AN INVESTIGATION OF THE GOVERNMENT'S ROLE IN EDUCATION IN AN AFRICAN STATE: THE CASE OF NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

AN INVESTIGATION OF THE GOVERNMENT'S ROLE IN EDUCATION IN AN AFRICAN STATE: THE CASE OF NIGERIA

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This study investigates the role of the Nigerian Government in education in the light of wider socio-political developments. The main focus is on the relationship between the Nigerian Government and the development of Nigerian education.

After considering the pre-colonial traditional modes of education, the study examines the role of the missionaries and the British Government in the evolution of the Nigerian educational system in the 20th century.

The study indicates that, in the style of the colonizing nations earlier, the Nigerian Government was to some extent successful in expanding educational facilities, in increasing access to them; but the content of education within the system (i.e., the curriculum) is still far from being Nigerian in outlook.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to acknowledge my enduring gratitude to Professor Geoffrey Fidler for his assitance and encouragement in all the stages of this study. My thanks also go to the Franciscan Community for their moral and financial support and also to my family Ndidi and Nkechi.

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PART ONE

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Stimulated by the general idea, increasingly subscribed to from the turn of the century, that education is the key that unlocks the door to modernization, the emergent African nations have focused clearly on a policy of "education for nation-building". This idea has prompted such statements as: "One of the most important insights of the new African nations is their clear recognition that education is the greatest instrument man has devised for his own progress."[1] However, it is one thing to recognise such an instrument and quite another to understand and realise its workings. The African countries have yet to comprehend the complexity of the prescription in question. Education "manias" might well, for example, say more about internal domestic politico-ideological upheavals, than about perceived needs for training the "rude mechanic", or stimulating economic growth through the application of technical expertise. In this respect, it can be argued that the student of post-war West Africa, neglects the history of the first Industrial Revolution at his peril.

It is therefore the aim of this study to investigate the role of African government in education in the light of the wider development of society and politics. In this, Nigeria has been chosen as

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[1] Okechukwu Ikejiani (ed.) Education in Nigeria. (New York: Frederick Praeger Inc., 1965), p. 20.

the case study. Nigeria has a system of education which is common among former British territories in Africa, and the Nigerian Government's role in education is comparable to that in other African countries such as Ghana, Tanzania and Sierra-Leone. The main purpose of this study is to explore the relationship between the Nigerian Government and the emergent Nigerian system of education. It hopes to provide insights into contemporary Nigerian education and to offer some suggestions of possible relevance to future educational planning.

Most writers on African education have devoted considerable time debating the attitudes of the colonial powers towards African education. "After all, the British rulers did not want to educate Africans for positions which provided jobs for themselves. Many of them knew that if they intensified the education of Nigerians they would hasten the end of occupation".[1] Others blamed the colonial powers for not modelling education to the "needs" of the people. By these needs, they meant, for example, that reading and writing should be in the mother tongue or that books should include the indigenous literature. As Babs Fafunwa suggest: "The study of Greek or the ability to quote Aristotle in the original version is good for its own sake. But how could this still help a woman when faced with the problem of caring for a child or cooking?"[2] However, other writers on African education have presented different views on the attitude of the colonial powers. Daniel Offiong points out that:

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[1] Ibid., p. 4.

[2] Babs Fafunwa, New Perspectives in African Education. (Lagos: MacMillan and Co. Ltd., 1967), p. 39.

> In Africa, the colonial administrators along with Christian missionaires, broght education, medical care, and better living standards. Law and order were imposed. Tribal fighting was greatly reduced and the cruel excesses of the witch doctors, and cannibalism were curbed".[1]

Commenting on the same issue, Philip Foster notes that: "Western schooling has been one of the major factors operating in the transformation of the African nations. Without Western schools there would have been no Nationalist movement, no Independence, and no Ghana."[2] Echoing Foster's comment, Ofuatey-Kodjoe observes that: "It is generally agreed among students of Africa that Foster's observation about Ghana applies to all Africa."[3]

Whether or not the colonial powers have given the Africans the education they wanted, it is perhaps of more interest and pertinence to ascertain whether Africans have given themselves the education they feel is for their own need. We cannot spend years debating the merits and demerits of colonial education; it is time to look into the emergent educational systems themselves, and see

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[1] Daniel Offiong, "The Cheerful School and the Myth of the Civilizing Mission of Colonial Imperialism". Pan African Journal, (Nov. 1976), p. 36.

[2] Philip Foster, Education and Social Change in Ghana. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), pp. 303-304.

[3] Ofuatey-Kodjoe, "Education and Social Change in Africa: Some Proposals". Journal of African Studies, May (1976), p. 241.

what indigenous governments are doing. This study will cover the full range of Nigerian education in relation to governmental policies in the period from British rule through to the present day.

Framework of the Study

The terms used in this study first need a brief clarification. The word "government" has been used in this paper to mean the people in political and military association holding the reins of power. In Nigeria there are three levels of government[1] and these keep changing depending on who is in power. In this way - as the example of post-1789 France has well demonstrated - there is a necessity, to achieve educational reform, of a single decision at the centre, i.e. of a political decision by a minister or official in the regime. At the same time, the political, social and ideological tendencies of successive government might be expected to influence the educational system as a whole; a left-wing, or radical, government might seek the eradication

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[1] For full details see Robert Melson and Howard Wolpe editors, Nigeria: Modernization and the Politics of Communalism. (U.S.A.: Michigan State University Press, 1971), p. 43. Also see Nigeria Diary 1978. Produced by Third Press International Division of Okpaku Communications Corp., New York. See also General Facts About Nigeria issued by the office of The High Commissioner for the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Ottawa, Ontario. See also Nigeria Yearbook, 1970, p. 35: "On 16th January, 1966, the Armed Forces, following a coup d'état, suspended the Office of President, the Prime Minister and Parliament and vested legislative and executive powers in the Federal Military Government comprising a Supreme Military Council and a Federal Executive Council. The Federal Military Government decreed the setting up of a Military Government in each of the regions which were responsible to the Federal Military Government."

of "imperialist" influences, for example. It might, however, while seeing the good economic sense of "relevant" (e.g. technical/vocational/agricultural) education, also see the sense of political expediency in pleasing certain élite groups, or the good social sense of traditional, "academic" education.

In 1960, when the country gained independence, the three levels of government stood as follows: Federal government, Regional government and Minicipal government. After the January coup in 1966, the three levels of government stood as follows: Federal Military government, Provincial government and Municipal government. And after the July coup of the same year the three levels of government stood as follows: Federal military government, State government and Municipal government. These facts are necessary to enable the reader to know that whenever Region, Province or State is mentioned in this paper, they stand for the second level of Government after the Federal. "Role" here means activities by the Nigerian Government in any form it might have taken, or is still taking to influence the Nigerian Educational system.

