than men."[9] They are the group usually fork-lifted through marriage onto a higher social pedestal.

Political/Religious Status

Individuals who by appointment, election, or promotion take up certain positions in the hierarchy of religious, political or military establishments usually move upwards on the social scale. Anyone who finds himself somewhere between the ranks of Lieutenant and General has no doubt risen into the army top brass. "Political power confers certain privileges on the holder which in turn gives him access to other privileges, or enables him to bestow other privileges on other people. For

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[9] P.W Musgrave. *The Sociology of Education*, London. Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1972 p 59.

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example, a legislator may be in a position to offer certain business contracts. This power gives him a kind of prestige which enable him to ask for or receive favour from the business world.[10] To be made assemblyman or a governor in our situation is to move upward into the middle or upper class. Many party Lords or stalwarts suddenly became very important personalities (V.I.P.s) in Nigeria's second republic. The same thing as those who were appointed ministers and commissioners. Anyone who emerges as student's Union President automatically rises in campus social esteem. It is the same story for Obas, Igwes, Ezes, Ovies. and Emires in our traditional political set up.

We shall do well to note the prestige and the influence that go with the posts/ranks of Pope, Archbishop, Bishop, Cardinal, Monsignor or Imam in religious establishments. Such positions elevate the social status of the individuals occupying them.

Education

It is now settled knowledge that, other things being equal, there is a positive relationship between formal educational experience/attainment and social mobility. This means that the one rises or falls as the other. Those who have positively been in school longest and have attained the best/highest qualifications, tend to be more upwardly socially mobile than those who leave school earliest and have attained the least qualifications available.

In this connection, some of the big names in the literature have spoken in praise of education. As Olive Banks[11] has noted, one of the important tendencies in modern industrial societies is 'the movement from status ascribed by birth to status achieved through education." Also, "Within lower status groups a child is more likely to be socially mobile if he has a superior education, and at the same time a superior education lessens the possibility of downward mobility for those in the higher status group." For his part, Robert Havighurst[12] has

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[10] T.C. Odetola et.al., op. cit., 75-76.

[11] Olive Banks, *The Sociology of Education*, New York, Schocken Books, 1976. p. 41 and p. 43.

[12] Quoted in Olive.Banks Ibid., p.44

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predicted that the industrial and democratic society of the year 2000 will be a more meritocratic, open, and fluid system, "so that education will be the main instrument for upward social mobility, and the lack of education or failure to do well in one's education will be the principal cause of download mobility." P.W. Musgrave has no apologies in observing that under modern conditions movement up the social class system is possible mainly through education. He further states that" it is difficult today to be considered a member of the middle class unless one has an occupation for which relatively high level of education is the prerequisite."[13]

In Nigeria today, there is hardly any lucrative and respectable job for which ability to read and write is not required. More educational opportunities for the population thus means greater chances of moving up the social hierarchy for the majority. Much depends, of course, on the level of consumption of the educational opportunities so provided. A University degree, for example, is more socially prestigious than a National Diploma or an N.C.E. qualification. By the same token, it attracts higher levels of income, power, and Prestige (at least by Government service standards, and when every other thing is held, constant) to have the degree of Master or Doctorate, than merely the B.A. or BSc. Furthermore, gone are the days; when company managers simply rose through the ranks. The M.B.A. or at least a university degree is now the fashion. It is a one-way hop without connecting flights, to middle or upper class status in society. It is also thanks to education that individual attain professional qualifications in law, medicine, career lecturing and the like. This of course catapults them onto social recognition.

The point, then, is that .education is a means to upward social mobility. The lack of it makes the individual less social mobility. The lack of it makes the individual less socially upwardly mobile, and in fact more prone to downward mobility. That is why even people who happen to be rich still try to get it to boost their image. It Is a different matter whether indeed some groups are more favoured than the others in the whole idea of ascending the social ladder through education. Of course, It would be asociological to overlook such a matter.

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[13] P.W. Musgrve, op. cit., p.58.

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Sociology, after all, deals with groups and their relationships. In the matter of education and social mobility, therefore, the criticism that education actually blocks the chances of working class people ever getting to the top, and so pertetuates the hegemony of the better-off classes, such criticism is one we cannot afford to ignore. The next section attempts to examine the issue closely.

Education And Upward Mobility in Nigeria

We start by recepituating the thesis in the immediately proceding sub-section: that other things being equal, formal education is a major means to upward social mobility in modern industrial societies. Individual or groups who make the best of it tend to be more upwardly socially mobile than those who get the least it can offer. Eventually, we shall try to find out whom such individuals or groups are.

Meanwhile, Robert Havighurst, Olive Banks, and P.W. Musgrave are some of the well-known voices that have sung praises of education. There have also been voices from Nigeria and Africa. Listen, for example, to Blakemore and Cocksey:[14]

> Educational achievement is a source of status, both in occupational and in general terms. Occupational status is partially a function of the amount of education associated with different occupational levels. As well as giving access to specialist knowledge and increasing the individual's group of the world around him, educational achievement also confers status and improves life chances...The high status of the most educated increases their legitimacy in the eyes of the less educated in playing leadership roles (throughout Africa). - My parenthesis

Hear moreover, the voice of Nigeria, by courtesy of D.L. DuBey, D.A. Edem, and A.S. Thankur[15]

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[14] Op. Cit,, pp. 7-8

[15] D.L. DuBey et. Al. *A Sociology of Nigerian Education* p. 15

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> With education, an individual or group of individuals can rise towards more valued positions and rewards in society. We have a good deal of personal evidence that the social mobility function is well known to parents in Nigeria and may well be the major motivating force for sending children to school. School children, too, develop this perception of the school at an early time.

It is not likely that the masses of Nigerian parents would be starving to send their children to school, if it is not for the economic and social benefits anticipated. Which Nigeria or African parent does not Know the intimate nexus between formal education and occupation on the one hand, and between occupation and income and prestige levels on the other hand? The meal-ticket or investor's view of education is deeply entrenched amongst the population. Education for the sake of it can wait until the basic needs of food, shelter and clothing have been negotiated.

Even up to the late seventies in Nigeria, it was still big news to be introduced as a university graduate. For you were then immediately entitled to a car, a three-bedroom apartment, and an executive position in the work place. Come and see the sons and daughters of even peasants, being fork-lifted onto new social positions deserving both respect and fear. Come and see the inferiority complex exhibited by moneyed illiterates once they find themselves in situations where the 'language' is not that of Naira and Kobo. The problem is no longer the economic benefit, but the prestige and power or civil rights pay-offs which accrue from being well-educated. Those who have through higher education readily secured a concession of social distance from the masses of the population. As a matter of fact, the real trouble between our university students and the poorly educated police is "the mindless hostility of the police towards students, whom they see as prospective members of the ruling class"[16] The police therefore try to have

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[16] Gani Fawehinmi and S. Labanji Bolaji, "Report of the Administrative Inquiry into Police - Student Clash on June 7, 1981 at Ile-Ife", A.S.U.U., 1981, p. 11,

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their own before such students leave university to become too prestigious and powerful for them. It is obvious then that formal education is a sure means of moving up the social hierarchy on the counts of income, power and prestige.

Nontheless, we must not lose sight of our terms of reference: other things being equal. Have other thing been equal across the population and in the economy of Nigeria? Let us immediately dispose of the matter of the economic situation in Nigeria today. Oil boom has become oil doom. "The I.M:F-endorsed Structural Adjustment Programme (S.A.P.) has had a crippling effect on business and employment opportunities"[17] The result has been widespread graduate unemployment. The much-vaunted connection between education and occupation on the one hand, and occupation and income and prestige levels on the other hand, is now overly strained. As such, a University degree no longer guarantees a comfortable standard of living.

To turn to the situation among the population, there are widespread social (power, income, prestige, religious, ethnic, class and sex) inequalities between and among individuals and groups in the country. Since the institution of education has a sociological context, social advantage and disadvantages, which then translate back into social advantages and disadvantages. Thus, other things have been far from equal.

Who then are the individuals and groups that get the best our schools can offer and so tend to be more upwardly socially mobile through education? First, child-rearing and socialization techniques generally encourage our males to achieve higher and rise more on the social scale through education than do our females. Second, and most importantly, it is the better-off, upper and/or middle class individuals and groups who get the best experience and qualification our schools can offer, and who. Ipso facto, secure the jobs with the highest income, power and prestige levels, that tend to be more upwardly socially mobile through education. It is the children of privileged Nigerians who have generous doses of material and cultural conveniences that attend the best schools, where they attain

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[7] Okezie Ugbor "Polytechnic Education and the Question of Self Reliance" Seminar Paper, 1987. P.11.

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the best qualifications, which in turn lead to the best jobs or social - role and positions. In spite of the unemployment problem in the country today, parental influence helps such off-springs to secure or establish high-paying jobs and businesses. On the other hand, children from working class homes are so materially aspirationally and culturally impoverished the least qualifications, which lead to the lowly jobs or social roles and positions.

It is for all this that education in Nigeria has been criticized as serving to perpetuate the existing inequalities in society. While offering the illusion or mirage of a leveling function (after all anybody who merits "Alpha" is awarded same:), it fundamentally performs a stratifying role. The figure below graphically encapsulates the point:

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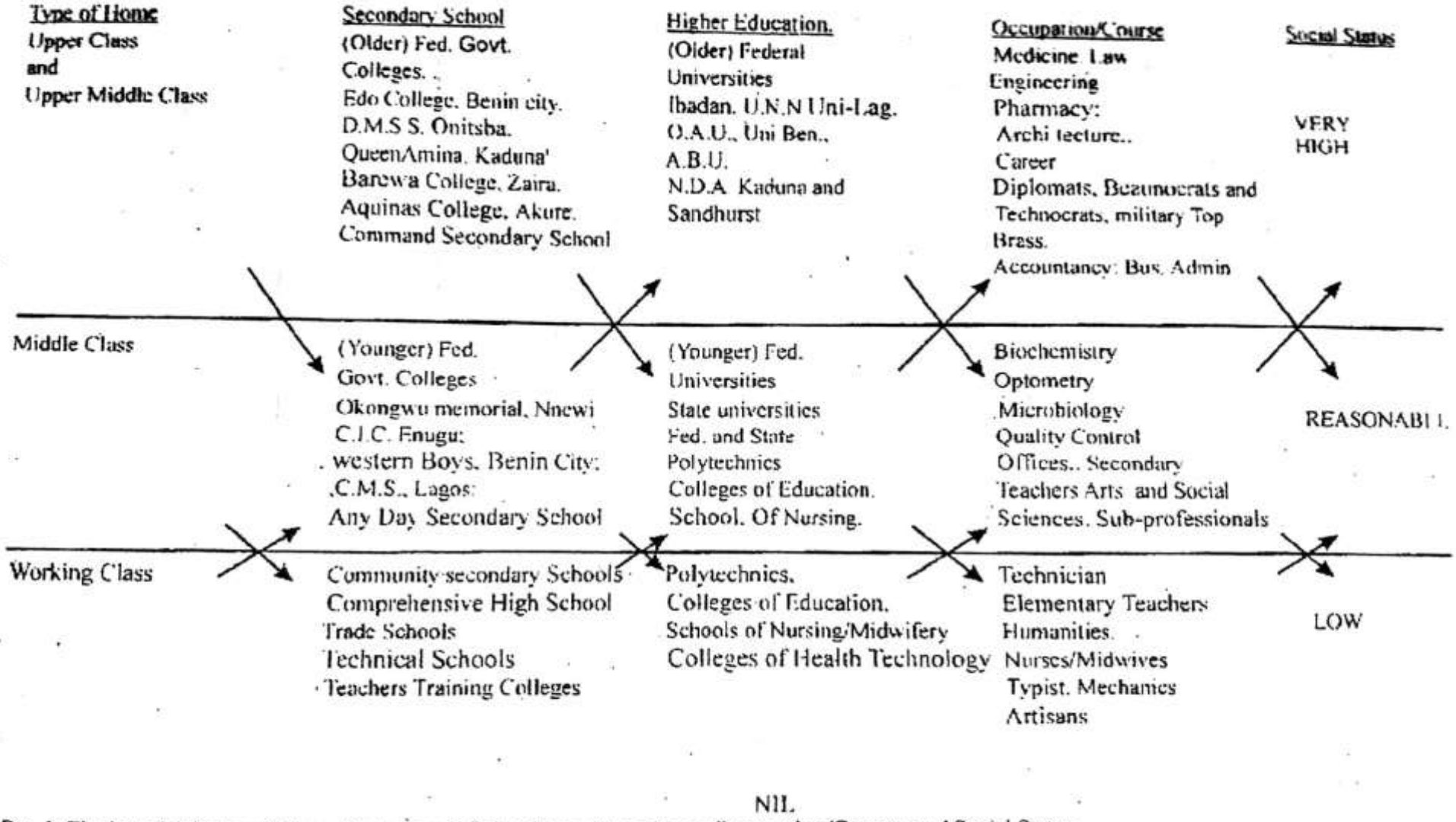

Fig. 1: The Inter-Linkages of Home Background, School Type/Experience, Occupation/Course: and Social Status.

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"Educational systems. - Writes John Gardner,[18] have always had something to do with the eventual status of the individuals who pass through them.... Those who receive the most education are going to move into virtually all the key jobs. Thus the question 'who should go to college?' translates itself into the more compelling question 'who is going to manage the society?' That is not the kind of question one should treat lightly or cavalierly."

We already know those who receive the most education in Nigeria. They get into key jobs and so continue to manage the Nigerian society. However, the degree of sorting out that education can do varies from place to place. After studying the school selection mechanisms in Britain and the United States, R.H. Turner[19] has designated the former as sponsored mobility and the latter as contest mobility. Each takes its name from the types of social mobility which the educational system promotes. Upward social mobility through education in England is like sponsored entry into a private club, in which one or more old members must propose the new-corner. This way, the established elite recruit new members from people who have the desired elite qualities, give them the best the schools (which are middle class institutions) can offer, and afterwards assign them prestigious social roles. It is thus a self-perpetuating selection mechanism by which children from better-off homes get sponsored through education on the high social positions. The early, between-ten-and-eleven-year-old ability steaming or stratification of children in English schools place such pupils on different educational highways that lead to unequal stations and positions in life. Conversely, upward social mobility through education in the United States is like on open race in which everyone competes on equal terms for the limited placed available. It is a purely meritocratic system where ability, talent

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[18] John Cardner, "Education as a sorting-out Processes" in Richard Rooper (e.d.) *The Curriculum: Context, Design and Development, Edinburgh:* The open University Press, 1971, pp. 96-94.

[19] R.H. Turner, 'Modes of Social Ascent Through Education'. In Ivor Morrish. *The Sociology of Education*, op. Cit., p. 150.

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and effort can get the individual the best that education can offer. To keep the principle of multiple chances, it delays separation or stratification of able end less able candidates up until the end of high school.

What about the Nigerian situation? It appears that both the contest idea and the sponsorship idea are in operation. The privileged classes no doubt have a field day using education to sustain their hegemony in society. Yet the quote system of admission into higher education provides for candidates from educationally disadvantaged areas. There is increasing talk about equal educational opportunities. Many universities, polytechnics, and colleges of education have been established. Even pre-degree and pre-O.N.D. programmes have been mounted to liberalise higher-educational opportunities. It thus appears that individuals and groups have employed opportunities to attain higher social positions through education.

The trouble, however, is that the mere provision of educational opportunities does not guarantee the accessibility and utilizability of such opportunities. There are civic centres which only rats and lizards make use of. Educational planning should therefore go side by side with social planning. We need even pre-school linguistic enrichment provision for children from poorer homes. We need to intensify adult education to awaken the interest of working class parents in their children's school activities. Social class quotas should replace ethnic quotas in our admission policy, if we are serious about fostering a just and egalitarian society, we must make upward social mobility through education increasingly dependent upon individual merit by adopting the measures suggested here.

Summary

Social mobility is predicated upon the existence of the open,. social class stratification pattern, which allows individuals or groups to enter or leave the different social classes as they appreciate or depreciate on the counts of wealth, power and prestige. Movement across social borders up or down the social ladder is called vertical mobility. Where the movement is no more than a change of position within a given social class, then it is horizontal mobility.

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The nature of a given society - open versus closed, ancient versus modern - affects social mobility one way or the other. Individuals from well-off homes tend to have a bettor go at upward social mobility than those from poorer homes. Just as economic boom creates opportunities for widespread upward social mobility, a depressed economy limits the chances of social ascent for the majority of the people. Some professions/occupations are more status-enhancing than others. Individuals who are skilled or talented often experience a meteoric rise in social standing through sports, writing, show business, etc. Women in particular use marriage to move up the social hierarchy, and high-ranking positions in religious and political establishments confer status on the individuals occupying them.

Education has been playing a rather contradictory role in upward social mobility in Nigeria. Far from leading towards and equitable distribution of social roles among the population, it has remained as the instrument sustaining the hegemony of the ruling classes. Some social planning should then complement efforts towards the liberalization of educational opportunities.

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CHAPTER NINE

THE SCHOOL AS AN ORGANIZATION

Introduction: Nature of an Organization

An Organization can be described as a collection of human beings with a common goal. It is regarded as a social unit devoted primarily to attainment of specific goals.[1] An organization ensures that persons, resources, activities and authority relationships are so coordinated to achieve prescribed goals.

Organizations could be classified into two, the formal and informal, depending upon the degree to which these are structured. When an organization has a method or strategy of achieving the goals and objective written out and when the organization itself is set up with well formulated and written rules, objectives and regulations, such an organization is termed a formal organization. Examples of formal organizations are Banks, schools, colleges, universities and hospitals. The names attached to each organization depicts the role played by them. An informal organization on the other hand is a social set up, with aims and objectives, rules and regulations which are not written but are nevertheless directed to achieve the goals of the organization. Such organization is based on mutual informal understanding and are not bound by rules and regulations in the same vein as the formal organization. Examples of such informal organizations are social clubs, and a family. Most often informal groups are cliques based on friendship, loyalties and external commitments of members. These formal groups are often found in the staff room discussions which are not relevant to the smooth running of the school system.

The central purpose of any organization is to achieve stated objectives. Schools like any organization has its own stated objectives or goals which all members of the school system

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[1] Amital Etzioni, *A Comperative Analysis of Complex Organisations (Revised & Englarged E.d.) Glancoe, ILL. The Free Press, 1975.*

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strive at all times to meet. The method employed by an organization or the way it functions in order to get stated objectives realised is termed administration; that is, the process of directing and controlling life in a social organization. Here administration is seen as the implementation of the purposes for which an organization is designed through the establishment of criteria for the performance of individual and group members. No organization can operate successfully when things are so vaguely defined that everybody can meddle in everything and nobody is responsible for anything. The specific function of administration is to develop and regulate the decision making processes in the most effective manner to achieve expected results. Thus, for example, the process of school administration refers to how activities within the school are carried out. In order to achieve the goals of the school, there must be organizational structure which provides for the clear allocation of functions and responsibilities to the various sections and Individuals within the school. In order words every member of the school must know precisely what he or she has to do for the organization and why he or she is a member of the organization.

The part played by every member is referred to as ROLE and the position which each member occupies in the organization is referred to as OFFICE.

Criteria for Good Organization structure

The concept structure of organization implies individuals, the pattern of network of relationship between the various individuals, positions and roles in the enterprise. It is the process of logically grouping individuals, activities, delineating authority and responsibility, and establishing work relationships that enable both the organization and the individuals to realise their mutual objectives. If an organizational structure is poorly defined this can lead to inefficiency and indecision, but a good organization establishes clear lines of responsibility and communication; and limits the span of authority and command, so that no one person takes responsibility for more than he can adequately supervise[2].

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[2] J.C.S. Musaazi, *The Theory and Practice of Educational Administration* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1982.

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One important factor here is that the structure of an organization to an extend affects the success of the organization. Though a good structure alone is not a panacea for all the organization's problems. For the appropriateness of the structure of a school as an organization Nwonkwo[3] has proffered the following criteria:

(a) The objects of the school and the types of activities required to achieve them;

(b) The benefits of specialization and how to maximise such benefits for the interest of the enterprise;

(c) the limitations of functional authority and how best to distribute and harmonize the authority levels;

(d) the problem of communication and to ensure effective communication between the levels and functions;

(e) the size, shape, location, and capacity of the school and what administrative structure best fits such.

Goals of the School system

As it has been assorted in this chapter the central purpose of administration in any organizational set up is to achieve stated objectives. If one takes the school system of a nation for example there are national goals, which the system must strive to achieve before it can be said to be functional. Nigeria as a state has some national objectives which it intends to achieve through the educational system. These national objectives or societal goals are transformed into school goals.

[3] J.I. Nwankwo, *Educational Administration: Theory and Practice (Ibadan: Department of Educational Management*, University of Ibadan.), 1980.

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Each school establishes its own traditions for attaining the school goals. The ultimate is the production of balanced personalities.

The school goals could be seen as the common goals which involve all members if the school working cooperatively together to achieve. One important factor winch can affect the attainment of the school goals is the fulfillment of group goals or Individual goals within the organization. A system must understand this fundamental point and so recognise the enormous power Which the fulfillment of group or individual needs could have on the attainment of school goals. The Getzel nomothetic idiographic transactional model explains this better, that productivity is often achieved through people in an organization. People therefore affect productivity.

(b) The school as a bureaucratic organization

There is no doubt that the bureaucratic principles as propounded by Weber have influenced public administration a great deal in Nigeria, it has also charactrised the Nigerian educational system as a social organization. Today the school system is highly bureaucratised, with well developed hierarchy of authority from the principal to the vice principal, to heads of departments, to teachers and down to the students. Red-tapism which is a child-birth of bureaucracy is a pronounced feature in the administration of all educational institutions in Nigeria. Also of note is strict adherence to rules and regulations, documentations, filing and file keepings. Division of labour based on functional specialization has been achieved to a reasonable extent, though the rapid rate at which educational system is expanding in the country has tended to jeopardies the effort.

Also impersonality in official matters is a factor which is more or less misinterpreted in Nigeria to mean "Government job." As a result of this syndrom, very few public workers in Nigeria are dedicated, the ultimate is non-performance of almost all organs of the government, particularly those responsible for provision of essential services. In the school system, though bureaucracy has helped to provide some essential elements for good administrative structure, the non-

duties carried out by an officer - role
position occupied office

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compliance with its spirit where necessary has tended to produce negative results.

Characteristics of Bureaucracy

The main characteristics of bureaucracy as laid down by Max Weber[4] are

1. Division of Labour

Based on theory propounded by Max Weber a German Sociologist, every organization should set up division pf labour anchored on functional specialization. In other words every member of an organization must be assigned a specific sphere of competence. This according to Nwankwo involves (a) a sphere of obligations to perform functions which have been marked off as part at a systematic division of labour (b) the provision of the incumbent with necessary authority to carry out these functions and (c) the necessary means of compulsion are clearly defined and their use is subject to definite conditions.

2. System of Rules

The principle of bureaucracy also prescribes that there must be a system of rules covering the rights and duties of all categories of workers in any organization. These rules are meant to save effort by obviating the need for deriving a new solution for every problem and case.

3. Hierarchical Structure of positions

Bureaucracy also prescribes that there must be hierarchy of authority, in which case positions within an organization are hierarchically structured whereby each lower office is under the control and supervision of a higher one. In a school system for example the school principal has responsibility for the supervision of human and material resources in the entire school while also heads of departments are responsible for what goes on in their respective departments.

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[4] Max Weber, (1946 *Essay in Sociology* (N.Y. Oxford University Press.)

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4. Impersonality in official matters

The principle of bureaucracy also emphasises that there should be impersonality of interpersonal relation. This means that the administrator should be impersonal in his official dealings and should not personalise the means of production or administration. In other words, he should not own any property in organisation nor should he declare his personal interest or protect the interest of anything in his dealing with official matters at all times.

5. Employment and Promotion of staff based on Merit

Bureaucracy also advocates that merit should be the watch word, particularly in the employment and promotion of staff. In the employment of staff it must be established that the individual has received the specialised training and possesses the technical knowledge required. It is thus normally argued that only the person who has demonstrated an adequate technical training is qualified to be a member of the system. If this is adopted in Education industry, it means that all teachers must be qualified professionally in the various subjects assigned to them before they can be allowed to teach in schools.

6. Emphasis on documentation and written documents

This is another characteristics of bureaucracy, which has made a lot of impact on the Nigerian public service. It requires that all transactions, decisions, rules, procedures, events and activities are recorded. All members of the organization are expected to be familiar with them before hand and follow the same recorded rules, regulations and procedures.

Problems of Educational Bureaucracy in Nigeria

From what we have seen so far of bureaucracy, it could be described as a complicated phenomenon which involves an organization devoted to what is, from the point of view of the participants, an impersonal end. It is based on a type of division

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of labour which involves specialization in terms of clearly differentiated functions according to technical criteria, with a corresponding hierarchy of authority which leads up to a central organ and specialized technical qualifications on the part of the participants. A central feature of rational bureaucratic organization is its focus on the impersonality of office, duties and responsibilities. Authorities are seen as residing in the office, not in the person. A bureaucrat sees the job as a career to which he devotes a great portion of his attention and energy. His career depends upon the judgment of higher authority, which in turn is based upon various considerations not the least of which are technical and demonstrated competence on the job. It is obvious from the analysis that bureaucracy aims at protecting the organisation against outside influences or forces, it also prescribes some rigid principles which have to be adhered to. Unfortunately the school as a social or service organisation cannot be operated with rigid principles without running into problems. For example while formal hierarchy of authority in school may be desirable, strict adherence to the principle may effect the process of change. According to Nwankwo,[5] if a class teacher cannot teach what he deems suitable for his pupils because his superior has not approved it; if all decisions about the teaching - learning process must pass from top level to the bottom level before they pan be carried out, then hierarchy of authority may become a bone of problem to education.

Another problem of educational bureaucracy which has created conflict in decision making in Nigeria is the emphasis on merit for purpose of advancing teachers from one grade level to the other. In practice this has not been very easy. While bureaucracy advocates that only a person who has demonstrated an adequate competence and performance on the job be promoted this has often been set aside in favour of seniority on the job, which can easily be defended in the face of anybody raising objection.

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[5] J.I. Nwankwo (1980) *Educational Administration:* Theory and Practice (Ibadan: Department of Educational Management, University of Ibadan.)

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It has also been observed that adherence to bureaucratic principles sometimes prevents the teachers from being innovative: or aspiring to high level of performance due to fear of acting outside the provisions of laid down principles.

Control of Schools: Government versus Voluntary Agencies

At the beginning of formal education in Nigeria in 1843, voluntary agencies, particularly the missionaries completely dominated the control of schools. This trend continued for upward of 40 years before what could be regarded as government intervention in education began, when the British Government referred to the need for securing better conditions of life and developments for the Africans.[6]

Between 1870 and 1676, the Colonial government in Lagos made spasmodic attempts to assist some of the missions in their educational work, and by 1882 a bill was passed as an ordinance for the promotion and assistance of education in Lagos, Gambia, Gold Coast and Sierra-Leone.

In 1887, another ordinance was promulgated for the Colony of Lagos. It was cautious but realistic. For the first time, government accepted some responsibility for secondary education by the provision of grants-in-aid to secondary schools and scholarship for deserving primary schools leavers. The period 1889-1902 witnessed gradual development of the dual system of control, in which Government participated more and more with the missions end other agencies to provide education for the children in the Colony.[7]

The Movement for Government Control

With Nigeria attaining independence In 1960, a new chapter was opened in the nation's education history, as there was increased clamour for greater involvement of government in

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[6] A.B. Fafunwa, (1974) History of Education in Nigeria London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.)

[7] C.O. Taiwo, (1980) *The Nigerian Education System Post, Present, and Future*, (Lagos: Nelson Nigeria Ltd.)

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education. At least t was aimed at reforming the old system and tailoring it to meet the needs of the new nation. The first effort was directed towards evolving dynamic policies which favoured the education of the masses. Efforts were directed at also checking the hold of the Christian missions over education by Injecting large sum of money into education and by rapidly increasing the number of schools at primary and secondary levels owned and run by, the governments and the communities. The take over bid in education by some governments in the 70s arose primarily because majority of schools in Nigeria were under the control of Christian missions. Secondly, there was the feeling that what was being done by way of provision for education could be improved upon, if government assumed full control; As reported by.Adesina[8]. It was contended that absolute take-over of schools would improve curriculum teacher quality and centralise provision of instructional resources, minimise inequalities and provide a dynamic centre of leadership for educational innovation.

A political reason for the take over was that the government could not abdicate its responsibility for the education of the citizenry to private agencies with motives of their own. It was further reported that the role of the Christian missions during the Nigerian civil war complicated issues further. During the war some Christian missions sided the secessionists where they had the strongest influence and large investments. Moreover, inter-denominational rivalry among different missionary groups had an effect on the pupils who regarded themselves first and foremost as-members of different churches instead of Nigerians. This did not make for national unity and purpose. After the civil war there was need to instill in the young national unity through education. For the reasons advanced above, many 5tate governments enacted education laws to take over mission schools. By 1973 many of the voluntary agencies began to surrender their Educational Institutions to the governments, and by the time the Military was handing over to elected government in 1979, all the states

[8] S.Adesina (1977) *planning and Educational Development in Nigeria*. Lagos: Educational Industries Mfg. Ltd.)

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of the Federation had already completed the take-over of schools within their boundaries.

It has been observed that the economic fortune of Nigeria which suddenly dropped because of the fall in world oil market in late 1970's and the present economic recession have seriously affected the funding of educating, As a result many of the schools taken over by the governments then are now in shambles due to neglect and lack of maintenance. This inability of the government to effectively run the schools have made people call on the governments to return schools to the Christian missions and other voluntary agencies.

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CHAPTER TEN

TEACHING AND THE QUESTION OF PROFESSIONALIZATION

Introduction

This chapter invites us to take a fresh, hard look at the passion to professionalize found in teaching and among teachers world wide. We first of all examine (tie nature of a profession, drawing attention to the approaches that have been used in the sociology of the professions. Thereafter, we look at the so-celled characteristics of a profession, liking care to see how teachers and teaching square with them. In noting that the question, "Is teaching a profession?" no longer leads anywhere, we confront head-on the naked reality of the structural (in-built arid external) constraints which set limits to the professionalization of teaching in the fullest sense of the word.

On the Nature of Professions

Let us begin by clarifying the terms, occupation, profession and career. We shall regard an occupation as simply the work or employment in which the individual is engaged for the purpose of earning a living. Although careers "may be viewed as the sequences of jobs performed by individuals in the course of their working lives," We prefer the more specific sense of an occupation offering the individual advancement in rank, ..come, and prestige throughout his working life. We hear of 'a career diplomat', 'a career civil servant', etc;

What about professions? Lay usage in Nigeria applies the term to any full-time occupation: professional driver; professional rogue; professional prostitute, etc. The term is also used for those occupational engagements where the individual(s) charge(s) fees for the 'services' rendered: professional footballer; professional entertainer, etc. There are times when 'professions' are used interchangeably with 'occupations', in reference to about any socially visible occupational engagements; from the historic or classic cases

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[1] N. Abercrombie, S. H. and B. Turner, *Dictionary of Sociology*. Harmondsworth, England: Pengiun Books, 1984. p. 33.

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of law, medicine and theology, through university lectureship and the emergent examples of engineering, accountancy, architecture and pharmacy, to the so-called semi-professions or glorified occupations of teaching, nursing, librarianship and social work. In that sense the terms are used interchangeably, but by no means synonymously. While all professions are first and foremost occupations, not all occupations qualify for the honorific epithet, profession.

So what are these Professions like? Some writers still find a lot of sense in the definition formulated some two generations ago by the fine British student of the professions'. Professor A.M. Carr-Saunders: "an occupation based upon specified intellectual, study and training, the purpose of which is to supply skilled service or advice to others for a definite fee or salary".[2] Apart from emphasizing specialized intellectual training; skilled service and definite remuneration, Carr-Sounders notes that private practice and fees (rather than salaries) marked the earliest days of law and medicine. But he also acknowledges that the profession of medicine is not ceasing to be a profession for the mere fact that practitioners are becoming more and more salaried.