The general method of this study follows that used by Philip Foster on Ghana. It is a systematic analysis of different items of information gathered on the Nigerian Government role in education, with respect to schools, universities and other formal agencies. The chief sources, along with secondary historical accounts, comprise published and unpublished records, newspapers, periodicals and other available printed materials.

Since the Nigerian educational system is a marked reflection of its history, I will briefly examine aspects of the Nigerian historical background as they are relevant to this study. Following this is a brief description of the system Nigerians used to educate their youth before the coming of the Europeans and referred to as a "traditional" education. The aim here is to afford the reader some indication of the earliest forms of education before the introduction of formal education by the British. It is true that formal education started with the British, but before the British came to Nigeria children were all educated in the traditional way. Informal education did not function as a basis of status differentiation (other factors did). As Foster points out: "From a sociological viewpoint, a great deal of the significance of formal education institutions lies in their differentiation of function and the extent to which varying groups obtain access to one or another of them. It was precisely this factor which enhanced the importance of Western educational institutions".[1]

The study then attempts to examine the "formal" education introduced by the Europeans under the missionaries. This will focus on the reasons for the European entry into Nigeria, their economic policy and their relationship with the traditional leaders. Equally important here, is the kind of education brought to Nigerians and how this differed from the traditional type. It should be noted that educational institutions in themselves would not have constituted

[1] Foster, Education and Social Change in Ghana, p. 23.

powerful factors in social change. It is the combined work of education and the enlargement of the exchange sector of the economy that successfully led to the disintegration of traditional structures, and then to change. Also intended here, is to explore aspects of the Nigerian reaction to this type of education. The chronology of the differential demand for Western education follows along the lines of Foster's Ghana; the three general factors of primary importance were:

1. The establishment of effective European over-rule, which created an administrative structure within which posts were available to educated Africans and which gave opportunities for the latter to displace traditional rulers.
2. The creation of opportunities within an occupational structure dominated by European commercial enterprises, particularly in the coastal area.
3. The enlargement of the exchange sector through the development of cash-crop economies in rural areas which introduced increasing fluidity within traditional structures themselves.[1]

The differential demand for Western education was an important factor in the educational imbalance seen in different parts of Nigeria today.

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[1] Ibid., p. 128.

It will be pointed out here that these factors led to the development of new groups in Nigeria who began to identify grievances and discontents peculiar to them. These groups found the social services and facilities grossly inadequate and therefore demanded a voice in the control of education. It was their activities which eventually led to the handover of education to the Nigerian Government.

The study will then examine the educational system under the Nigerian government. Where has the Nigerian government departed from a Western-type of education? Has the Nigerian government provided education to meet the "needs" of the people? What precisely has the government done in the field of education? It is hoped that answers to, and a discussion of, these kinds of questions will help clarify an understanding of the perceived relationship between the Nigerian Government and the existing Nigerian educational system.. On the basis of this, some suggestions can be made, where appropriate, which might draw out further lines of inquiry.

Brief Background to the Study

Nigeria was a British colony from 1861 and gained independence from Britain in 1960. It has a population of 79.7 million which is the largest in the African continent, e.g., Tanzania 15 million, Ghana 9 million, Cameroon 6 million and Sierra Leone 3 million. It has an area covering 356,669 square miles.

Nigeria is situated at the eastern end of the Gulf of Guinea betwen the 4th and 14th parallels North. When it became Independent it was divided into three regions (Eastern, Western and Northern Nigeria), and in July 1963 a fourth region, the Mid-West, was carved out of Western Nigeria. (See Figure I).

Each region is dominated by an ethnic group,[1] the vast majority of whose members live within it. In the Eastern region the Ibos dominate, in the Western region the Yorubas, in the Northern region the Fulani and Hausa, and Mid Western region is dominated by the Edo speaking people.

The Economy

During the 19th Century the Nigerian economy was essentially of a rustic type: that is, it was centred on production and processing of food stuffs for domestic use, simple handicrafts, and trading activity, which constituted the main occupations within the traditional way of life. The level of technology was very low. The farmers were illiterate, tradition-bound in orientation and were on the whole cut

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[1] For a full detail of the Ethnic composition of Nigeria see Frederick Schwartz, The Tribes the Nation, or the Race - The Politics of Independence. (London: The M.I.T. Press, 1965), p. 1; Melson and Howard, op. cit., p. 170; Harold Nelson et. al., Area Handbook for Nigeria, (Washington: U.S. Government printing office, 1972), p. 103.

REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA

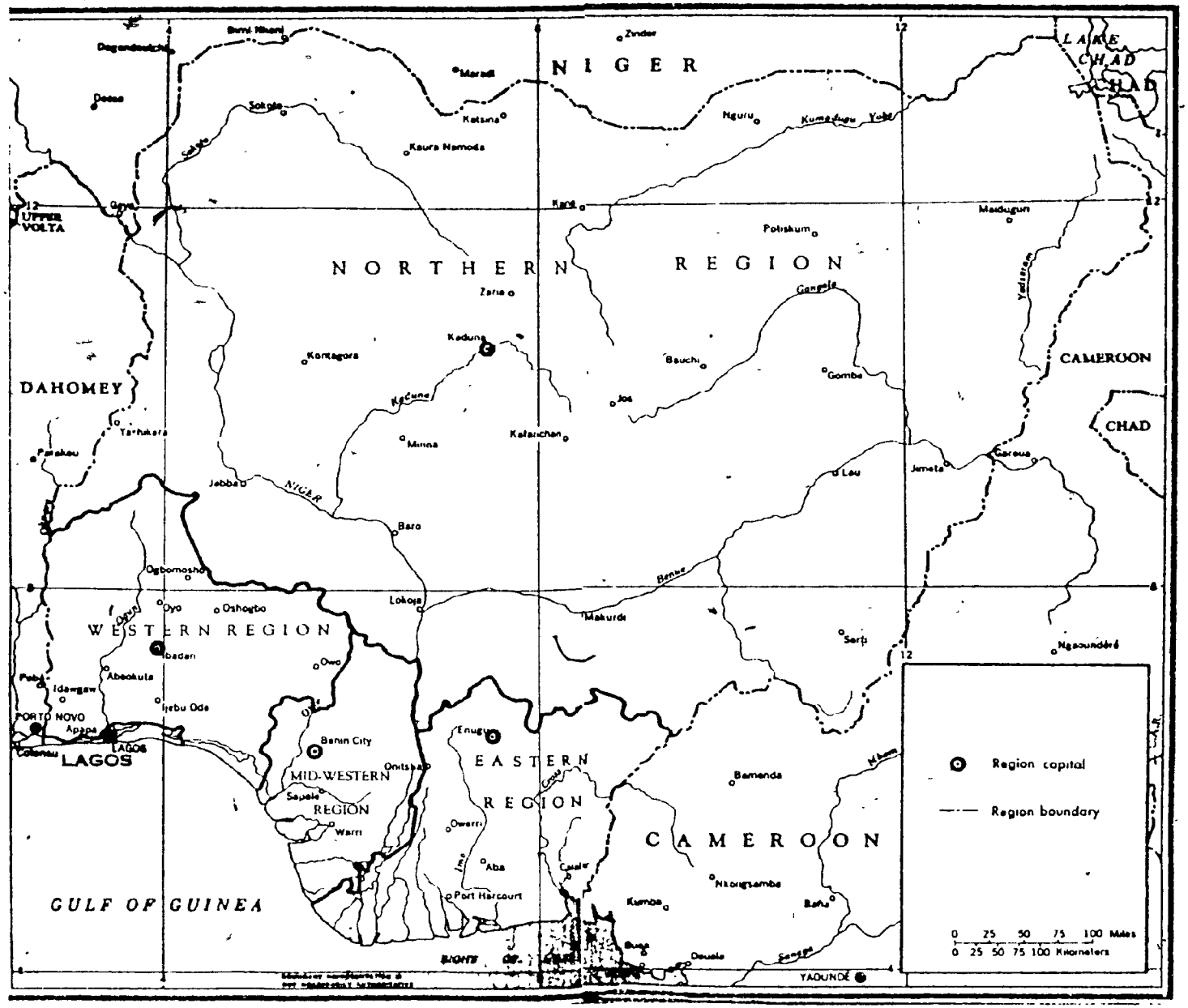

FIGURE 1

off from the outside world. By the middle of the century, new export crops like groundnuts in the North, cocoa in the West and rubber in the Mid-West, were introduced. This led to the development of industries for the manufacture of these goods. The desire for the products of industries has often drawn peasants into market production and into dependence on industries:

> ...there is a measure of integration between the agricultural and industrial complex. This integration had a profound impact on the behavior of farmers as more and more people were drawn into the development process and more decisions were made affecting their production of goods. The farmer comes to depend on market specialists both as sources of commodities he now needs and as means for the sale of the cash crops he now produces.[1]

In 1958, crude petroleum was discovered in the Eastern and Mid-Western regions of Nigeria. It called for the construction of more industries to cater to the production and manufacture of oil, both for internal and external consumption. More and more people were required to work in this industry which needed special skills.

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[1] Bernard Nkemdirim, Social Change and Political Violence in Colonial Nigeria. (Britain: Arthur Stockwell Ltd., 1975), p. 19.

These industries fostered the growth of internal trade among the regions, which drew isolated, fragmented ethnic and linguistic communities into greater contact with one another, and into greater interdependence among themselves. As Nkemdirim observes:

> The most important single external ecological manifestation of these changes has been the process of urbanization, the conglomeration of parts of the population in urban centres in which the more specialized types of economic, professional, civil activities and enterprises became concentrated; expanded and co-ordinated."[1]

These developments led to an increased call for the training of young people, not only in the values of a modern industrialized society, but in the skills considered necessary in the several industries. Thus, schools, colleges and vocational institutions were built in order to meet with the demands of an expanding economy and the increasing number of state bureaucratic organizations. But, as Foster has emphasised, the existence of trained men clearly does not produce the jobs in which to employ them. There must be a breaking-down of the "Kinship-rooted local structures" and the emergence of some market-oriented activities before literacy or schooling can boost development. Nevertheless, the Nigerian Government has been stressing the importance of education to the nation. Schools, they say, "will

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[1] Ibid., p. 24.

mould the young people and ensure that they grow to become the driving force in the nation for progress". Education is to develop "the personality of the nation" and to "promote democracy", the leaders emphasized. And, while there is increasing discussion of these emphases, there is a relative lack of research into the role of the Nigerian Government[1] per se in education as was undertaken by Philip Foster for Ghana. The present study seeks a clarification of relationship between government initiatives and the development of the Nigerian educational system.

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[1] See for example Babs Fufanwa, History of Education in Nigeria, (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1974); Okechukwu Ikejiani, op. cit.,; L.J. Lewis, Society, Schools and Progress in Nigeria (London: Pergamon Press, 1965); Otonti Nduka Okafor, The Development of Universities in Nigeria. (London: Longman Group Ltd., 1971). Apart from Babs Fafunwa, others did not give a comprehensive study of the Nigerian educational system; Fafunwa's study is not primarily on the role of government and it does not consider post-1970 developments - notably the civil war.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

A good understanding of the ideas behind various measures taken by successive Nigerian Governments, civilian or military, involves some examination of the Nigerian historical background; educational planning is frequently a reflection of previous events and policies.

For Nigerian governments, a knowledge of the past has inevitably served as a guide to the shaping of the educational scene, given its own direct emergence from a long tradition of colonial rule. This includes, in particular:

1. The history of the tribes
2. Different languages and cultures
3. Religious differences
4. The civil war of 1967-70.

These areas have contributed to the disunity of Nigeria (as will be explained later) and no government, civilian or military, can ignore them in its educational planning.

Nigeria - History

As stated, Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa. It is situated at the western coast of West Africa between the parallels of 4^{o} and 14^{o} north and is surrounded by four French-speaking countries; Dahomey to the West, Niger to the North, Chad to the North-east and

Cameroon to the east (see Figure I). The origin of Nigeria has not been established. But various writers continue to point out the possibility of its originating from one of the African countries. "All information points to early migratory movements from other parts of the African Continent probably the North and the East".[1] Alan Burns commenting on the Nigerian origin states that:

> Many of the people of Nigeria believe that their ancestors came from the East - from Egypt or Arabia and some almost certainly did. It is impossible to say who were the aboriginal inhabitants of the country and to what degree of culture they had attained.[2]

While many Nigerians might deny these statements, the fact still remains that lack of common origin by Nigerians has sown the seed of disunity which many successive governments have tried to solve with little success. Nigeria is even divided geographically,[3] a factor

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[1] Harold Nelson et. al., op. cit., p. 4.

[2] Allan Burns, History of Nigeria. (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1929), p. 25.