Interesting as those observations are, he simply 'tells' but does not account for the retention of professional profile in the face of bad weather'. His definition Grid observations are sociologically innocent, that is, they do not address the forces which give social significance to specialized training and skills, and which create the basis for fees or salaries as the case may be. To redress that oversight, we propose here an understanding of professions as those occupations whose practitioners share something of the autonomy, power, wealth, prestige and privilege of surgeons, judges, professors, engineering consultants, principal 'accountants, chief pharmacists top brass research scientists, as well as mainstream bishops and Imams. It is the sociological phenomena surrounding such positions and personalities, and not the sheer number .of years of specialized training, which constitute the litmus test of a profession. If it so happens that

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[2] The use of this definition varies from one author scholar to another. Some still use it as gospel truth; others use it simply to open discussion with a sense of academic history.

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such sociological phenomena have an association with years and type of specialized training, there then arises a basis for exploring the sociology of that sociology. We shall pursue this matter later on. For now, let it suffice to stress that any realistic adventure into the professionalism argumentation must 'problematize' the power relations[3] between the practitioner providing the services and the clients consuming such services. The clients are not merely the actuality of pupils and patients but the potentiality of their close relatives and the practitioners of other occupations or professions as the case may be. The sources of the professional's power and, therefore, autonomy and prestige, or the variables affecting the power and relations in the professional's 'work situation' shall be explored fully later in the chapter. Meanwhile professionalism should be understood as the entrenchment by practitioners of institutionalized forms of occupational control, autonomy, authority and ideology or mystique.[4] Where occupational associations, entry regulations, codes of ethics, etc. cannot or have not been able to achieve that objective, then they have no sociological meaning and the occupations concerned are light years away from and may never really attain the hall marks of the realistic conception of a profession adopted here. Professionalization is thus a matter of the degree of professionalism actually achieved or potentially achievable, which phenomenon we have operationalized as the power autonomy, and prestige of surgeons, judges, professors and kindred practitioners. For let us face it, these people are 'institutions' who can make the difference between life and death, freedom and imprisonment, graduation and withdrawal/rustication for even the richest and most prominent personalities in any country.

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[3] Our position is that the struggle to professionalize is actually a power struggle. But 'power is not for the guy down the street. The appropriation of a proportion of society's power resources- by coercion, consent or else coercive persuasion - is 'a game for heroes

[4] Terence J. Johnson, Professions and Power, London: The Macmillan Press, 1972, ch. 4.

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We seem to be running faster than was originally planned. To place matters in perspective, we now pause to look at the different approaches and even fairy tales that have saturated the sociology of the professions until recently. The hope is that the reader with a new kind of 'sociological imagination' - to borrow the expression of C. Wright Mill - would made through the maze and find himself or herself at once amused unimpressed, challenged and, probably, convinced.

Two opposing sociological perspective have tended to dominate the sociology of the professions. Functionalism or consensus is one. Marxism or conflict is another. In-between is a rather disinterested liberal approach. While it has been noted that a given sociological perspective casts some shadow even as it throws some light on social reality, the fact of the matter is that some perspectives are more illuminating than the others.

To turn to the functionalist perspective and the kindred trait and historical-descriptive approaches,, Functionalism takes occupational differential and specialization (i.e. professionalization or division of labour) as one major mechanism through which the social system maintain order, equilibrium, consensus and stability. It generally claims that the professions are homogenous communities primarily concerned with rendering altruistic service r catering t the public interest. The egoist pursuit of monetary and other socially valued rewards - power, prestige, and privilege - is secondary, the argument goes. A.M. Can-Saunders holds such views. So do the French and the American sociologists, Emile Durkheim and Talcott Parsons, respectively.

In his doctoral dissertation titled The Division of Labour in Society, Durkheim argues that today's complex division of labour or occupational specialization entails disagreement in norm end values, but then that social integration or 'organic solidarity' Is achieved 'by the functional interdependence of the different roles individuals perform[5]. He even proposes that occupational associations transcending local boundaries become the platform for contesting elective assemblies in a

[5] Kenneth Thompson. *Emile. Durkheim* Chichester, Sussex: Ellis Horwood Ltd., 1982. ch. 3.

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democracy. Talcott Parsons[6] maintains that the hierarchical division of labour in society caters to the 'functional imperatives' of reward by merit, achievement motivation, and orderly performance of social roles.

The kindred trait and historical-descriptive approaches generally accept the claims of functionalism. They have also made definite contributions to the literature. The trait approach parades largely definitional and descriptive exercises purporting to be the characteristics of a profession. Among the attributes usually outlined are (1) skill base on theoretical knowledge; (2) long period of training or education; (3) entry regulation; (4) occupational association; (5) life-long commitment or career; (6) altruism; etc. Armed with such a checklist, the occupation 'on trial' is screened. and the traits observed are ticked. Thereafter, a judgment of pass or fail is pronounced. This approach has had to be criticised as overly descriptive and dichotomous and as unaccommodative of peculiarities.

Its revised version. the historical-descriptive approach, attempts to trace the historical milestones through which an occupation eventuates in the professional profile. This combination of history and description is only marginally analytic. It seeks to estab1lsi the sequence through which the characteristics of a profession emerges. This idea of the "natural history of professionalism" has however produced contradictory sequences for the United States and Britain7. For the former: (1) a full-time occupation emerges; (2) a training Institution Is established; (3) a professional association is founded; (4) state or legal protection/recognition is secured through political agitation; (5) a formal code of ethics, is adopted.

And for England: (1) a professional association; (2) change in the, name of the occupation; (3) code of ethics; (4) agitation to obtain state recognition or mandate; and (5) the concurrent development of training facilities. The lesson we learn here is the difficulty of attempting to establish one invariant

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[6] Peter Hamilton Talcott Parsons Chichester, Sussex: Ellis Horwood Ltd. 1983 chps. 5 and 6.

[7] This is elaborated in Terence Johnson. op. cit. ch. 2.

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historical sequence through which occupations must past en route to professionalization. state recognition alone can be the basis for the concurrent development pf code of ethics, training institutions and art association.

Since these historical stage; have at the same time been claimed to be the characteristics of a profession, the whole idea of stages and traits becomes more and more suspect. Thus the so-called characteristics o a profession may simply be necessary (if not cosmetic)) but insufficient conditions for professionalism.

The ideal-type, analytic approach represents o attempt to go beyond mere description of surface appearances or characteristics. As Eric Hoyle5 has noted:

> Initially the approach was to establish a model of the basic constituents of a profession and thence to dichotomize occupations as professions/non-professions. More recently this dichotomy has given way to a continuum with an "ideal type' profession 'at one pole and with occupations being located on the continuum according to their approximation to the, ideal type. On such a continuum teaching is usually. placed some way short of the ideal type and is sometimes classified as a semi-profession.

By the way, the ideal-type professions are the classic examples of law and medicine. A good lesson for people who are content with fairytales about a thousand and one 'characteristics of a profession' is that Hoyle isolates the basis for locating occupation on the said occupation - profession continuum- The force of the movement towards the ideal-type derives from the criteria of professional control and practitioner's autonomy. In other words, "the autonomy of the practitioner end the control of the organized profession over the service which it collectively offers"[9] are the central

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[8]Eric Hoyle, "Professionality, Professionalism and Control in Teaching". In *Management in Education I*, (eds.) V. Houghton, It McHugh and C. Morgan. London: The Open University Press, 1975, p. 314. [9]Ibid., P.315.

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constituents of law and medicine - the ideal-yet-real-type professions. 'Characteristics of a profession' will have meaning only to the extent that they can be shown to be making reasonable contributions to such lad of professional power. Otherwise, they are an excess baggage that do not lead anywhere.

There are however, one or two criticisms of the ideal-type approach. It belongs to the liberal frame of mind and so' assumes that ever9body can make it to the top. For those who are still far-off, it improvises such consolatory labels as "semi-professions" such liberal evangelism, is strictly
speaking an ideology. 'Anybody who works hard can become an entrepreneur'. Tell that to the marines! To the self righteous question: 'Is teaching a profession?', the liberals will reply that teaching should become a profession by the year 2000 - the appointment that all losers of today are now fixing. But liberal thought will shy away from addressing the structural constraints that already limit the chances[10] that teaching can ever attain 'that tar-off divine event' to which all occupations supposedly move. And because the liberal approach sits on the fence in the matter of the primary motives of professionals (private versus public interest), it has no answer for the current and emergent question: why do teachers want to professionalize?

The more illuminating Marxist or conflict-structural perspective confronts these matters head-on. It provides a more adequate framework for raising fresh questions and offering new insights. This approach dismisses as myths and fables any claims that the professions place the "service idea)" or the public interest over and above private gains. The professions are seen as essentially pressure, groups seeking to maximize their power and privilege in society. Professional codes of conduct exist not so much to protect the client as to define the ground rules under which members can pursue (without denting the image of the. group) their share of society's valued resources - power, wealth end prestige. Similarly, entry regulations - academic qualifications,

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[10] This chapter devotee en entire section to the sorry condition of teaching worldwide, including the U .A. of 1988.

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professional exams licensure, accreditation, etc. - re imposed not so much to give client high calibre service as to minimize competition and thus enable practitioners to appropriate the fat gain that business monopolies[11] are want to.

The fragmentation or multiplication of fields of study, with the consequent occupational specialization or division of labour, is a mechanism of social differentiation and stratification. High status[12] courses and occupations are more accessible to better-off families and so perpetuate inequalities. This is why a ttempts to destratify (equalize) or restratify (redefine the statuses of) disciplines and, therefore, occupations are usually resisted, In passing, Nigerian Universities have always resisted (1)' integrated science or social studies and other forms of course rationalization; and (2) considering the' Nigerian Certificate in Education (NCE) s the equivalent of a three-year university programme; (3) accepting holders of the Higher National Diploma (H.N.D) for the degree of Master. And such product of polytechnics are not even registered by the Council of Registered Engineers of Nigeria (COREN).

The professions are not homogenous communities but "loose amalgamations of segments pursuing different objectives in different manners" [13] The division of labour does not produce harmony or stability, but conflict and competition. It is 'hierarchical and alienating; by separating management (conception) from workers (execution) it legitimizes control and supervision. It is a mechanism of domination and subordination. And so the professions try to maximize their power over potential and actual clients through gate-keeping or exclusion devices It Is thus the Marxian perspective that underscores the primary motives behind the obsession with professionalization found in teaching, nursing, librarianship, social work, etc. It also 'prepares our minds for 'limits and possibilities.

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[11] See, for example, Magali S. Larson, The Rise of Professionalim: A Sociological Analysis Berkeley: UCLA Press, 1977,

[12] Originally elaborated by Michael F.D. Young, additional Marxian insights have been offered by Madam Sarup, Marxism and Edu. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1978.

[13] Anslem L. Strauses Professions, Work and Careers New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1975, p. 10.

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Domination and subordination, autonomy and control, etc, are constructs that define and are defined by power relations. Within the Marxian argumentation, therefore, Donald Treinan's[14] cross-cultural study of occupational prestige provides the kind of framework we can expand and sharpen in an attempt to adequately account for the structural limits to the professionalization of teaching. His structural theory of occupational prestige will help us to understand the basis of the twin criteria of professional control and practitioner's autonomy, which the ideal-type approach appropriately sees as the crux of the matter.

Treiman's theory, which was empirically tested and validated with worldwide data, states that occupational prestige ultimately is rooted in power relations. Briefly, the constituent propositions go like this: The division of labour, thanks to specialization, creates inherent differences in the power resources (skills, knowledge, scholastic ability, etc) available to and associated with various occupational roles. Because these power resources are scarce and specially valued and by the same logic beget the added power resources of wealth and authority, overall occupational differences in power resources result in occupational privilege differentials. Occupational differences in power and privilege in turn lead to occupational prestige or status differentials. For power and privilege are everywhere socially valued or honoured.

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[14] Donal J. Treiman Occupational Prestige in Comparative perspective New York: Academic Press, 1977, pp. 1-19; chs. 3 and 4.

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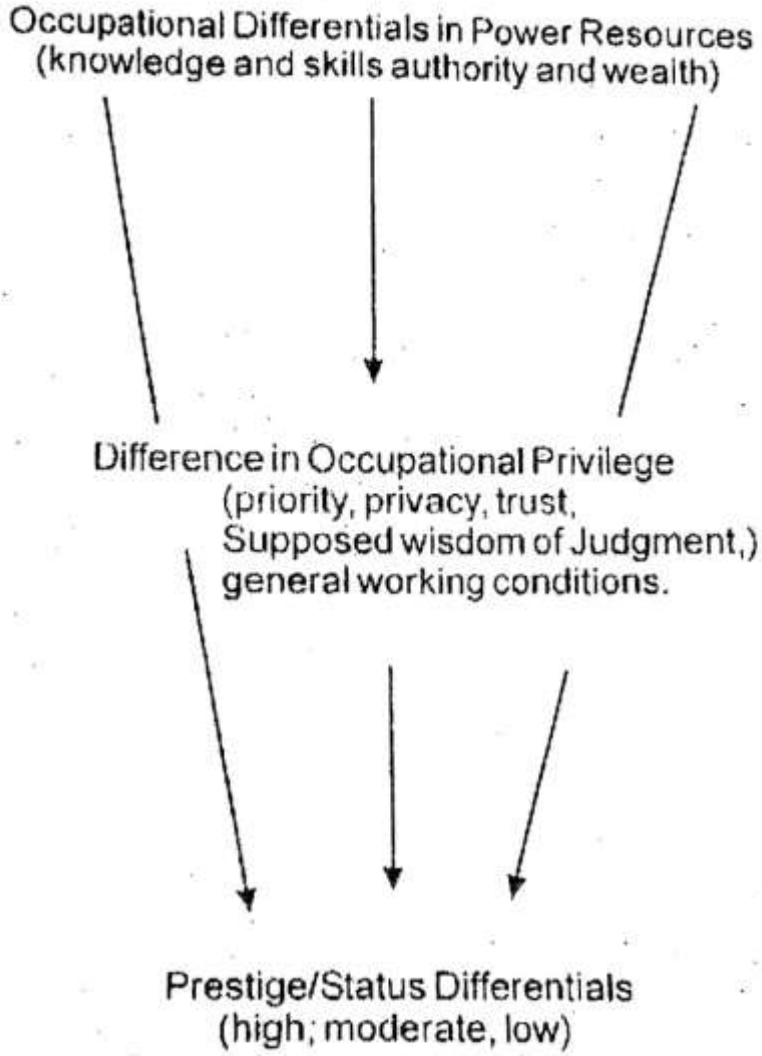
May be we can schematically set up a "casual model" that illustrates the orchestration of the inter-related propositions in Treinen's structure theory of occupational prestige:



It is this kind of theoretical framework that we shall apply in dealing with the structural (in-built and external) constraints which exert limits on the possibilities of professionalizing teaching in the fullest sense of the word. One thing the analysis will underscore is that it Is not enough that the occupation has skilled and a knowledge base said to belong to it (the kind, of fairytale we hear in the nursery-rhyme characteristics of a profession). The important questions are: What kind of theoretical knowledge? What kinds of skills? Are such knowledge and skills rare? 'Hard' and 'critical' or easily

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Accessible? Can the skills be improvised with good results by those who did pot receive professional training? And what kinds of students pain in that area? The superior student? The average student? The low achiever? Or else Tom. Dick, and Harry? Answers to. these questions have implications for the level of authority and the economic capabilities of different occupations. Such power resources affect privileges, and power and privilege circumscribe prestige or status. The full discussion is reserved for the last section of this chapter. Before we zero in on that, however, we shell sketch out the 'characteristics of a profession' (so that we can bury most of them later on), as well as present a situation report on the unenviable status of teaching the world over.

Characteristics of a Profession

The reader may be well advised to regard most of the so-called characteristics of a profession as necessary but insufficient conditions for professional status. In fact only a few of them re primary, that is, constitute the ontological reality of a profession. A lot of them are secondary, that is, are no more than contingent and cosmetic characteristics. Although no conclusive, list may ever be drawn, the characteristics usually outlined in the literature include the following:

1. Skills based on a branch of theoretical knowledge
2. Prolonged and specialized training.
3. Autonomy of the practitioner and the collectivity.
4. Control of entry.
5. Competitive conditions of service (what is called work and market situations,. in fashionable sociological parlance)
5. Code of ethics.
7. Service for clients and public as primary motivation.
8. Life-long or long-term career commitment.
9. Occupational organisation or association.
10. Occupational journal or magazine
11. Sense of community, i.e., sharing the same sub-cultural values, objectives, identity and destiny.

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There is this English romantic poet called Samuel Taylor Coleridge author of The Ancient Mariner that exotic poem we all and talk about Because he had set out with William Wordsworth to "make the familiar strange and the strange familiar" he took care to advise his readers to proceed with "that willing suspension of disbelief for the moment which constitutes poetic faith. "By the same token in imploring the reader to temporarily suspend the knowledge that propaganda, not say fairy-tale yells out of most of the listed characteristics of a profession. This is in order that we can hasten to apply those characteristics in the usual way people have been discussing teaching and teachers in Nigeria.

Take the question of skills based on a branch of theoretical knowledge. The expertise of professionals derives from a systematic body of theoretical knowledge often but not necessarily based upon scientific research. the customary claims is that teaching in Nigeria, as elsewhere, has a branch of theoretical knowledge exclusive to it, and supported by research that is reported in a form often employing complicated statistics. From philosophy of education to 'educational psychology, to sociology of education, to educational administration, to history of education, to measurement and evaluation, to research in education, to curriculum and instruction, to educational technology and methodology, it is all yours in teaching, so the argument goes. In this matter, .therefore, teaching scores a hundred percent.

What about prolonged arid specialized training? Many Nigeria teachers now train six years in the primary school, five in years in secondary, three or four years in a college of ed ation, or else three or four year in a university. It is during such relatively prolonged periods in school that they acquire specialized professional training in functional courses, in curriculum, and instructional courses, as well as in educational administration, supervision and testing. Thanks to micro-teaching, teaching skills can now be isolated, studied, practice, and integrated. The skills are further strengthened trough several months of teaching practicuum or internship. The two-year post-secondary teacher Grade II is increasingly

[15] See their Preface to the Lyrical Ballads.

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being. overtaken by the, more involving, specialization wise, three-year post-secondary Nigerian Certificate In Education (N.C.E.) or Associateship Certificate in Education (A.C.E.), as the qualification for primary school teaching in some of the states in Nigeria. Generally therefore teaching scores high on the count of long period of specialized training. It is little matter that many university graduates without professional training Continue to parade themselves as maths, physics masters! After all some secondary school teachers now hold the Master of Education degree;

We turn to autonomy of the practitioner and the group. This is the freedom to practice without supervision especially from non-professionals. Sympathizers insist occasional visits by inspectors do not really mean much, and that' once the classroom door is shut, the teacher has general good special powers, it also does not really matter so the argument goes, that the syllabuses, the textbooks, the examinations, the school rules and regulations, etc. come from education boards, departments and ministries. The problem of autonomy here is a difference of degree, not of kind! But more modest observers would insist that teachers do not really have the freedom to practice without interference from non-colleagues Doctors and lawyers generally enjoy such freedoms everywhere.

As for conditions of service, even apologists confess that the Work and market situations of teachers as far from attractive. The environment gloomy and scantily furnished, Payment is irregular. And promotion is once in a life time. But then the said sympathizers find consolation in the 'fact' that Nigeria teachers are generally appointed on a salary scale comparable with those of civil servants holding equivalent qualifications. They will then proceed to award teacher and teaching above average in the matter of conditions of service.

Code of ethics is there for the asking in Nigerian teaching. The teachers" code of conduct, as outlined by their parent organisation, specifies rules of conduct and responsibilities to the pupil, the community, the employer, the school and the 'profession'. Whether such rules are actually enforceable is another matter. The important thing is that they help characterize Nigerian teaching as a professional!

When we turn to the ideal of service or public interest,

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Teaching is probably the best known example after the clergy. It is a common saying that the teacher's reward is in heaven. Teachers undertake a lot of non-teaching jobs all in an effort to help their pupils. They are caring, understanding, and assuring. Private monetary gain is secondary as far as teachers are concerned. So this characteristics helps to qualify teaching as a profession.

Furthermore, teachers generally show life-long commitment and dedication to their job. They take it as a career to which they commit all their energy, time and attention. Many of them would rather burn out and breakdown in teaching than 'flirt' with other job opportunities. They re-generally modest and unacquisitive persons, who prepared to make sacrifices and advance slowly in-rank, income and even prestige. This kind of career commitment is a big of plus for teaching as a profession. (You do not have to bother whether many teacher are staying put because they do not have the qualification, the opportunity, the convenience, or the courage to venture out in search of greener pasture)

The Nigeria Union of Teachers (NUT) stand out as a major professional organization to which all Nigeria teachers are supposed to belong . Most sympathizes still admit that the NUT is not as powerful as say, the Nigeria Medical Association (N.M.A) The Nigeria Bar Association (N.B.A), or the Academic staff Union of Universities. They further admit that unlike the N.M.A and the N.B.A., the NUT does not control entry into teaching, does not run- a regular journal or magazine and compete for loyalty with a multiplicity to teacher or subject area organisation. As if doctors and lawyers do not also divide into association! And so on.

The typical conclusion - the last judgement - is then that everything considered teaching appears to be a profession. At worst it is semi-profession. It will attain fullest professional status once the NUT controls membership, achieves better working conditions, raises entry qualifications, and keeps a regular journal. We have heard such liberal fables before. That is the kind of answer many end up with once they have set out to answer the question,"Is Teaching a profession?" We pointed out in the very beginning that this sort of question has outlined its usefulness. And so much anything put forward as

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the answer to that question. For if by a profession you mean the kind of thing that nurses, social workers and librarians also claim for themselves - after all they have most of the so-called characteristics of a profession - If that is what one means then one might as well jump about and proclaim teaching a profession. But once one is referring to something like that acknowledge expertise, autonomy, privilege and prestige of surgeons, judges, first-rate university professors and kindred practitioners, then one would be in a better position to appreciate that mush as there is still room for brushing up the face of teaching, primary and secondary level teaching may never really get to that 'promised land'.

In fact a most appropriate use of the term, semi-profession is in relation to polytechnic and college of education teaching, optometry, pharmacy, occupational therapy, veterinary medicine, and engineering. University teaching (excluding the high-status discipline that every student knows) escaped with subtle forms of status anxiety on its laps. Generally speaking, however, the broad spectrum of higher education teaching has been able to keep its head above water because, among other things, (1) practitioners require higher levels of knowledge mastery you can check out their chains of degree; (2) teaching load apart, career lecturing is actually at its best in research and writing, and even consultancy; and (3) higher education alone supply society its pool of indispensable middle - and high-level manpower or specialized skills. It is the goose that lays the golden egg, if you wish to call it so.

Before we turn fully and finally to the real problem with elementary and secondary teaching, we shall do a brief situation report on the unenviable condition of such teachers worldwide. This will further confirm the irrelevance of most of the thing said to be the characteristics of a profession. For even in the United State - that apogee of western civilization, at least for now - even there where teaching boast most of purported characteristics of a profession, teachers are still observed with, are still haunted by the ghost of professionalism.

Worldwide Update on Teaching

We have seen a bit of the image of teaching in Nigeria --

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actually one of the 'best' in Africa. Now whatever prestige Nigeria teacher may be said to have had in the 'good old days,' it was merely the empty status of local champions riding piggy-high on the backs of rural, uniformed and illiterate peoples. Today things have changed a lot. Mass communication is reaching every village. Rural people are in constant intercourse with the city. So-called illiterate adults can speak a bit of pidgin English. Primary school children can even speak better standard English than the 'old headmaster'. And rural parents know what they mean when they insist they want their children to train as doctors and lawyers!

If anything, the teacher's status of old was equivalent to that of the earliest forms of organized work group: the guilds of tradesmen in Medieval England, and, back home here, the Ijala and Egbenuoba guilds of hunters in ancient Yoruba and Igboland. And it was not even long before unsuspecting villagers 'discovered' the other side of those bloated teachers: they were scrupulous in measuring out and plotting the graphs of what quantities of yam, beans, rice and garri to eat! It was the shock and disappointment that discovery had brought to hitherto trusting and respecting locals that made the information spread quickly as community gossip. To this day even a few reasonable well-off Nigeria teachers are so stereotype.

The Nigeria press is also part of the stigmatization of teaching and teachers. Hardly can one find any newspaper or radio-television reports in praise of teachers. It is always nasty stories about teachers going on strike, 'tampering' with female students, or else "ready to smile" as delayed salaries and promotions are receiving government attention. But these things are more of effects rather than causes of low prestige. The press is taking liberties because teachers are generally poor and powerless. Try it with lawyers and doctors and see if somebody doesn't garg your mouth somehow. These 'd mned newspaper chap' in any case reflecting what Emile Du heim would call the Nigerian occupational conscience collective, i.e., the generally shared perception of teaching: a last resort for people who can't make it elsewhere; the proper place for married or pregnant women: not a place for any serious-minded young man; a stepping stone to greener pasture; etc.

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By extension, part of the trouble with teaching in all Africa, as elsewhere, is that because many join it of necessity rather than choice, it attract more ridicule than appreciation. As a sample, Babs A. Fafunwa[15] has this to say on the categories of people who join teaching in Africa.

1. Those who are convinced that teaching is their calling and that they can best serve their country in that capacity;
2. those who choose teaching and find satisfaction in it as compared with other occupations.
3. those who cannot make good elsewhere, but because they have the minimum academic qualification required, join the teaching profession from necessity rather than from choice;
4. those who have had secondary education; but have been disqualified for further higher studies because of poor academic records; and
5. those who have not been to secondary school because of their inability to pass the entrance examination, or because of lack of opportunity to do so in the past,

Although Fafunwa first made these observations some two decades ago, only the last one appears to be passing away today.

In India and China the quality and status of teaching and teachers are also nothing to write home about. As usual, it is the rural areas and the poorer section, of the cities that are the most hard hit. The work and market situations of most Indian teachers are so demoralizing that (1) many teachers now pay more attention to running private teaching shops[17] of tuition

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[16] Quoted B.O. Ukeja, *School and Society in Nigeria*, Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers, 1986, pp. 65-66.

[17] A.R Kamat. *Education and Social Change in India*, Bombay: Somaiya, Publications Ltd., 1985, p. 124.

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classes than to doing their official assignment; and (2) despite the fact that India has the third largest pool of scientists (after the U.S. and the Soviet Union) in the world, as well as a large army of unemployed science graduates and post-graduates, rural and small towns have been going without trained science teachers.[18] Young men and women are simply refusing to enrol in teacher-education programmes. They are instead pursuing "those careers they perceived as having the highest social and economic rewards."[19]

China is one country that 'uses and abuses' teachers and teaching in accordance with the shifts in the political economic objectives of the socialist party-state. The cultural revolution year a. 1966 to 1976, were a kind of 'dark ages' for Chinese teachers. School management (including day-to-day administration) was in, the hands of revolutionary committees, comprising radical students, party vanguards (the equivalent of party thugs In Nigeria), soldiers, and cadres. They decided which teacher to retain or fire, what to study and when, whom to admit and how to award grades, as well as when to work in factories or farms. Classroom activity was generally seen as 'soft' and unproductive in that decade: Students were free to come and go when they liked. And political activism was the major qualification for becoming a teacher.

Since the late 1970s, however, the extremes of the cultural revolution have been revised. The death of strongman Mao Zedong in 1976 marked the beginning of an about turn in the economic and educational policies of the Chinese government. The return to a selective education system designed to produce high-level scientists and technologists has also witnessed an attempt to improve the quality and status of teachers and teaching. "The better trained older teachers, most of whom had been victimized during; or before the Cultural Revolution, have been rehabilitated and given teaching posts .... One very

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[18] Syamal Chakrabartty, *Twenty-Five Years of Education in India*. New Delhi: Peoples Publishing House 1973, pp. 31-48.

[19] Rohert F. Arnove, "A Compsrison of the Chinese and Indian Education Systems "In Comparative Education Review. Vol. 38, N°3, 1984, pp. 394, 399.

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harmful aspects of past policies is the low qualifications of the teaching staff .... Since 1978 in-service training and opportunities for upgrading have been provided for existing teachers at every level. Pre-service training has also been revived. Normal schools and teacher training college enrolment quotas doubled between 1977 and 1980 ... Attention is also being given to ways of making the teaching profession more attractive, especially in the remote and poor areas".[20]

To the teacthers (and nurses) of Britain, France and Democratic Germany (G.D.R.), who are still struggling to improve their low work and market situations through unionism and strikes, it is best wishes as we pass on to the more instructive examples of the New World,' Canada and the United States.

In the two North American countries teaching appears to have actually attained its highest possible heights. Yet the nightmare over professionalism continues to hunt the psyche of teachers and teaching. Although there are a few people with something slightly less in sideline subjects and primary schools, the basic teaching qualification is a first degree in education. Nobody can teach without being licensed to do so (usually by the appropriate government departments). Actually some states and provinces (in the U.S. and Canada respectively) additionally require holders of education degrees to pass a certification examination before a teaching licence is issued. So selection is somewhat 'rigorous'. And there are many teachers who have specialized in elementary education at the master's and doctoral levels.

Furthermore, Canadian and U.S national, provincial, and state-level teacher organizations, besides most subject-area, associations, have been running regular 'profession' journals or/and magazines for over half a century now. It would thus appear that most of the much-chanted characteristics of a profession are already there for the asking - the very characteristics some people claim would make teaching a profession once they are achieved. But what is the image

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[20] Marianne Bastid, "Chinese Educational Policies in the 1980s and Economic Development" In the Chinese Quarterly N° 98, June 1984, pp.193. 198-202.

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Of teaching and teachers the North/America of today? We shall hear from the horse's mouth.

Take the Province of Alberta in Canada. Founded 1918, the Alberta Teacher's Alliance (renamed the Alberta Teachers' Association by the Teaching Profession act of 1935) the A.T.A. runs two major regular ,publications; the A.T.A. Magazine, a journal founded in 1920, and the ATA News, a kind of bulletin. The defiant motto of the A.T.A.. is Magistri Neque Service, i.e Masters, Not Servant! in the very first issue of the A.T.A. journal, the editorial[21] states, among other things, that

> The guiding principle of our policy will therefore be to further the aims and objects for which the A.T.A. exist, and above others to persistently endeavour to raise the status of the teaching profession in the Province.

Securing more adequate salaries and incremental rates, achieving self-governmental high entry standards, as well as getting and keeping brilliant men and women, were some of the declared objectives in pursuit of a high-status teaching job.

The March/April 1988 issue of the A.T.A. Magazine (Vol. 68, N^2 3) is a reliable testimony on how many kilometers Canadian teachers have logged in the journey towards professionalism. Listen to the voice of the association editor of the journal.

> In an age where yuppies reign supreme with 50,000-a-year executive positions, complete with company cars, lavish expense accounts, and fitness club membership, teachers cling to their modestly paying jobs in out-of-way places ....Everybody knows teachers make less than '25,000-a-year to start ...Most teachers are extremely economical and frugal with their wages (if they have any left after all those

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[21] By the Editor, H.C. Newland, *The A.T.A Magazine*. Vol. 1 N^2 1. June 1920

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ridiculous deductions). Many wear the same chalk-dusted clothes day-in and day-out, and bring bag lunches complete with thermoses full of strong coffee just to avoid contributing to the staff coffee fund...

Working conditions also aren't ideal. Teachers usually work in one of the most active germ environments known to scientists. They catch everything from the common cold to Dutch Elm disease.[22]

The unmistakable import of that statement if one of a poor, drab, and squalid teaching Job even at the countdown to the twenty-first century. You may wish to note that the classic professions -- law, medicine and theology -- established themselves fully as far back as the nineteenth century.