[3] The Western frontier between Nigeria and Dahomey, splits the Yoruba tribe, and many Hausa live across the northern frontier in Niger. Instead of the frontiers being reflective of Nigerian history, they were fixed by bargaining between the British and their rival colonialists the French and the Germans. Frederick Schwarz, op. cit., p. 11.

which has contributed to its disunity. Those who find themselves occupying the same geographical area seldom aspire to anything in common with others outside that area. What the british did when they came to Nigeria, was to split the country into three provinces, mainly for administrative convenience. By doing this, many tribes were grouped together, each claiming different origins; the Yorubas claim a different origin from the rest of the country, as do the Ibos, the Hausas and the Ijaws (Figure II). From this one can see that the map of Nigeria was a European creation which has no reflection of what the country is.

The Nigerian government recognises that the Nigerian boundaries are "foreign" in nature. Various attempts have been made to restructure the boundaries so as to reflect the indigenous population. This has resulted in the division of the country into twelve states (in 1967) and on February 3, 1976 seven more states were created, thus making a total of nineteen states (see Figure III). The states are theoretically intended to cater to the educational interest of the people living in their area. But, in reality, they are not doing this. One is left with the conclusion that the creation of the states was for other reasons. For example, in 1967 the creation of Nigeria into twelve states by Yakubu Gowon, the then head of government, was to gain support

of the minority[1] tribes in Nigeria. Before then, the Eastern Region, where three states were created, was heading towards secession. Gowon felt that by splitting that region into more states would prevent secession and ensure the support of his regime.

Nigeria started as a political entity in 1914 by the almalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria by the British administration of the territory Sir Frederick Lugard. Nigeria gained independence from Britain on October 1, 1960 and became the 99th member of the United Nations Organization. Nigeria is a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and a member of the Organization of African Unity.

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[1] For full details see Robert Melson and Howard Wolpe, op. cit., p. 661. They maintain that: "Unilaterally by decree Gowon broke the North into six states, the West into two, and the East into three. Opinion leaders from the minority peoples of the East, North and Mid-West believed that only the continuation of the federation and its new system of states could enable them to escape from future domination by larger neighbouring peoples - the Tiv from the Hausa - Fulani, the Ibibio and Ijaw from Ibo, and Edo from the Yoruba." See also James Coleman, Nigeria: Background to Nationalism (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971), pp. 386-9. Coleman concludes: "The most effective safeguard for a minority group would be a redrawing of the map and the creation of additional political subdivisions in which their minority status was either extinguished or minimized.