Two more citations will confirm that after nearly a century of organised action, Canadian teacher are still 'Servants, not Masters' (Remember the A.T.A. motto?).

From the A.T.A. Secretary, B.T. Keeler.[23]

...Alberta teachers' professional organisation is fully responsible and ready to assume more of the obligations of a profession. It is well pasttime for the government to transfer those additional elements of self-governance, certification and performance review, which it has retained for so long.

From a handbook authored yearly by the A.T.A. since 1983.

Looking ahead, teachers will welcome the day when the profession will have control over certification and decertification and when all teachers entering the profession have spent a

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[22] Aaron Bushkowsky, Analyzing the Teacher Creature' in The *A.T.A Magazine*. Vol. 68, N° 3, 1988, p p. 23-24.

[23] B.T. Keeler, 'The Code. of Professional Conduct." Ibid. p. 38,

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> period of successful internship following at least a four year teacher preparation program. Future achievements will help the teaching profession become fully self-governing.[24]

Notice that the issues here are those of professional control and practitioners' autonomy. While Canadian teachers are waiting for that Godot (the guy in literature who never really arrives), let us see what their U.S. colleagues look like.

Here we shall have teachers and teacher educators talk about teaching in the American Educator - the quarterly "professional journal of the American Federation of Teachers." In the Spring 1985 issue of this journal, Denis P. Doyle mourns the negative and oblique coverage teaching receives in the hands of U.S. media.[25] Education is after health care the nations biggest domestic industry -- in term of employment, resource utilization and productivity. In spite of its size, scale and long-term importance, education is hardly ever reported in its full riches, variety and texture. Instead the media are more interested in putting out tendentious stories which impute unfounded motives to teachers in times of strike of labour management disputes.

Albert Shanker (sometime president of the A.FT.) has also confessed that;

> Despite significant gains teachers have made in salaries, fringe benefits, and working conditions, we still have not achieved the autonomy, responsibility, status, and compensation of other professions. To make teaching an authentic profession and to attract the best and brightest to our ranks will require fundamental change, a "second revolution" in American education (underlining added).[25]

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[24] The A.TA "The Future", *In The Teaching Profession in Alberta Edmonton*; A.T.A. 1987, p 12.

[24] D.P. Doyle, 'Education and the Press: Malign Neglect?" In America *Educator* Vol.9, N° 1, 1985, pp. 28-31.

[25] Albert Shanker, "The Making of a Profession", In American *Educator* Vol. 9 N° 3, Fall 1985, Abstract.

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It is obvious that what is at issue hare is the crucial matter of professional control and practitioners' autonomy. After noting that America assembly plant/motor companies have begun to copy the very useful Japanese example of seeking the ideas of ordinary workers in solving assembly-line problems, Shanker bemoans that "teachers are not accorded the trust and confidence are becoming routine in the modern factory; our school the bastions of the rigid nineteenth-century industria hierarchy ... When a decision is made to change anything about the organisation of a school, the curriculum, the materials, or anything else, that decision is made by legislature, state education departments, school boards, superintendents, principlals ... (Yet teachers are) the people who are actually doing the work and know what's happening in classrooms."[27]

Shankar also states quite frankly that no bright, young, self-directed college (i.e. university) graduate will want to become a teacher, to enter a field which there is little opportunity to exercise judgment to make professional decisions. The image of teaching is one of an occupation that anybody can get into, where the rites of passage are perceived as easy, undemanding; the job itself is often a way station on the road to something else. There is low pay, linked to low standards, linked to an absence of trust; supervision and the public believe that you cannot really trust people who have been brought in on such uninspiring standards and salaries. The result is excessive supervision and very low prestige.

To achieve the Federation's objective of improving the status of teachers economically, socially and politically, Albert Shanker makes the following proposals: (1) broaden and deepen the teacher's knowledge base; (2) raise basic recruitment qualifications (including admission standards) for education major and accreditation standards for teacher-education programmes); (3) institute a rigorous, national entry-level examination for teachers, similar to those for the bar and for medicine; (4)establishment a national Teacher Professional Practices Board, composed of practitioners and in charge of the

[27] Ibid., pp. 12-14.

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said national examination. The T.P.P.B. will also ensure nobody indulges in out-of-field/out-of-licence teaching; take charge of professional conduct matters; and be the last authority in national and state textbook and teaching material selection. (5) Turn full curriculum and instructional decisions to such high calibre teachers; and (6) raise by about fifty per cent the salaries of the new breed of professional teachers.

Sound beautiful and imaginative, isn't? As freedom is not a gift but something won by conquest, the provision is that teachers must have the guts and muscle to fight both the government (including its threatened servants and agent in education departments, boards, inspectorates etc) and the unsympathetic public into submission. In this matter teacher educators in universities, polytechnics and colleges of education should bury their foolish pride (courtesy of Jimmy Cliff and in their own interest join in the battle to polish out the image of their products. As was noted earlier, part of the reason they have always kept a distance is the subtle status anxiety they themselves experience. Yet part of the solution will be a better image of themselves as reflected in their products. They also have the leverage to flex muscle (on behalf of elementary and secondary-level teachers) with the government and its servants and agent.

Lee Shulman, a professor of education at Stanford University, actually takes up the challenges[28] in the spring 1986 issue of the American Educator. For now (we shall return to him in the last section of the chapter) it may suffice to say that Shulman charts what he believes is the ideal terrain of teacher knowledge for laying to rest ghost of the calumny George Bernard Shaw had cast on teaching about a century ago. He first of all quotes that infamous and demeaning aphorism found in "Maxims for Revolutionist," an appendix to Shaw's play Man and Superman:

> He who can does;
> He who cannot, teaches.

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[28] Lee Shulman, 'Those Who Understanding: A Conception of Teacher Knowledge' *In America Educator*, Vol. 10, N² 1, 1986, pp. 8-44.

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He then criticises the U.S. teacher certification/licensing examinations for both the spirit of the 1870s until lately, when pedagogy was essentially ignored, and the emerging about-turn policies of 1980s, when content is conspicuously absent.[29] His solution is a more integrative-research, teacher education, and teacher-licensing examination paradigm that handles content and pedagogical knowledge as one dialectical process, reciprocal, and complementary. For the real test of understanding (content) is the ability to teach or communicate the subject to others (pedagogy).

Lee Shulman further refers to Aristotle in an attempt to butress[30] his point and puncture Shaw's disparaging proposition. "The tradition of treating teaching as the highest demonstration of scholarship was derived from the writings of a far greater authority than George Bernard Shaw. Aristotle, whose works formed the heart of the medieval curriculum, made the following observations in his Metaphysics.

> We regard master-craftsmen as superior not merely because they have a graps of theory and know the reasons for acting as they do. Broadly speaking, what -distinguishes the man who knows from the ignorant man is an ability to teach, and this is why we hold that art and not experience has the character of genuine knowledge (episteme) - namely; that artists can teach and others (i.e. those who have not acquired an art by study but have merely picked up some skill empirically) cannot.

We thus find in Aristotle a very different view of the relationship between knowing and teaching than we find in either Shaw or in the criteria for certification and licensure in some of our sovereign states."

The final submission of Lee Shulman is: "We reject the calumny of Bernard Shaw. With Aristotle we declare that the ultimate test of understanding rests on the ability to transform one's knowledge into

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[29] Ibid, p.11
[30] Ibid., p.12

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teaching. Those who understand, teach; those who can, do." Of course what Shulman is talking about is what teaching ought to be seen as.

Because it is seen as something else and is suffering from many ailments, its 'holding power' is very small in the U.S. Teacher attrition rate is so high that a national survey of outgone and remaining teachers has had to be undertaken. Sponsored by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company and conducted by Louis. Harris and Associates, the 1985 study found that teachers are leaving because of "Low salaries, poor working conditions, lack of occupational prestige, and a limited voice In school decision." "All kinds of teachers from the least qualified to the most - leave the profession at roughly similar rates. Similar proportions of current and former teachers report that the had a master's degree, had been asked to supervise other teachers, and had received a teaching award." "Twenty-eight per cent of current teachers say that they held a second job during the past twelve months. About twice this proportion of former teachers (54 per cent) worked second job during their last year as a teacher." Two-thirds of former teachers are men and seven in ten former teacher taught in secondary schools. In contrast, 71 per cent of current teachers are women, and the majority of current teachers work in elementary schools." "Men and secondary school teacher are more likely to consider leaving the profession," "The retention rate of current teachers seems too low and the production rate of new teacher graduates seems insufficient to avoid teacher shortages in the years to came... by 1992 the country will have 34 per cent fewer new teacher graduates than are needed to fill the demand for additional teachers."[31]

That is the study speaking for itself. It is the image of an occupation in crisis. And nothing more perhaps need be said here. We now turn to the concluding section of this chapter.

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[31] Exerpted from the full report by Elizabeth Mcpike (Journal edition). "Former Teachers in America" in America Educator, Vol. 10 N° 2 Summer 1986, pp. 34-39

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Structural Limits to be professionalization of Teaching

There are both primary and secondary structural constraints which exert limits on the possibilities of professionalizing teaching. We shall start with the rather secondary and contingent constraints.

Teaching is an overcrowded occupation. Schools are commonplace, and schooling is a society routine. In other words, teaching and schools and studentship are, like the air we breath, an everyday activity people deal with ordinary, and so can hardly attach any special importance to them.

The sheer number of teachers makes them two for a kobo on the labour market. Every remote village has something called a school. And somebody much teach there. After all people are living there, and children will be somewhere while their parents are at work. Baby-sitting is one hardly acknowledge role of schools and teachers: You do not find doctors and lawyers and hospitals and court anywhere or in such numbers. Government will say there is no money. But any community can gather, set up some roofs somewhere, and school is in session. Children attend school as a matter of routine, but people go to hospitals and courts in usually critically moments.

Apologies to feminists, teaching is an over-feminized and over-childrenized occupation. Sex-role definitions and stratification by gender and age are a sociological reality. The low status which society has imposed on women and children rubs off on this occupation that is predominantly peopled with such persons. Elementary school teaching is a shinning example. But we will remember that female lawyers, doctors, and soldiers have a lot of respect. Maybe for breaking the rule of male dominance. And doctors specializing in areas relating to women and children - - paediatrics, gynecology and obstetrics - - are very highly respected. That is why I am considering these things as secondary problems in the way of teaching.

There is also this question of horizontal and vertical segmentation within teaching and amongst teachers. There are nursery/kindergarten teachers, elementary school teachers, and secondary school teachers. (Higher-education teaching is not our concern in these matters). At the secondary school level

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alone, there is a sub-division into science teachers, english or language teachers, etc. Within science still, biology teachers have to mind their business just as physics and chemistry teachers. All this goes with different levels of qualification and specialization, as well as intra-group petty quarrels and status distinctions. A multiplicity of 'divisive' teacher organizations is also part of the bargain. Nonetheless, we should bear in mind that doctors in particular and to some extent lawyers also have sub-groupings and specializations. That has neither dented their status nor compromised the power of the national medical and bar associations. Only that there is a standard procedure for qualifying and/or practicing as a doctor or lawyer in the first place. Teaching for now can be negotiated from several angles.

Furthermore, schooling is an immensely political thing. In fact the French Marxist, Louis Althusser, has described education as a major ideological apparatus of government. It is an instrument governments use to socialize the citizenry towards cognitive, affective, and psychomotor dispositions favourable to the policies and actions of the ruling classes. Any wonder then that school teachers and students are locked in an authority structure dominated and directed by education ministries, departments, commissions, boards, units, inspectorates, etc? It is thus unlikely that government shall willingly give up control over textbooks, syllabuses, subjects/programmes. Here again, it is well to remember that government leaves such important matters as the law and the constitution to lawyers: Aside from the well-known fact that most politicians everywhere are the same 'learned gentlemen," there must be other technical reasons why people's generally do not dabble in legalese.

Still on government strangle hold, the education policy of the Federal government makes teaching the crumb-collector or dumping ground for the rejects and casualties of the Nigerian education system. Those students who show signs of dropping out of the central conveyor belt are side-routed by policy into teacher training programmes. Garbage in, garbage out, is maxim in computer programming and data processing. By governmental fiat, then teaching gets not the best and the brightest but the worst and the dullest. As B.O. Ukeje has lamented.

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> ... It is a national suicide for any nation either by design or by accident to have its best brains design its bridges and construct its highways, to cure its sick, and to formulate and interpret its laws, but to have its poorest brains to educate its youth.[32]

Thus a vicious circle is created of a teaching force that cannot be trusted to make wise decisions and exercise good judgment. An insurance or inspection and supervision, for lack of autonomy and freedom to practice.

We now .get into constraints that foreshadow the primary problem(s) with teaching, even though they are still secondary ones we realise that higher education teaching is not dented by such matters. The extreme diffuseness of the teaching job is a liability, not an asset. The roles of doctors, lawyers, accountants, architects, university lecturers, etc are easier to define. But different people expect different things from the same teacher. I ask you, what exactly are teachers supposed to do? instruct? Tutor? Inform? Train? Educate? Discipline? Drill? Your guess is as bad or as good as mine. What about the non-teaching jobs of surrogate paretenting, playing clown to sound interesting. baby-sitting, policing. arresting, sentencing, supervising prep and lunch and siesta and outing; unpaid clerical assistantship, etc? Teachers themselves also claim they are completely responsible over students' concerns in school and even beyond this world. I *have* heard one teacher educator utter in one ecstatic moment that the teacher is an *engineer* of ideas, an architect of character and a molder of personality. Sounds beautiful, isn't it? That is part of the problem. How can one person alone do all that? Like adolescence in Erik Erikson's theory of psychosocial development, there is a chronic role-confusion sickness in teaching and amongst teachers. It is because of this acquired floatation syndrome that anybody can open his/her mouth and condemn teachers for failing to do this or that. Having to deal with children and the indoctrination that goes on as teacher training are all part of the problem.

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[32]B.O. Ukeje, *School and Society in Nigeria*, op. cit. p. 67

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Again the teaching-learning encounter runs foul of the very logic and logistics of the professional situation. In perhaps strident language, the professional-client encounter is a form of theatre into which is structured an intimidating and inhibiting formalism the purpose of which is to make the client acquire what Tim Robinson[33] calls learned helplessness' - - as incapable of making any significant contribution to the solution of one's problems. The professional situation says P.W. Musgrave, is characterised by the 'expert practitioner' in consultation with the 'ignorant client,' who has absolute trust in. the advice, or instructions, tendered to him. Teaching, strictly speaking, lacks the asymmetry of power in professional-client relations. Students are supposed to be producing and sharing ideas with teachers. The good student is supposed to challenge the teacher's ideas. Unlike professionals who usually practice on one voluntary client at a time, teacher deal with a crowd of often unwilling pupils at one go and for a fairly long period. When school children quoting their "students' companion" say that familiarity brings disrespect, is that for fun? Unlike other professionals, too, (and because of the belief that anybody can teach and the large reservoir of non-education single-subject graduates) teachers are typically a salaried and easy-to-replace labour force. Employers' can thus afford not to take them seriously, especially 'with all the unemployment problems we have. It is for all this that teaching lacks the mystique of the established professions. And there are more ex-teachers than anything else.

Lastly, in our transition to primary constraints. the humble and amorphous origins of teaching and teachers are not the best advertisement in the bargain for professionalism. In the beginning of things (and even to this day) the teacher was also a preacher or catechist, a grave-digger and bell-ringer, a gardener and church warden, etc. Cut out for the image of saint-among-men, he was expected to be humble, obedient and piuos. For his reward is in heaven: Many teachers have also tended to come from lower class and upper/skilled working

[33]Tim Robinson. *In Worlds Apart*. London: Bedford Square Press, 1978. P. 58.

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class backgrounds at best. It does not matter that female teachers tend generally to come from better-off homes, in comparison with their male colleagues. As class position is a power resource, teachers tend to be powerless, and do not have the material convenience for a showdown with the government and the public.

And what is more, the image of teaching and teacher had been battered beyond redemption before teacher education was 'smuggled into universities in a desperate search for a saviour. The classic professions - law, medicine and theology received their very first baptism in the medieval universities. It was from those ultimate citadels of knowledge that the historic professions emerged to lake over the world. And such high-status areas of knowledge were from the word go patronized only by the upper and middle classes. Today the university continues to control mainstream professional preparation. And poor students try to stay clear of top professional programme - -because of the cost of tuition, textbooks, equipment, and other requisite paraphenalia and regalia,

There remain the **PRIMARY STRUCTURAL CONSTRAINTS** (i.e) in-built weakness which make the attainment of professionalism in teaching something like waiting for Godot - - at least in the foreseeable future. As was indicated early in this chapter, it is Donald Treiman's internationally validated structural theory of occupational prestige that addresses the locus of professional empowerment (organisational, social, economic and political). We are talking about the source of the crucial issue of professional control and practitioners' autonomy. As a reminder occupation prestige (or ,for that matter any prestige) ultimately is rooted in power relations and resources. The feudal lord derives his esteem from the power relations rooted in ownership and control of land. The modern capitalist/manager derives his mystique and reverence from the power relations defined by the ownership and/or control of the means and forces of production (land, labour, capital, technology etc). Government derives its authority and legitimacy first and foremost from the power relations structured by its monopoly of the instruments of force and control-the police armed forces, legal system, bureaucracy,

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and education in the broadest sense. For their part, professionals derive their prestige from the asymmetrical power relations borne out of their monopoly of socially valued skills or expertise rooted in a highly specialized branch of theoretical knowledge. This knowledge base is a systematic body of abstract, esoteric knowledge frequently amazed through scientific research.

Those who have a monopoly of the knowledge and skills relevant to the performance of critical and socially valued tasks logically command the power or authority if decision-making in the matter of the application of such knowledge and expertise. The more technical and esoteric such knowledge and skills are the greater the empowerment - social, economic, political- - of the practitioners concerned. Therein lies the secret of professional control, practitioners' autonomy and occupational prestige. It is the locus of the structuring of a asymmetrical power relations between professionals and the general public- - the pool of actual and potential clients.

The division of labour in the modern society carries inherent differences in the occupational power resources and power relations commanded by the practitioners of different fields of specialization. Where such occupational power resources - knowledge, skills or expertise - - are relatively scarce, highly specialized, academically first-rate, and socially highly valued, then the practitioners command a high degree of autonomy, reverence, wealth, privilege and prestige. I am saying that "a professional is a person who is an expert, and by virtue of that expertise is permitted to operate fairly independently to make decisions, to exercise discretion to be free of... direct supervision. No one stands over a surgeon at the operating table with directions to cut a little to the left or to the right. The surgeon is trusted to make appropriate medical decisions, and because of that trust and the expertise involved is generally very well compensated."[34]

It is in that light that we must understand the high status - - social, political and even economic - - of medicine, law and university lectureship. Treiman's study found that everywhere surgeons, judges and university professors were rated highest

[34] Albert Shanker "The Making of a profession," op. cit., pp. 11-12.

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on a scale measuring occupational prestige hierarchies. Mindful that a few exceptions do not break the rule, it is the best and brightest students who ordinarily get into such areas.

The same logic accounts for the worldwide unimpressive ranking of teaching, nursing, social work, librarianship and kindred occupations in the said Treiman's study. It is the basis of the low social, political and economic status of education students, courses and even departments. Much as brilliant students also major in education, it is equally well known that those students who perform poorest in primary and secondary schools also end up as teachers. It thus becomes difficult to convince the public that the knowledge base of the skills of a teacher is intellectually challenging and rigorous. The stigma of mediocrity cannot just be wished away.

It therefore does not make sense to start screaming that teaching is not a profession because of the absence of career commitment, professional journals, a strong organisation, competitive conditions of service, control of entry, practitioner's autonomy, etc. Those things are more of effects rather than causes. The N.U.T., for example, cannot be more powerful than the cognitive base of teaching. Doctors, by the way, "are well organised and powerful, but their authority lies elsewhere, in their knowledge and expertise. It was not always so. No until medicine had a substantial knowledge and clinical base underlying it, not until medical education was transformed... into a rigorous program, and not until the profession acted to establish high entry standards did authority, autonomy, respect follow .... The call for teachers to be the instructional leaders must rest on the demonstration of our expertise."[35]

So why is the 'demonstration of our expertise' such a difficult thing? Why are teaching skills seen as commonsense knowledge about controlling and informing children and young people, and as something which virtually anybody can improvise with good results? Whatever happened to the branch of knowledge said to belong exclusively to teacher education ?

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[35] Voice of the unrelenting president of the American Federation of Teachers, Albert shanker, "Our profession, our schools: The case for Fundamental Reform" In *American Education* Vol. 10, NO. 3, 1986, p. 15.

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Number one is that the thousand and one teaching subjects do not represent one coherent system of knowledge. They cannot really be specialized at the primary and secondary school levels. Teaching has to travel with the low status of subject areas like history: religion, physical education, social studies and integrated science.

Number two is that educational theory and foundational courses (at least at the first degree level) are a loose amalgam of strands of knowledge borrowed from philosophy, sociology, psychology, psychometrics/statistics, anthropology, and so on. In other words, the sociologist, the psychologists, the philosophers, etc were already there before educators came over to borrow insights and perspectives logged by those holding a monopoly of the different areas.

Above all else, however, is the formidable barrier to the development of a science of teaching. Medicine and engineering, for example, boast such rigorous science. Legal theory employs case validation, jargon and esotera. Concerned with the facilitation of learning, teaching cannot afford to deliberately mystify students as a way of gaining status, lawyers are in business partly because of that strategy.

Remember our earlier reference to the Acquired Floatation Syndrome (A.F.S.) in teaching. There is something elusive and even mysterious at the heart of teaching.... Unlike other professions, the objects of teaching are intangible because it encompasses the minds and spirits of students. How these minds and spirits are changed as a result of teaching and learning has been the focus of research for over a hundred years, with considerable variations in interpretation. The fact remains: educational researchers still know very little about the effects of teaching."[35] Put in other words, a major problem with teaching is our sheer ignorance of the basic character of the educational process; the transfer of ideas. Information and concepts from one mind to another and, in general terms, the nature of human learning. Our understanding of the vastly more complex world of the brain is in its infancy, in comparison with our knowledge of the body and the causes of its health and

[35] Ruth Hayden, "Life in the Classroom Today" *In The A.T.A. Magazine.* Vol. 68, No.3, 1988. p.20.

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sickness. Psychologists remain divided as to the precise nature of human intelligence and human learning. The neurological and chemical changes in the brain corresponding to this learning are only beginning to be studied. The result of this collective ignorance (doctors and engineers can make mistakes mainly as individuals rather than as a group is that teacher education has neither universal agreement nor a body of research evidence showing that one particular set of techniques and practices is always more efficacious than the other.[37] If the locus of professional empowerment is a body of high-calibre knowledge and expertise, and teaching remains mainly an art with no set of agreed upon or objectively valid principles, it then becomes obvious that the professionalization of teaching will have to travel the same road as the objectivisation of our knowledge of the nature of the human brain and human learning. It is up to neurology and psychology (and not even teacher education) to have attained that journey.

In the interim, Lee S. Shulman thinks there are one or two things we could do. We have already noted his proposal for a new direction in educational research, teacher education and teacher-licensing examination: a paradigm that integrates content knowledge and pedagogical knowledge as one dialectical, operationally inseparable process. That may be one way of enriching the knowledge or cognitive base of teaching. Shulman further suggests that we move towards developing an objective and systematic body of teacher knowledge by complementing the now prevalent propositional knowledge with case knowledge and strategic knowledge.[38]

Much of what is taught to teachers is in the form of propositions. The research-based principles of active teaching, of reading for comprehension, of effective classroom management, are stated as lists of propositions. So are the experience-based recommendations of planning five-step lesson plans, of organising a manageable number of miro-teaching groups, etc. Because they run into long lists and are usually decontextualised, propositions soon become hard to remember.

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[37] Christopher J. Hurn. The Limits and possibilities of schooling. 2nd edition: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1985, pp. 248-9.

[38] Lee S. Shulman. op. cit., P.14.

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Cases supply the details and the contexts that aid remembering. Lawyers use the case method of legal education in teaching law as science, i.e., teaching legal theory through cases. So a case is not merely the report of an event or incident. Case knowledge for teachers is knowledge of specific, well documented, richly, and thickly described instructional event set against some educational theory or theoretical framework.[39]

Both propositions and cases share the burden of unilaterality, the deficiency or turning the reader of user towards a single rule or particular way of seeing. Strategic knowledge comes into play as the teacher confronts particular situations or problems, whether theoretical, practical or moral, where principles collide and no simple solution is in sight. It is the wisdom of practice that transcends the limitations of particular principles or specific experience (i.e., propositions and cases) when confronted by situations where each of the alternative choices appears equally "principled": Thus professional judgement - - that finer point of any learned profession - - is called into play when strategic understanding is brought to bear in the examination of propositions (rules), principles and cases. And mastery of procedure, content and rotational - i.e., how, what and why -_imbues the teacher with that metacognitive awareness that distinguishes draftsman from architect, bookkeeper from auditor, trainer from educator.[40] Maybe teacher educators will find research leads in those formulations.

Summary

An occupation is the work or employment in which the individual is engaged for the purpose of earning a living. The honorific epithet, profession, is most appropriate for those occupations whose practitioners share something of the acknowledged expertise, autonomy, power, wealth, privilege and prestige of surgeon, judges, university professors, engineering consultants, chief pharmacists, principal accountants, top brass scientists, and mainline bishop or imam.

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[39] Ibid. P. 14-15

[40] Ibid. p. 43.

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Professionalism refers to the entrenchment by practitioner of institutionalized forms of occupational control, autonomy, ideology or mystique.

Functionalism maintains that social integration is achieved through the functional interdependence of different occupational roles in the modern society: It also attributes the missionary motive to the professions. While the trait approach parades certain attributes purporting to be the characteristic of a profession, its revised version, the historical-descriptive approach, attempts to trace the sequence through which the said characteristics may have emerged in England and North America.

The rather disinterested ideal-type analytic approach uses the overriding criteria of professional control and practitioners' autonomy to locate different work groups on an occupation-profession continuum.

The marxist of conflict-structural perspective notes that professionalism is a matter of the power relations between those providing the service and their actual and potential clients. It sees the professions as business monopolies in pursuit of power, wealth, and privilege in society. Conflict, not harmony, is the name of the game. Within the marxist framework, Donald Treiman's structural theory of occupational prestige says the basis of status differentials is the power resources (knowledge, skills or expertise) and, therefore, power relations commanded by various occupational groups.

Many of the so-called characteristics of a profession are necessary but insufficient conditions for the attainment of professionalism. Because their assumptions are faulty, applying them wholesale to answer the question: Is teaching a profession in Nigeria?' naturally ends up with answers that lead no where.

From Nigeria and Africa through India, China and Europe, and up to North America, the work and market situations of teachers are still unenviable. The American Federation of Teachers has particularly fought a relentless battle to cut out a good image for teaching in the U.S. But secondary and fundamental barriers to the professionalization of teaching remain unscathed. And many US male secondary school teachers are saying "bye-bye" to teaching.

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Among the secondary constraints on the professionalization of teaching are: Overcrowding, over-feminization, intra-group segmentation, ideological importance of education, diffuseness of the teaching job, having to operate at the level of learners, lackluster origins of teachers and teaching, as well as the historic separation of teacher training from the citadel of mainstream professional training - - the university.

Eventually, however, one fundamental problem with teaching is the low epistemological and social valuation of the knowledge and skills of the teacher. The failure of teacher knowledge to pass the acid test of esotera, scientific rigour, acknowledged expertise, and social premium is responsible for the low social, economic, and political empowerment of teachers. Professional control and or practitioners' autonomy derive from the knowledge and skill base of the occupation concerned. Medicine is where it is because of its substantial knowledge and clinical base, plus high social valuation. Law is what it is because of its technical and esoteric tradition, besides the critical importance of order and liberty in the society.

The evolution of high-calibre teacher expertise rests on the development of a science of teaching, which in turn looks up to neurology and psychology in the march towards a better understanding of the nature of the human brain and human learning.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN NIGERIAN EDUCATION

1 INTRODUCTION

Education and educationist appear to be everywhere under attack today for failure to deliver whatever result governments and the general public have been led to expect. This worldwide skepticism regarding the messianic capabilities of education .applies to both developed and developing nations. In especially the developing world, mounting school-leaver unemployment, competing development projects, as well as increasing drain on the treasury by the education budget, all this has occasioned a rethinking of the proper place of education in the scheme of things. As such, it is no longer taken for granted that our schools are doing what they are supposed to do.

Against the foregoing climate of opinion, we here look at *some* of the contemporary issues in Nigerian education what, *for* example, is the proper role of education in a changing *society* like Nigeria? and given the Nigerian condition, including the problem outlined above, how do we resolve the issue of liberal versus vocational education? Following from that, what, if any, is the social significance of the 6-3-3-4 system of education: among other things an attempt to locate vocational studies within mainstream liberal education? Those are the major issues we shall try to grapple within the next couple of pages.

II EDUCATION IN A CHANGING SOCIETY

1. Nigeria as a Changing Society

We shall take social change as, simply and squarely, change for better or for worse, either by gradual modification or by radical transformation, or else the two, in the structure, the profile, the "image" of a given society: its social institution, including their techniques and function; its social group,, together with their roles and relationships; the network of value, rules and expectations that govern the intercourse of

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groups in and with institutions; as well as the skills, values and attitudes of the individual members of that society[1]. Evolutionary social change develops gradually, incrementally and rather leisurely. Revolutionary change, on the other hand, is transformative, far-reaching and usually urgent. Where no fundamental change is evident, then it is a huge joke to claim there has been a revolution. A case in point is that Nigerians did not see any "green" on the market even as the Green Revolution of the Shagari Administration (1979-83) lasted. More often than not, societies that are truly in a hurry employ the revolutionary option setting out certain fundamental changes. Once the desired radical reforms are in motion, then and only then can evolution be relied upon to polish matters out. The argument here is that evolutionary change tends, like water, to run along the line of least resistance, and so leaves many stones unturned if left alone.

The Nigeria social structure, just as those of most of the so-called developing societies, has for some time now been experiencing a tedious, sprawling passage from an "ancient" set of circumstances to something much more contemporary. As long as we do not imply any simplistic trodden-modernity continuum, or for that matter dichotomy, even radical development literature admits that predominantly traditional conditions are being supplanted and articulated with increasingly more modern practices in the developing world. The trouble, however, is because of the uneven and restricted penetration of modern/foreign influences, their interaction, with the traditional/indigenous has created a lot of confusion, psychologically and socio-culturally. This state of affairs has tended to slow down, if not deflect, the process of transition to a more advanced society.

Whether one views the matter politically, economically or socio-culturally, Nigeria appears to be trapped in the web and welter of the old and the new. There is a generally conflictual articulation of different modes of production, administration,

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[1] Okezie Ugbor "social change in Troubled Nigeria: Its sociological Imperatives for Committed Literature and Art" Presented at school of Arts Symposium, A S C.E., Awka, June 1987

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worship, marriage, justice, healing, dressing, entertainment, etc. Note that the differences here are both of kind and degree, so should not be equated to varieties of the same thing. While jealously guarding- its borders, each mode lays claim to its own logic, validity and efficacy. Thus the practice of modern science and technology has had to share or struggle for the same head or roof or bridge or highway with the patronage and awe of fetishes. Aside from the antedating experience of islamic expansionism in the old Hausa states, the foregoing admixture is the legacy of one century of christianization and direct British colonialism.

The colonial contact introduced western-type political, legal, economic, educational and socio-cultural institutions, practices and values. It threw on the laps of somewhat diverse peoples and cultures the challenge of federating into regions and, then, states in quest of one "united, strong and self-reliant nation". Thus, the question of national or socio-cultural integration today confronts Nigeria as a changing society.

Western-type liberal democracy, together with its military apparatus, is currently locked in an uneasy alliance with traditional forms of organisation and administration. In the resulting procedural and value conflict, a very important personality (V.I.P.) in the modern polity may actually be adjudged irresponsible" by the traditional establishment in his village home. And in spite of their demonstrated irrelevance in the modern scheme of things, traditional leaders (it is increasingly a joke to call them "rulers") are refusing to throw in the towel. Part of the problem, moreover, is that modern era politicians and soldiers eager to secure the ethnic' vote and political legitimacy, respectively, continue to make overtures to that anachronistic outfit.