NIGERIAN CHIEF TRIBES

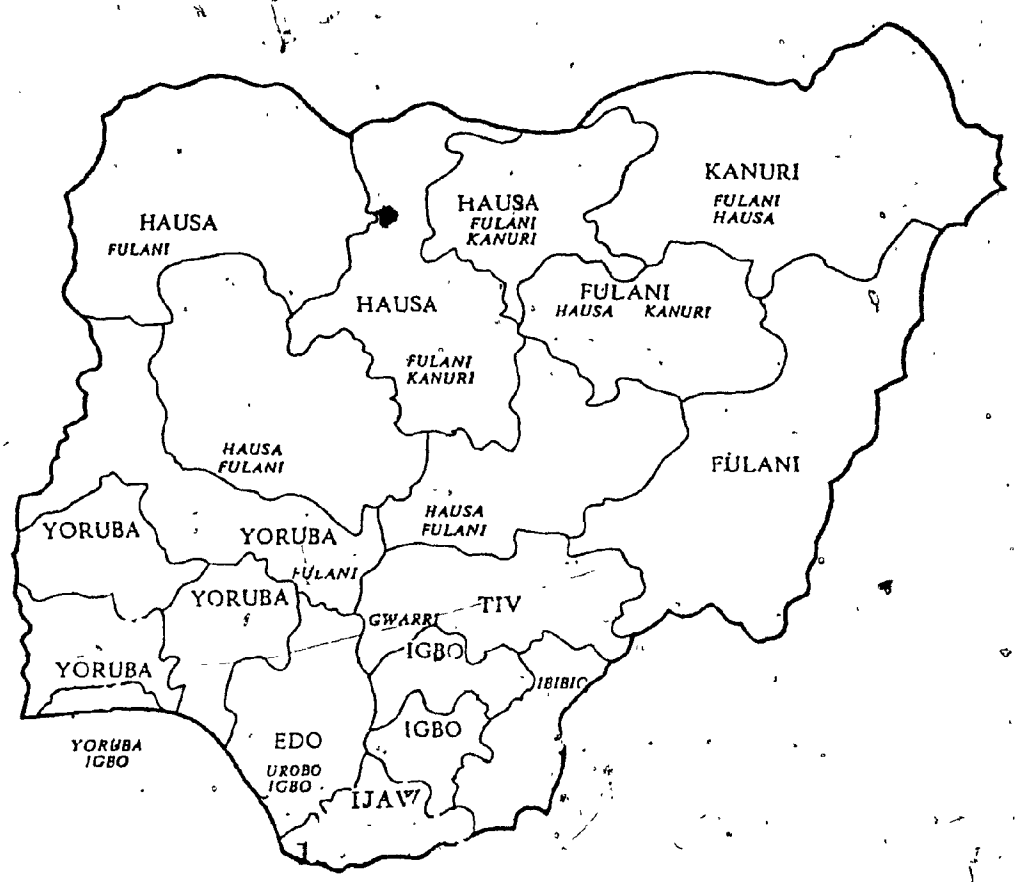

FIGURE II

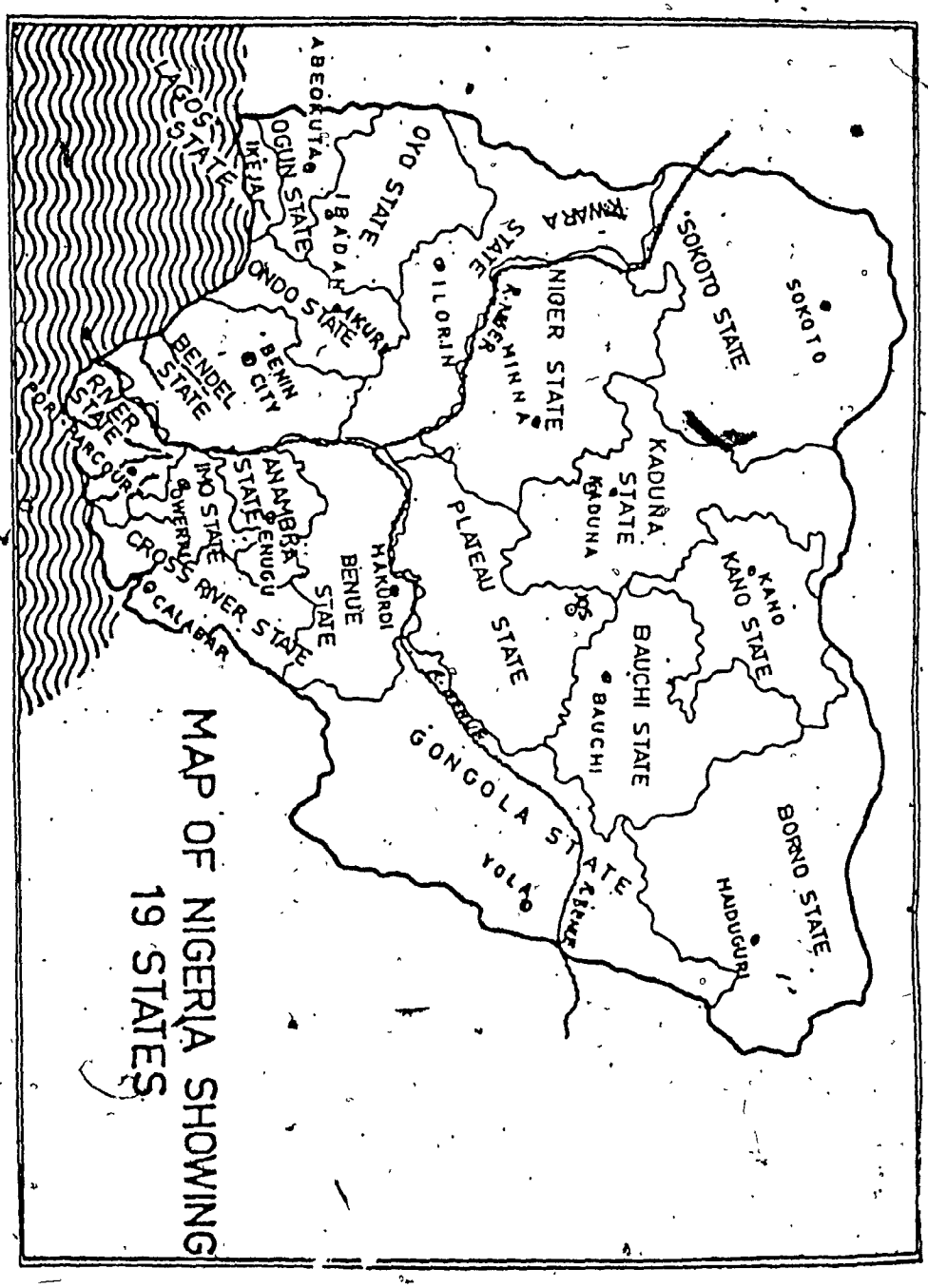
MAP OF NIGERIA SHOWING
19 STATES
LAGOS STATE
ABEOKUTA
OGUN STATE
IKEJA
OYO STATE
IBADAN
ONDO STATE
AKURE
BENDEL STATE
BENIN CITY
RIVER STATE
PORT HARCOURT
ANAMBRA STATE
ENUGU
IMO STATE
OWERRI
CROSS RIVER STATE
CALABAR
BENUE STATE
MAKURDI
PLATEAU STATE
JOS
ILORIN
KWARA STATE
MINNA
NIGER STATE
SOKOTO STATE
SOKOTO
KADUNA STATE
KADUNA
KANO STATE
KANO
BAUCHI STATE
BAUCHI
GONGOLA STATE
YOLA
BORNO STATE
MAIDUGURI

FIGURE III

By the time of Independence, the country was divided into three regions: Northern region, Eastern region, and Western region. In July 1963 the fourth region (the Mid-Western) was created (see Fig. 1). Each region is occupied by an ethnic group whose majority live within it. In the Eastern region, the Ibos are the dominant group; in the North, the Hausas; in the West, the Yorubas; and, in the Mid-West, the Edos. Within these groups are numerous other linguistic groups, and altogether there are 250 languages and dialects found in the country. Each group favours its own autonomy, having its own culture, administrative headquarters and educational system. The people of Nigeria think more in terms of their tribes than of Nigeria as a "nation"; the forging of a "national consciousness" has become one of the objects of educational policy.

Since the tribes are a source of political, educational, and cultural disunity, a brief reference to them is not out of place.

MAJOR TRIBAL GROUPS

The Hausas, the Ibos and the Yorubas are the major tribal groups in Nigeria. "Each of the dominant groups has a population of approximately 10 million - more than any of the four countries that border upon Nigeria. Each would be quite capable, had history developed differently, of being a medium-sized African nation

itself."[1] This fact has not been ignored by the tribes in their dealings with one another. By their attitudes towards national politics, the three major tribes have sought to hold the nation back. The government felt that the only solution was through education.

The Hausas

The Hausas occupy the areas of Northern region lying on both banks of the Middle Niger and the Benue rivers and the regions extending from these to Lake Chad (see Fig. II). They number about 12 million the largest by any ethnic group in Nigeria.

The Hausas are mainly peasant farmers, living in villages. They are mainly muslim having a feudal political system, marked by a stratified social structure. Their religion is Islam which has taught the children to be submissive to authority. In the region are thousands of Koranic schools where boys were taught to read and write Arabic. The children are trained to master the religious properties of the muslim so that they would produce devout muslims.

The religion made it impossible for the people to move outside the region. They are expected to maintain their traditional ways, and not given to change. Therefore when western education was introduced

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[1] Frederick Schwarz, op. cit., p. 11. See also Henry Bretton, Power and Stability in Nigeria (New York: Frederick Praeger Inc., 1962), p. 117; Melson and Wolpe, op. cit., p. 170; Nelson et. al., op. cit., p. 103.

in Nigeria - which meant the giving up of traditional values - the Hausas rejected it for fear of destroying their religious values. It is, this attitude adopted when Western education was introduced, that resulted in the educational backwardness of the Hausas. Today, the same attitude prevails in their dealings with the rest of the tribes. They regard themselves different from other tribes, culturally, educationally and politically. Today the Nigerian Government feels that mass education is the answer to bring the Hausas in line with the rest of the country.

The Ibos

The Ibos are the second largest tribe in Nigeria with a population of about 10 million. They occupy the areas of Eastern part of Nigeria and have spread to all the parts of Nigeria.

The Ibos were the second tribe to receive Western education but today they are the most educated and industrious tribe in Nigeria. When Western education came to Nigeria, it was first embraced by the Yorubas while the Ibos were still living their isolated life in their small village communities. Through hard work and sacrifices, the Ibos had more people attending school than the Yorubas.

The Ibos are Christians and the Western education which made them forsake their traditional way of life made them hate other people who are not Christians.