Emboldened by the apparent resilience of traditional authority, the very aged or elderly in our villages and towns are using the ideologies (in the sense of false and tendentious impressions of reality) of ancestor worship, clan, kindred, age-grade and sex-role to stay in the commanding heights of community-level power: political, economic, social, and cultural. It will be naive to think that these elders are neutral when they insist that traditional ceremonies be carried out to the letter (e.g. marriage and title-taking rituals; who drinks the

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palm-wine dregs). For the same groups will want to sit at the high table' even in a modern wedding reception: Because this subtle and effective elder hegemony feeds on ageism (i.e. elders are wise; young people should not question their betters) and sexism (women are not to be heard; etc.) it detracts from the liberal democratic ideal of using the talents and energies of all to develop the society. Needless to add that such practices tremple upon a wide array of personal and social freedoms.

The capitalist mode of production, with the full complement of industrial-commercial division of labour between owners-managers and workers, exists side by side with both the feudal mode of production and the lineage or kinship-based division of labour. Originally, there is nothing wrong with several things co-existing. The trouble, however, is that the capitalist mode of production cannot realize its full potentials as long as the other modes refuse to give way.[2] Yet both the feudal and the lineage options are no longer adequate for a changing society such as Nigeria. Generally geared to localised consumption, they neither can feed the mass of the population nor promote capital formation and investment towards the dynamic, self-reliant economy the country now needs badly. Thus what we have is actually a fixated articulation of different modes of production, with the resultant tensions and contradictions holding out no immediate promise of purposive resolution. The cost at the transitional process is a lack of economic dynamic. That is another burden Nigeria is carrying today as a changing society.

It is little wonder that the western-type education system, which is better attuned to the capitalist social formation, has had to produce so-called misfits in the Nigeria of today. We leave school with skills and attitudes that are neither welcome in the feudal and lineage modes of production, nor saleable in the limited capitalist industrial-commercial establishments. Studiously earned educational credentials entitle school leavers to join modern sector, industry or business. Yet the spread or penetration of modern-sector enterprise is restricted and blocked by the continuing presence of the feudal and lineage

[2] Note that capitalism *per se* is not being praised here

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division of labour. Education, together with its products, is thus stuck in the middle. And so the transitional process looks more like the crossroads, as long as we fail to act, for so long shall most things be working at cross purposes.

Furthermore, increasing but restricted urban, industrial commercial experience has diversified the-range of goods and services needed and desired in the country. It has also contributed to unemployment, slum housing, urban poverty and widespread criminality. In short, our cities and urban areas have their own subculture, All this has exacerbated the structural and normative countryside: between urban residents or sojourners and rural dwellers; between city skyscrapers and brightly lit street, on the one hand, and village huts and "darkness visible" on the other hand, etc.

It is also the reality of our changing society that a comparatively tiny elite wallow in conspicuous consumption, whereas physical survival is still at issue for the mass of the population. Put bluntly, about three quarters of Nigerians cannot afford three square meal a day. About two thirds are illiterate by western-education standards, and so are objectively ignorant of what is going on in the modern political process. For the mass of Nigerians living below the breadline standard what UNESCO Calls the starvation line _ humankind's ancient enemies like poverty, disease and ignorance are still the rhythm of life. They live in the real third world. Their marginalization is both an effect of and an aid to the solidification of Nigeria's corrupt, prodigal ruling and contractor class. And so highly scandalous and unjustificatable inequalities stare Nigeria in the face right now.

Overall, then both structural and cultural contradiction beset the changing Nigeria society. The imperative of change and progress are locked in an uneasy alliance with the myopic and inhibitory logic of tradition and convention. More or less fixated to this kind of conflict, the development process is at the crossroad. We seem to be in motion; but it is not clear whether we are heading any where. If we liken the Nigerian condition to that-of a woman in labour, then she must face up to the birth pang and have the baby delivered. To prolong the labour is to compromise the health of both the baby and the mother. And given the necessary constituency (i.e. environment,) education

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can help to midwife that delivery. To that we now turn.

2. The Role of Education

> What but education has advanced us beyond the condition of our neighbours? And what chains them to their present state of barbarism and wretchedness, but a bigoted veneration for the supposed superlative Wisdom of their father, and the preposterous idea that they are to look backward for better things, and not forward? -- Thomas Jefferson[3]
>
> Society-wide reforms usually mean major change in the political structures of a nation .... the limits of educational reform originate from the inter-relationships between education and other dimensions of the social system .... Educational reforms, when linked with reforms in other sectors of society as part of a consistent and compatible development strategy, represent a potentially powerful force for changing society in a desired direction -- 1. Fagerlind and L. Saha.[4]

Taken together, the citations above not only enunciate the capabilities of education in propelling society in the desired direction, but also acknowledge its limits and stipulate the condition for realising the said potentials. It is such condition that I have earlier referred to as the constituency for furthering change through education. The picture created here is more modest and realistic than the all-round messiah usually ascribed to education by the liberal-functionalist school of thought. It is because of such untenable claims that the public can turn round to blame education for offenses e.g. unemployment it is not really responsible for. And do not blame the "ignorant"

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[3] Quoted in B.O. Ukeje, *school and society in Nigeria*. Enugu: Fourth Dimension; 1986, pp. 11-12.

[4] Ingemar Fagerlind and Lawrence J. Saha. *Education and National Development*, Oxford: Pergamon press. 1983, ch.6.

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Public when teachers of yesterday claimed they could turn a devil into a saint? It is partly to shoot down such myths about education that I have tried to show earlier on that our schools and their products are actually struck in the middle of the confusion and problems in present-day Nigeria. For how far or fast education can get Nigeria out of the present crossroads depends to a large extent on the co-operation it can get from the other dimensions of the society with which it interact-spolitical, economic, ideological, socio-cultural, etc.

Note, that nobody is saying that education has no exclusive contribution or .initiation to make -that is, in spite of and apart from the dimensions of the social structure. Since the development of Nigeria ultimately has to do with the quality and convenience of life for the population, a major way of beginning to relate to the people is effective communication. This makes mass literacy a prerequisite. But then the routine, pedestrian literacy of "is and was or plus two" cannot go far enough. It has to be the literacy of liberation and mobilization. The celebrated Brazilian educator, Paulo Freire, calls it conscientization. It involves critical awareness of reality, critical reception of information, and purposive action to transform one's situation. That is one way through which education can spread the initial "revolutionary" ferment for bringing about society-wide political, economic and socio-cultural reforms. Should the ideological disposition of the government or those wielding power favour such liberation education, so much the better. Thus, once we understand that education operates within the context of the transition itself, and has some roles to play exactly as it needs the support of the other dimension of society, then we can outline the rest of the tasks for education in a changing Nigeria.

First, education can further the process of socio-cultural integration and national unity. True, Nigeria is an ethno-cultural plural society, with many languages and religious orientation. But our differences are often exaggerated. The fact is they frequently are differences of degree rather than kind. Or are we not all Africans? Through political socialization, formally and non-formally, education can help to build national loyalties and identities, homogenize and relativise norms and values, forge inter-group understanding, as well as instill informed patriotism.

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This way, there will be a collective commitment to the progress of the country, and public officials who loot the nation's treasury will be treated not as ethnic territorial heroes but as common enemies.

An enlightened citizenry, besides, is more likely to insist on high-calibre and accountable leadership, exercise its rights and answer to its responsibilities, as well as cast its votes out of ideological conviction- not out of the petty evangelism of ethno-religious demagogues. Only a literate population can be depended upon to practice the finer point of liberal democracy. Respect for the due process of law and elected governments will help to make military coups-especially the self-motivated type that Africa is full of-crude and unacceptable to the population. Add an enlightened followership to a seasoned leadership and we may have embarked on the march to a politically high-profile Nigeria.

Bridging the gulf of material and cultural (i.e. values, motivations, etc.) inequalities between and among groups and individuals in Nigeria is another area education can make an impact. Credentials count for much in determining who gets what position in the modern society. Ever} cleaners and labourers are increasingly being sorted out on the basis of the First School Leaving Certificate (F.S.L.C.). Wider educational opportunities for less privileged Nigerians will help to redistribute socio-economic opportunities. With improved living standards, the masses will be more amenable to health or birth-control programmes. They will be more difficult to recruit as political or religious thugs. Patriotism and national unity will make better sense. And the country and the population will be the stronger for it.

Perhaps the critical set of tasks for education is helping to resolve the structural and cultural contradictions between and amongst tradition and modernity, city and countryside retrogression and progress, elders and youth, modes of production, schooling and the labour market, etc. Supported by the other dimensions of society, education can help to generate the transformative dynamic required to pull Nigeria out of the crossroads, thus propelling the march of civilisation.

By 'tradition' and 'modernity' one is not necessarily suggesting discrete categories.Even highly advanced societies

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have an admixture of tradition and progress, convention and fashion, continuity and change. But their own blending does not slow down or deflect progress. Ours has been more of a liability thin an asset. The tradition-modernity dialectic must increasingly be resolved in favour of progress. Education can help here b asking new questions, challenging taken-for-granted assumptions and calling new directions.

The elder hegemony has to be dismantled. True enough, proverbs and idioms convey he wisdom of elders past and present. But it is equally true that that wisdom did not get our forefathers far enough. And we still do not have much to show for it today. The wisdom of Solomon is insignificant in comparison with the finer points of today's legalese. Knowledge has a socio-historical context. It serves its purpose and outlives its usefulness at a particular point in time and place. Modern science has to jettison Dalton's theory of the indivisibility of atoms the very moment research established the reality of atomic fission. Whoever said that most of our traditional beliefs and practices will riot be good riddance? There is hardly any justification for the time and money and energy squandered in the name of burials, marriages, title-taking, ancestor worship, etc. Education can put all this in the dock.

We can educate elders to realize they no longer have the answers. Through compulsory non-formal education, our society can 'ridicule' the complacency of elders, impress upon them that 'things have not really spoilt', as well as make them more amenable to new techniques and ideas. The fact is that these rural lords and chieftains are "no longer at en in the new dispensation"', and so console themselves with grapes-are-soured statement like "things have spoilt"! Our youth must acknowledge that psycho-cultural disequilibrium, and so should try to reassure elders as long as the march of progress is not compromised. It is the future of the country and our children that is at stake. So the generation gap has to be resolved in that direction. Some form of modern social security provision for the aged population will be a good material basis for cajoling elders out of the politics of traditional ceremonies, needles to say.

Increasing modernisation of the rural population- in terms of

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their material existence, values, and attitudes etc -- will help to cushion the 'entry shock' for people arriving in the village from the city or vice versa. By spreading common values, ideas and information, education can help to homogenize the fancy and fashion of both city and rural dwellers. Governments cannot afford to neglect an educated rural population in the provision of modern amenities and services. When our 'backyards' begin to look nearly as 'modern' as our 'sifting rooms', then people will be less inclined to 'rush off' to the cities. Urban over-population, slum-housing and even unemployment may thus be well on the decline.

The Nigerian political economy -- I am referring to the economic policies and programmes of the Nigerian government and ruling class -- is aligned to the capitalist mode of production, whatever may be the strengths and weaknesses of capitalism. The argument here, for example, is that everybody does not need to be a farmer before we can have plenty of food for all Nigerians. It resources like money, land, technology, etc, are concentrated in the hands of a few enterprising men and women, they can undertake large-scale commercial farming, employ the rest of us as workers, sell the products, make their gains, pocket same and plough others into the business. And so there is plenty of food for all, plenty of profit for owners/managers, and plenty of employment for the people. Going by the track records of advanced capitalist countries like the U.S.A., Canada, Britain and Australia, It is a fact that less than ten per cent of their respective populations are producing enough and surplus food for all. But in Nigeria almost everybody is a farmer of sorts; yet we do not have enough food to go round. Under the lineage mode of production, people own and farm their tiny and scattered pieces of land with equally meagre and crude resources -- the very thing our forefathers did several centuries ago. What many produce, they consume; and it is not even enough to feed them. Under the additional feudal mode of production, about the same story goes on; except that the peasant/serf farms a rented or an 'occupier-owner' land belonging to the lord. Rent ii paid in cash or kind or labour. So it is another localised production-consumption activity.

The point, then, is that both the lineage and the feudal

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modes of production are no longer adequate in the new dispensation. They belong to the old order end should now be transcended. And as we noted earlier, they are actually one of the major factors re4tricting the penetration of the capitalist mode -- the official economic option of the Nigerian state. So that whatever the shortcomings of capitalism, Nigeria has the added disadvantage of not realising its potentials In the first place. Should some of us be so inclined, not oven the socialist mode of production can manifest where peasants guard their tiny pieces of land jealously. One major reason no major revolution has taken place anywhere in post-independence Africa is widespread cases of peasant land-holding. By contrast, the dispossessed peasants of Asia and Latin-America have been in the forefront of socialist revolutions. China and Cuba are two cases in point.

Education cap help to conscientize people regarding some of these sources of the economic and agricultural problems we have today. It can help in the search for new options, in the unconditional liquidation of the feudal institution, in the profitable cooperativisation of separate land-holdings and other productive forces. By helping to raise the values and aspirations of the mass of the population, it can throw overboard the general complacency of most rural, illiterate peoples. A higher need to achieve may lead to the willingness to pool resources together so as to invest for profit. Capital formation/accumulation and investment may in turn provide mass consumption goods,create employment opportunities and raise living standards generally.

Lastly, there are other ways in which education can further the process of transition to a better Nigeria: foster belief In oneself and faith in the future; create progressive needs and services while training the estimated manpower levels and numbers to assume such occupations roles; help to chart and fashion the direction of change; expunge senseless nostalgia for the mythical 'good old days'; advance through research, the horizons of positive social and natural sciences; develop affordable and serviceable technologies; revise and up-date our knowledge, skills, values and techniques; anticipation and train towards meeting future needs and problems, and generally serve as a dynamic instrument for diagnosis and prognosis,

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retrospect and prospect.

III. LIBERAL EDUCATION AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

1. The problem of Definition

The terms liberal and vocational education often present a certain problem of definition, and, even, inter-changeability. Each has a wide array of substitute or co-occurring terms; 'academic', 'general'. 'bookish', etc, for liberal education; 'technical', 'practical', 'functional', etc, for vocational education.

We may take liberal education as mind-broadening academic preparation, which is given by means of those mainstream, conventional subjects, courses or programmes in our schools and universities. It is an initiation into the cult or mentality of the educated man or woman; ode who has been brought up in the fine, classics traditions of the arts/humanities and the core sciences. By Inculcating literacy and numberacy skills, together with general knowledge, liberal education is believed to produce Individuals who can function intelligently and integratively in whatever roles they assume after leaving school. The man or woman so educated is deemed to, command a large repertoire of cognitive end social skills, from which he can draw to meet the challenges that arise in the performance of his duty.

However, the professional education of doctors, lawyers, accountants, engineers, teachers, etc, is the hallmark of mainstream liberal educations. Thus so-called liberal education actually culminates in high-calibre vocational education. This raises the question of inter-changeability; that liberal education is also vocational education it all depends how we look at it. It is little wonder that M.K. Bacchus[5] argues that the academic or liberal education initially provided by 'colonial governments and missionaries was the kind of 'vocational' education demanded

[5] M.Kazim Bacchus, "The political context of Vocationalization of Education in the Developing Countries." in Vocationalizing Education: An international Perspective, ed. Jon Laugio and kenvin Lillis, oxford: Pergamon Press, 1988, pp. 31-44.

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by the emergent colonial dispensation. The reading, writing, and arithmetic skills thus provided were all that was needed to eventually become clerks, messengers, teachers, preachers, catechists, etc in civil service, commercial and religious establishments, It was a form of vocational education for white-collar jobs. And as long as white-collar job opportunities existed, nobody accused such 'academic' education of being non-vocational. It was when other needs arose and white-collar opportunities constricted (both in the colonial and post-colonial period) that the idea of practical or vocational subjects began to be bandied about. Thus, it is not simply that today's 'bookish' education was yesterday's 'vocational' education, but in so far as it remains the pathway to the conventional professions, so-called liberal education is also vocational education of sorts.