The Ibos are known to survive under severe conditions and can make their living anywhere in the country. Today they are seen all over the country. This has brought hatred to them by other tribes especially the Hausas and the Yorubas. They see Ibos' ability to settle anywhere in the country as a sign of Ibo domination and should have liked to see the Ibos settle in their own geographical area. The Ibos refused to do this feeling that as Nigeria is their country, they have the right to settle anywhere in the country. This rejection by the Ibos to limit themselves in their geographical area has earned them such names as 'Warlike people' and 'Land hungry people'. But writing about the Ibos Njaka points out:

> And legends and our knowledge of recent history show clearly that Igbo have always had substantial mobility, and been successful in widening their areas of settlement and influence. Yet there is little evidence they were a warlike people who expanded by military conquests. Their methods of expansion were essentially peaceful and can be identified as penetration, attraction of relatives, absorption and assimilation.[1]

This observation is true of the Ibos. They are a peace loving people, nurtered on Christian values, and believing in peaceful

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[1] Elechukwy Njaka, Igbo Political Culture (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1974), p. 20.

settlement of disputes. They aspire for Nigerian Unity.[1] Had other tribes not been overshadowed by the Ibos properity due to hard work many of the major crises in Nigeria might conceivably have been averted.

The Ibos regard education as a means to "success", hence they make various attempts to see that their young ones benefit from it. According to Schwartz,

> During the 1930s, various Ibo villages and clans formed "progress" and "improvement" Unions, one of whose primary functions was raising money for education, In 1936, after Francis Ibiam returned from England as the first Ibo doctor, many of those Unions were federated under the Ibo Union and in 1944 the Ibo Federal Union was inaugurated. The function of that pan-Ibo body was not primarily political but was to build schools in Iboland.[2]

This is one of the ways in which the Ibos survive through difficult times, but try as much as they could to foster Nigerian Unity, other tribes have not been able to accommodate them.

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[1] On this, see James Coleman, op. cit., pp. 332-343, which concludes: "The wide dispersion of educated Ibo clerks, artisans, and traders throughout Nigeria has fostered among the Ibos abroad a consciousness of the potentialities of Nigerian Unity and a more Universalist frame of mind."

[2] Schwartz, op. cit., p. 67.

The Yorubas

The Yorubas are the third largest ethnic group in Nigeria with a population of about 8 million. They received Western education earlier than any of the tribes in Nigeria.

The Yorubas - like the Hausas - do not migrate in large numbers to other parts of the country. This is the source of their main hatred of the Ibos, who have occupied most of the Yoruba cities like Lagos, Abeokuta and Ibadan. The Yorubas' hatred of the Ibos led them to form an alliance with the Hausas in a number of Nigerian political crises. Nelson et. al. have observed that the Yoruba were not as hated as the Ibo because of their smaller numbers and their outward adherence to Islamic mores. The Yoruba are apt to label the Ibo as uncouth and the Hausa as dull or overconservative."[1] This observation is suggestive of the tribal tension in Nigeria; the Yorubas think of themselves as Yorubas and nothing more, and for other Nigerians loyalty to their tribes is paramount.

From the above brief comments one can see that the tribes are diverse geographically, politically and culturally. It is therefore not surprising that their education should display a similar diversity, and that the government feels that a corrective to the whole imbalance lies in the work of systematic education.

In addition to these three major tribes, are other smaller ones (Fig. II) which, like the major tribes, cherish their independence of the government and its intrusion into their life style.

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[1] Nelson et. al., op. cit., p. 111.

Since Britain was the country entrusted with the destiny of Nigerians after the Berlin Conference (which partitioned Africa), it is useful at this stage to investigate the British attitude towards these tribes.

The British Attitude Towards the Tribes

The main interest of the Europeans in general, and the British in particular, in Africa was trade. Sir Frederick Lugard, the British administrator in Nigeria, made this quite clear. He was quoted as saying that "the initial motive for the penetration of Africa by Western civilization was the satisfaction of its material necessities and not pure altruism".[1] Therefore what the British did immediately upon entering Nigeria was to find a means of doing this as cheaply as was consistent with efficiency.

The first action of the British was to destroy all native arms; they regarded it as "primitive" for the natives to go to war for whatever reasons. This action by the British has warranted comments from a number of eminent Nigerians. For instance:

> While the generals and admirals in Europe were receiving their national recognition, by being granted medals and knighthoods and other titles, the brave warriors of Nigeria were being branded "Savage barbarians".

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[1] Otonti Nduka, op. cit., p. 45.

> While the monuments of English soldiers find places in English cathedrals and churches, the Christian missionary taught the gospel of turning the other cheek until every intiative toward repelling an enemy was lost.[1]

In the face of this type of British attitude, the Nigerians were completely subdued. To think of war was an abomination and the traditional rulers were ordered to bring out any arms that might be in their possession. Failure to do so would bring detention or possibly a non-recognition of their title. In this way, the British consolidated their presence.

They then introduced the system of indirect rule, first adopted in Northern Nigeria. By this system, the British made use of the traditional élites[2] in the running of the country. They grouped elders together in any given locality and called them "Native Authorities". These groups had legislative powers to carry on with the business of their areas and to implement the orders or wishes of

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[1] Nwafor Orizu, "The corrupting influences of the West," The African Reader, editors Wilfred Cartey and Martin Kilson (New York: Random House, Inc., 1970), pp. 63-4.

[2] See Ukandi Damachi, Nigerian Modernization the Colonial Legacy (New York: Joseph Okpaku Publishing Company, Inc., 1972), p. 97; Wilfred Cartey and Martin Kilson, op. cit., pp. 94-100; Ade Ajayi and M. Crowder, History of West Africa Volume Two (London: Longman Group Ltd., 1974), pp. 514-519; Paul Beckett and James O'Connell, Education and Power in Nigeria. (London : Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., 1977), pp. 5-7; Throughout most of the Colonial period, power remained in the hands of the traditional élites and the Colonial administrators made use of them in administering the country. Beckett and O'Connell point out that: "It was not until the 1940's and 1950's that in Nigeria, as well as in the other territories of British West Africa, an indegenous educated élite emerged to cnallenge the colonial possession of power and wealth.

the British Government. They were required to collect taxes and pay them to the Colonial Government, and native courts were established in these areas to try cases, under specially appointed chiefs.[1] In 1914, following the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria, Lugard applied the same system in the south. With the system of indirect rule effective in the whole of Nigeria, the people were required to produce such cash crops as palm produce, ground nuts, cocoa and cotton, and were encouraged to consume European-made goods. European currencies were introduced to displace the Nigerian method of trading by barter. The Europeans disapproved of this, but wanted Nigerians to trade with the British, and Firms of European origin were encouraged to dominate the Nigerian economy.[2]

These measures indicated that the British tribal policy was mainly based on trade and not much was done in the use of education to bring the tribes together. Nigerians plunged into a series of crises immediately after the British left.