But there is a specific sense in which the term vocational education is being employed today. In this sense it spans the broad spectrum of technical, industrial, agricultural, trades-and-crafts, business/commercial, home, economics/catering, etc, preparation. It is education that purports to equip students with the skills, knowledge and dispositions relevant to the needs of agriculture, industry and business, useful in securing or creating employment, favourable to manual occupations or physical labour, as well as geared towards raising the productivity and income of workers, thus contributing to overall economic growth and development. That is vocational education at the theoretical level. Whether at the level of experience or practice these claims are being validated is an interesting question to which we shall return later on.

For now, let us try to draw attention to the related terms 'pre-vocational' subjects and 'vocational training.' Pre-ocational education means preparing learners, by way of the knowledge, skills and attitudes,' for some real vocational training or education, It leads to, it prepares for the actual vocational education contemplated. Through pre-vocational subjects like woodwork, cookery, metalwork, electronics, agriculture, and mechanics, schools hope to familiarize learners in advance with a broad range of vocational orientations. Given this initial acquaintanceship, so the reasoning goes, learners can be depended upon to make informed choices regarding

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further or ultimate vocational specialization. Although 'vocational education' and 'vocational training' are frequently used interchangeably, there is a tenuous distinction that is sometimes acknowledged. The word 'training' is more specific or specialized than 'education.' The latter is broader and more composite. Thus it may be more appropriate to reserve 'vocational training' for what goes on in specifically technical, agricultural or catering schools, and 'vocational education' for the renewed, if fanatical, attempt to 'pump' vocational or practical subjects into the curriculum of mainstream, general secondary education. That is what the vocationalization of secondary education is all about. One reason we must not over-stretch the foregoing distinction is that both education and training converge in the professional preparation of, say, doctors, teachers, lawyers, nurse etc. And we frequently hear of technical or agricultural or food service education -- not simply training.

2. Vocational Concepts in General Education

There is a legacy of vocational concepts within the purview of general education philosophizing. This is located in the epistemologies of prominent Western (U.S) and Eastern (Soviet Union) schools of thought. By the way, epistemology is the branch of philosophy dealing with the nature of knowledge: what we can know; and how we can know that what we know is valid or true. Pragmatist epistemology derives from the American philosophy of education know as pragmatism. And Marxist epistemology is the bedrock of the Russian educational philosophy called polytechnism.

Pragmatist epistemology rejects the dichotomy between 'pure' and 'applied' knowledge. No knowledge is worthwhile if it does not deal with real life problems. All real knowledge is generated out of transaction with experience, i.e., as man interacts with the environment. The essence of education is the ability to solve the problems of life. Education is life itself, not a preparation for life, Hence learning by doing or the problem-solving method is endorsed. The relevance or applicability of learning to real life problems is thus stressed. There is an undertone of untilitarianism or instrumentalism here.

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In like manner, Marxist epistemology rejects the polarity between theory and practice. According to Karl Marx, it is not enough to understand or interprete the world; the more important thing is to do something in order to change the world. We learn best by acting on the world around us. No theory or knowledge is valid unless it is confirmed in practice in the real work of men and women. It is by doing that we check out the validity of a theory. That is the criterion of truth or knowledge: the acid test of experience. The marriage of theory/reflection and practice/action to transform the world is called praxis. The Soviet or socialist system thus emphasizes poly technical education. Work-study programmes pursue the ideal of "education with production". Every worker is also an intellectual, and vice versa. The spirit of polytechnical education is that productive work, practical, employable or work-related skills, etc., are a legitimate part of general education. Thus, vocationalism has actually come a long way in the educational philosophies of both capitalist and socialist nations.

3. The vocational Education Debate

Spanning the higher and lower reaches of the Nigerian education system today, is an attempt, rightly or wrongly, at making schooling more relevant to society through a number of measures: vocational or practical subjects, curriculum diversification, integration, or rationalization. As elsewhere in the so-called Third-world, the vocationalisation fire has caught on and leaning across the corridors of governments, policy makers, curriculum planners, education ministries/commissions/boards/departments, as well as those of parents, pupils, school heads and subject teachers. However, vocationalisation as a policy issue did not begin today. It is an old and recurring decimal in educational calculations. It had been introduced on a limited and rather hasty basis by the' colonial regime -- and as rapidly shunned by natives who saw that it blocked the path to white-collar jobs. Following independence in the 1960s or so many of the emergent nations again inaugurated pockets of vocationalisation in their education systems: trade schools,

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domestic science centres, agricultural schools, technical colleges, as well as secondary commercial/technical schools. Tanzania and Kenya actually drew world-wide attention when they embarked on large-scale vocationalisation movements known, respectively, as Education for self-reliance and Harambee Village polytechnicalization.

Since the present decade, many more nations world-wide appear to have joined or renewed the vocational education race. "What is remarkable in the 19805 and in the foreseeable future) is the prevalence of vocationlization as a trend that transcends the divide between rich and poor countries, and between different political systems."[6] Before 1975, Nigeria could boast of only a few government-owned trade, centres, technical colleges or institutes/colleges or institutes of technology, 'agriculture, etc. But between 1975 and 1985 there has grown a numberless fleet of polytechnics, colleges/institutes of technology, colleges of agriculture, institutes/colleges of health/pharmacy technology, as well as universities of technology (some of which were in 1987 converted to universities of agriculture). Technical schools and/or trade centres in the country have also been mandated to offer a vast array of technical skills, trades or crafts. As for the recent obsession with the vocationalization of secondary education, the curriculum of the six-year secondary school is loaded with an assortment of technical, commercial, agricultural and other pre-vocational and vocational subjects. "From woodwork to metal work to electronics to commerce to bookkeeping to typewriting to shorthand to agriculture to home-economics, it Is all yours for good measure."[7] Government is also having educational policy planners and curriculum workers 'pump practical subjects' into the six-year primary school programmes. And in especially the southern states of Nigeria, a number of privately-owned (usually

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[6] Jon Lauglo and Kern Lillis. "Vocationalization, in International Perspective". in *Vocationalizing Education: An International Perspective*, Ibid, p.3.

[7] Okezie Ugbor. "Vocational Education as a passport to self-employment in Nigeria: a Hypothesis in search of Evidence." Presented at Awka Annual Education Forum, ASCE May 1987, p.5.

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government approved) institutes of fashion designing, catering and/or hotel management, advanced legal and business studies etc, have mushroomed within the last decade.

The question then arises, why the passion by government, its servants and agents, to vocationalize especially mainstream secondary education? Why have vocational or practical subjects suddenly become a la mode in the Nigerian school system? It is very tempting to join the bandwagon and chant that the conventional curriculum is too bookist and irrelevant to have a survival value, it produces social misfits and engineer who do not know the difference between a screw-driver and a pair of scissors. Sounds familiar? And it causes unemployment so says the litany of woes:

More seriously, proponents of vocational education usually advance the following points:

(a) It inculcates the skills and competencies demanded by, or relevant to the needs of, agriculture, industry and business:

(b) It makes schools leavers readily employable, as well as generates self-employment;

(c) It nurtures positive attitudes and dispositions towards manual occupations and/or physical labour;

(d) It increases the productivity of workers, thus raising profits for employers and income for employees; and

(e) It propels overall economic growth and development for the nation, and so raises living standards for the people,

Hidden behind these points *is* a mixture of both educational and development theory, ideology and rhetoric. Located in the functionalist school of thought, it is the voice of the **human capital** theorists, who claim that the primary factor in the development of a country is human capital or human resources,

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the skills, talents and abilities of individuals in that country. Because vocational education provides training in such supposedly development-oriented skills and abilities, it is a form of investment in human capital", so the argument goes. Whatever may be the merits of that reasoning, the functionalist, human capital school is yet to explain why India remains a poor, 'Third-World' country - despite the fact that after the U.S. and Russia, India has the world's third largest pool of scientists, engineers, technologists and management experts.

More to the point, the lofty claims of the proponents of vocational education have been found to fly in the face of international reality or evidence. In fact after closely studying the Ghanaian experience in the 1969,s Philip Foster[8] had hi dismiss all such claims as the "vocational school fallacy in development planning." His findings and conclusions ran like this: vocational education did not automatically lead to' employment; its products had no known employment advantages - - and in fact suffered higher unemployment rates in comparison with those of academic education; school-leavers flocked to white-collar employment because of its higher economic and status pay-offs; vocational schools were unique contribution to economic growth and development. These findings have generally been confirmed by recent studies of the examples of Kenya, Tanzania, Colombia, Brazil and most other Latin-American countries[9] Just as La Belle's situation report on vocational projects in most of Latin-Americas and the Caribbean[10], the studies under reference have yielded

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[8] That Philip Foster is both a seminal and an undying critic of the vocational school idea is acknowledged in: (1) Jon Lauglo and Kevin Lills (eds), op. cit; and (2) Kenneth Blackmore and Brian Cooksey. *A Sociology of Education for African*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1981, ch. 8.

[9] These studies are reported in the contributions to the book of readings edited by J. Lauglo and K. Lillis: *Vocationalizing Education: An International Perspective*. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1988, for Tanzania and Colombia, see ch. 15 by George psacharopoulos; for Kenya see ch. 14 by J. Lauglo and Anders Narman: and for Brazil see ch. 12 by Maria A. Gallart.

[10] Thomas J. La Belle, *Non-formal Education in Latin America and the caribbean*, New York, Praeger, 1986, ch. 6.

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instructive findings: products of vocational or technical schools can readily find jobs only in the context of a booming economy; a depressed economy means, even for the best technician around, a constricted job opportunity; vocational skills are better and more efficiently acquired through on-the-job training work-study programmes utilising actual factor sites and schools, or else institutionally separate vocational or technical training centres employers do not really believe that schools alone can teach work-related skills; it is far more feasible and efficient to 'secondarize'[11] technical/industrial education (i.e graft practical subjects on to a predominantly academic curriculum). Those are good lessons.

Interestingly enough, some of these criticism have been turned in by a 1987 study of the 'vocational education rhetoric' in Nigeria; that it is a guarantee for self-employment.[12] Among the identified structural impediments to the self-employment theory of vocational education are: Nigeria's limping capitalist economy; patterns of class privilege and products of technical/commercial school. Encouraged by the sorry employment situation of traced 1984-86 products of vocational institutions (secondary-level and tertiary in Anambra State, the Study under reference concludes as follows:

> .... the viewpoint that vocational education is a passport to self-employment in the Nigeria of today is at best a hypothesis in a desperate and losing search for corroborative evidence shows that what vocational education offers its products is nothing but the mirage of self-employment (p. 12).

And that mirage or illusion is the mask politicians and policy makers need badly. For as Bacchus, La Belle, Lauglo and Lillis have noted, vocational education is a convenient political and

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[11] Maria A Gallart, "The Secondarization of Technical Education in Argentina and the vocationalisation of secondary Education in Brazil See ch 12 of J. Lauglo and K. Lillis (ed.) op. cit., pp. 203-217.

[12] Okezie Ugbor, Vocational Education as a Passport to Self-employment in Nigeria; A Hypothesis in Search of Evidence." op. cit.

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ideological scapegoat, with which the government both buys time and controls the educational/occupational aspirations of the mass of the people. Confronted with widespread youth unemployment, the possibility of social unrest, and a sluggish economy, politicians and governments must appear to be searching for solutions. In the process, schools are blamed for teaching unemployable skills, curriculum reform is said to be the answer, and the burden for securing employment is placed on the new-era, vocationally skilled school leavers.

In sum, then, it is obvious that the vocational education debate is an engaging one. It is interlocked with theory, ideology, rhetoric and evidence vocationalisation is full of promises, problems, and challenges. Maybe most of its assumptions are untenable; maybe our expectations of it are simply unrealistic; or else our very implementation of it has left much to be desired. Wherever the fault lies, both its critics and admirers enrich our understanding of such a contemporary issue in Nigerian education. And the best practice is a good theory.

IV SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE 6-3-3-4 SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

The 6-3-3-4 education system represents an attempt to streamline and rationalize mainstream school systems (primary, secondary and tertiary) in Nigeria. It is a reorganization intended to eliminate or minimize waste, cut out unnecessary details, and so integrate our school systems into a more efficient education system.

The major education conveyor belt, if entry-exit points, span six years of primary schooling, six years of secondary education (broken into a three-year junior secondary and a three-year senior secondary), as well as four years of university education.[13] Thus six-year primary schooling is retained, but the hitherto one-shot five-year secondary has been raised to a six-year, bipartite school system. The sixth Form (Higher

[13] Much of the plain information reported here comes from the revised *National policy on Education*. Lagos: Federal Government Press, 1981.

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School Certificate) Colleges- and schools of Basic Studies (University or G .C.E 'A' Level preparatory) have in principles been cut out as an excess baggage in the new dispensation. They are supposed to become history any time from 1988 onwards. Especially for the basic sciences (natural and social) and the humanities, universities have been mandated to restructure their programmes into four-year (as against both three-year and four-year) degree courses only. Government has also directed universities to run a two-year (rather than the hitherto prevalent three-year) post-N.C.E. degree programrne for qualified holders of the Nigerian Certificate in Education.

The pride of the 6-3-3-4 system seems to be the six-year secondary school. It is true that the curriculum of the six-year primary has been expanded to include business studies, home-economics and similar overtures towards pre-vocationalisation. It is equally true that universities have been under pressures to rationalize courses, integrate programmes, and bias their enrolment ratio towards science and technology (as against the humanities). But the six-year secondary remains the focus of the new structure. Therein lies its avowed social significance. Moreover, we shall concentrate on that aspect of the structure.

The nation officially embarked on the six-year secondary in 1982. Some states of the federation which would not set sail that year followed suit in subsequent years. Here at last is a type of secondary .education designed to equip students for useful living, without, however, foreclosing the path to higher education, It is both terminal and higher-education pound, that is. The idea of a bipartite, 3-3- structure also provides a breathing space for those students who may wish to branch off to some other form of training (technical schools/trade centres, teacher training, etc.), or else to continue with mainstream secondary education at a more convenient date.

The junior secondary school curriculum is both pre-vocational and academic. In providing preliminary vocational orientation and acquaintanceship, it hopes to assist students in making informed choices about further vocational training in the senior secondary school or elsewhere. By retaining the academic tradition of general education, it leaves the door to higher education open for "able and willing" students. Apart from keeping the link between primary and higher education, then,

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the junior secondary is foundational in the effort towards providing the mass of school leavers with skills for earning a living.

The curriculum of the senior secondary school is comprehensive. Its general education programme entails a core curriculum of mandatory subjects, plus a wide spectrum of electives. And its vocational education component spans technical, commercial, agricultural and other vocational subjects expected to "make senior secondary school leavers immediately employable."[14] Thus, the senior secondary offers both terminal vocational training and the entry permit' to higher education. Ideally, it builds on the pre-vocational foundations of the junior secondary, and so represents a milestone in the official view of the war against unemployment. And the diversified curriculum should "cater for the differences in talents, opportunities and roles possessed by or open to students after their secondary school course."[15]

Overall, then, the six-year secondary is a bold move towards curriculum diversification, programme rationalization, system streamlization, as well as the democratization of educational and social opportunities. A wider scope to choose from means that most students will not only find something of interest, but also have the opportunity to develop or actualize their talents. There is something for everybody. It is a kind of cost-effective "mass movement" that can help to make the difference between high and low wastage rates[16] -- the incidence of failure, repetition, stagnation or drop-out in our schools. As A.M Fagbulu has noted.

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[14] Ibid, P.18.

[15] Ibid, P.16.

[16] Caroline Benn notes that despite deliberate distortions and blockade in the hands of Britain's conservative and elitist groups, the comprehensive movement achieved a phenomenal rise in the number of school leavers getting a qualification. See her "Elites versus Equals: the political Background to the comprehensive Reform" In *Education and Equality*, ed. David Rubinstein, London: Harper and Row, 1980 pp. 190-205.

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