Major Crises in Nigeria After Independence

Nigeria has gone through many crises as a result of tribal, linguistic, cultural and religious differences. The government felt that education would be the means to remove these differences and emphasise the many similarities among Nigerians.[3] A brief account of

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[1] The appointment of these chiefs were upon the recommendation of the British officer. He supervised all that was going on in any locality. He recommended and rejected policies that were not in the interests of the British Government.

[2] See Ajayi and Crowder, "West Africa 1919-1939: the Colonial Situation", in Ajayi and Crowder, op. cit., p. 529.

[3] See for example, Message of the Director of the National Youth Service Corps, Lagos, (n.d.), p. 4.

these crises shows how Nigerians are divided along tribal lines on virtually every issue affecting "national" consciousness.

When Nigeria gained independence in 1960, it had three main political parties;[1] the Northern Peoples' Congress (N.P.C.), which was a party of the Hausas; the National Council of Nigeria and the Camerouns later the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (N.C.N.C.), a party of the Ibos and the Action Group (AG), a party for the Yorubas. The organization and composition of these parties explains the nature of Nigerian politics. It was tribal in nature.

The first major crisis in Nigeria involved the census of 1962. The census result was rejected by various parties. Each party accused the other of increasing the number of people in its region by false means. A fresh census was ordered in 1963 which had the same results.

In 1964 there was a Federal election.[2] This was the first election to be conducted by independent Nigeria. The election results were again rejected, as with the census figures. A further election in 1965, in

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[1] For full details of political events in Nigeria see John MacKintosh, Nigerian Government and Politics. (Great Britain: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1966), Chapters VII-XII; Henry Bretton, op. cit., p. 144. Also see Robert Melson and Howard Wolpe, op. cit., p. 514 and James Coleman, op. cit., p. 271.

[2] For a full account of this election see Frederick Schwarz, op.cit., p. 140.

the Western Region of the Yorubas was equally interpreted along tribal lines. This election sparked off a breakdown of law and order; riots broke out throughout the region by supporters of various parties. The Nigerian Federal Government, led by Abubakar Balewa, refused to intervene in the matter. Thus, completely to his surprise and to the surprise of every Nigerian, the young officers of the Nigerian Army led a mutiny and overthrew the civilian government.

This coup[1] brought division within the armed forces. Tribal feelings ran high. Major General Aguiyi Ironsi the then officer commanding the Nigerian army at the time, was asked to head the Nigerian Military Government. Ironsi was an Ibo army officer and at the same time was aware of the tribal tensions in Nigeria. He felt that the only way to bring Nigeria together would be through the adoption of measures designed to eliminate tribal feelings. He remodelled all the regions into a group of provinces. The Northern region called this act an attempt at Ibo domination. On July 1966, the government of Ironsi was toppled by Northern army officers; Yakuba Gowon - a Northerner- was then installed as Nigerian head of state. Chukwuemeka Ojukwu (the then Military Governor of the Eastern region) refused to recognise Gowon's Government and, for lack of progress in all the talks with Gowon on the future of Nigeria, declared Eastersn Nigeria an Independent

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[1] For a full account of the coup and developments in Nigeria after the coup see A.H.M. Kirk-Green, Crisis and Conflict in Nigeria Volume I and II (London: Oxford University Press, 1971).

Republic of Biafra. On July 6, 1967 Gowon declared war on the Secessionist region. The war ended on January 12, 1970. At the end of the civil war massive recontruction started in Nigeria with the aim of healing the wounds of the civil war. Among the programmes intensified was systematic education which, it was believed, would unify the country.

While formal education has been regarded as a means of correcting the ills of the nation, it is first useful to examine the traditional education of Nigerians. This was the "educational" context in which formal education was first introduced.

CHAPTER III

TRADITIONAL EDUCATION IN NIGERIA

Given the existence of patterns of education or child-rearing in Nigeria[1] prior to the introduction of European-style formal education, a focus on the role of government (both external and indigenous) has to consider the nature of this "traditional" education. This serves to clarify distinctions between formal and "informal" modes of education.

Traditional education in Nigeria was characterised by the following:

1. The great importance attached to it, and its collective and social nature.
2. Its intimate tie with social life, both in a material and spiritual sense.
3. Its multivalent character, both in terms of its goals and the means employed.
4. Its gradual and progressive achievement, in conformity with the successive stages of physical, emotional and mental development of

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[1] See for example Babs Fafunwa, op. cit., Chapter 1; Ikenna Nzimiro, Studies in Ibo Political Systems (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1972), Chapter VII; G.T. Basden, Among the Ibos of Nigeria (London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1966), p. 57; N.A. Fadipe, The Sociology of the Yoruba (Nigeria: Ibadan University Press), p. 97.

the child.[1]

The arrival of a child in any Nigerian family is an occasion for joy unless this child belongs to one of the gods. This is discovered at the time of the birth. Should a child be born with a certain mark, an indication that it belongs to one of the traditional gods, then the child has to be offered to that god. Again, should there be twins, this was regarded as an abomination and, consequently, the babies were to be killed. These two instances of child birth were regarded as barbaric by the Europeans and they fought very hard before these practices were eradicated. If, on the other hand, the child is free from all superstitions, then it is happily received into the family. A day is set aside for the naming ceremony which takes place with all the members of the entire kindred represented. After the naming ceremony, the child's training, which has already started with the mother from the time he was born, continues. It is the responsibility of the mother to feed the child, clothe him and provide him with other things necessary for this earlier growth. The mother teaches the child to talk and handle objects, and exercises a constant vigilance over its movements.

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[1]Abdou Moumouni, Education in Africa, New York: Frederick Praeger, Inc., 1968) p. 15.

As the child's growth progresses, the mother introduces other necessary elements: from how to talk, she teaches the child all the names of his relatives, his extended family, of his town, province and country. This is of great importance, for as soon as the mother takes him outside, this knowledge is tested by the elders. At this point also, the names of all local chiefs, of markets and all other aspects of the child's surroundings are taught, and the mother regularly tests the child to make sure they are not forgotten. This intimate local aspect of education, characteristic of traditional Nigerians was diminished with the arrival of the Europeans, and this has been a source of major quarrel between the nationalist leaders. The Nigerian government claimed that the needs of Nigerians were ignored: that is, the need to know their local leaders and environment before being introduced to the workings of the British parliamentary system.

When the child is about six or seven years old, the father begins to play a role in its education, if it is a boy, as more than a mere spectator. If the child is a girl, the mother assumes the full responsibility of educating her in the duties of motherhood. The father starts an intensive training of the boy in his responses to elders. At about the age of eight, the father takes him almost everywhere and to any sort of gathering where folk-lore and proverbs are the basis of conversation. His ability to learn these things as quickly as he can, always tasts his readiness for manhood. Several other methods are applied to see that the child adequately learns.

By the evening fireside, tribal legends, proverbs and local history are told and retold. There were riddles to test the child's powers of judgement and myths to explain the origin of the tribes. The continuous and careful repetition of these proverbs, riddles and folk-lore constituted the essential part of the Nigerian child's education. Neither text books nor writing were employed and emphasis on the correct imitation of speeches by the elders was marked. Boys learn from their father as they follow him about and girls learn from their mother as they help them in the home; by this method all that the child is expected to know to enable him to become a full member of the community is taught in the home. "Among the African peoples there was no form of continuous instruction bearing any resemblance to modern schooling. The homestead was the school."[1]

Another method used in Nigeria is the age grade association.[2] This plays an important role for the demands it makes on each child constitute a real source of character-building. As Moumouni points out:

> All the useful activities of a child enable the members of the community to exercise their influence on the formation of his character, especially by the relation-

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[1] Cf. E.B. Castle, Growing up in East Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 40.

[2] For full details of age grade association in Nigeria see Simon Ottenberg, Leadership and Authority in an African Society (London: University of Washington Press, 1971), p. 52. See also N.A. Fadipe, op. cit., p. 252.

> ships they established between the child and his friends of the same age group, his elders, adults and the elderly of the community.[1]

It is in the age grade that activities such as dancing, farming and wrestling, and the business of being a father or mother are perfected.

At about the age of fifteen, children are taken to secret societies.[2] Membership is essential in order to play a leadership role in any traditional adult organizations. According to Simon Ottenberg:

> Membership in the society makes a person a responsible male in village life. He is then bound to take part in communal labor and other village activities and is no longer a little boy who is indifferent to the village at large and concerned mainly with his playmates and family.[3]

Initiation into secret societies signifies passage from adolescence to adulthood. It is when this is completed that a young man becomes a responsible village citizen and takes part in a whole range of adult functions in the local environment.

Traditional education in Nigeria, as in any other African

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[1] Moumouni, op. cit., p. 22.

[2] For full details of Secret Societies in Nigeria see G.T. Basden, op. cit., p. 235; Simon Ottenberg, op. cit., p. 113.

[3] See Ottenberg, p. 114.

country, is all-embracing. It covers most of the things a child is expected to know within the traditional society, and its effectiveness is a function of its relationship with life:

> It was through social acts (production) and social relationships (family life, group activities) that the education of the child or adolescent took place, so that he was instructed and educated simultaneously. To the extent that a child learned everywhere and, all the time, instead of learning in circumstances determined in advance as to place and time, outside of the production and social world, he was truly in the 'school of life', in the most concrete and real sense.[1]

Traditional education served the needs of traditional society, but, with the increase of European influence, the traditional ties began to crumble. The process of European influence continued and with it, a demand for schools. Alongside this, came the introduction of cash crops, like palm produce and cocoa, leading to greater inequalities in personal wealth than could have existed within the traditional structure. The acquisition of land for the cultivation of these crops became a matter of concern for many Nigerians for the amount of land they could command determined their wealth and status. "The increased value of land as a factor

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[1] See Ibid., p. 29.

of production within the cash-crop economy caused a gradual transition from lineage to individual claims to land ownership - one cause of the constantly growing amount of land litigation during the colonial period."[1]

The above changes were bound to affect traditional life. In Nigeria people started to lose confidence in the traditional education which was seen to be inadequate to meet the new individual challenges: "Communal identity gives place to individual ambitions which can be satisfied only by accepting what the West has to give, and steadily the young African moves into situations where he treads with diminished confidence."[2] As Hugh Smythe and Mabel Smythe point out:

> He is no longer in a close-knit, tightly organized community in which his every action is subject to scrutiny; he can now lose himself to some extent in an undifferentiated pool of mingled humanity. The sudden release from old ways and values leaves a vacuum which can be filled by new and different ones, and he is likely to be receptive to the values of his new found friends and acquaintances.[3]

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[1] Cf. Foster, op.cit., p. 127. See also Ukandi Damachi, op.cit., p. 107.

[2] E.B. Castle, op. cit., p. 44.

[3] Hugh Smythe and Mabel Smythe, The New Nigerian Elite (California: Standord University Press, 1960), pp. 47-48.

It is in this context that a demand for formal education in Nigeria was made possible. It is to this formal education that we now turn.

PART TWO

CHAPTER IV

FORMAL EDUCATION BY THE EUROPEANS

Most students of African history would maintain that the massive entry into Africa by the Europeans brought a complete change to the people's lives. In Nigeria, traditional ways of life were threatened by the demands imposed by European ways of life.

The basic concern of Europeans in this age of reconnaissance in the African continent was for trade. But the Portuguese, who first entered Nigeria, were also interested in winning the people's souls. They made several assaults on Nigerian towns in their effort to convert Nigerians, and, around the year 1574, they succeeded in establishing a Christian Settlement in Warri. The King of Warri was interested in the missionary work and got his first son baptised by Father Francisco, giving him the name of Sebastian in honour of the King of Portugal. Sebastian who later became king was persuaded to send his son to study for the priesthood in Portugal, thus giving the first recorded pursuit of formal education by a Nigerian.[1]

This act was symbolic of the kinds of changes brought to traditional ways of life. First, many young Nigerians saw that contact with the Europeans might eventually enable them to travel

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[1] See Nduka Okafor, op. cit., p. 7.

outside the country rather than living the traditional way of life. The way to get this might be through formal education. More Nigerians were eager to learn the White man's way and, with the abolition of the slave trade in 1787, a new type of relationship started with the Europeans.

Freetown became the refuge of many thousands of freed slaves, though life there became uncomfortable for many of them. The majority were transported to Badagry in Western Nigeria where the first mission was built in 1842. As more of these slaves started arriving, questions were raised as to what to do with them. Schools were then built for these slaves and most of them were placed in churches. With the increasing number of Nigerians eager to receive western education, an instruction could be given in these schools which was not essentially an "imposition".

By 1859 more than fifty mission schools had been established. The introduction of education and the establishment of western contact had thus been established. Instruction in these schools was religious in nature, the children being taught the catechism and how to read the bible:

> The significance of the missionary's challenge is that he invited the natives to abandon all their beliefs in favour of the belief in one Supreme being, God, or more correctly, the Trinity, and submit himself to be baptised 'in the name of the

Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit'.[1]

The Nigerian traditional gods were completely condemned. Such names as Chi, Agwu and Ala, all representing different gods which have been a source of joy to many Nigerians, were denounced. Rituals of any kind were forbidden except ones considered useful or salutary by the Europeans (such as the Mass).

In the schools, teachings centered on only one God; children were taught the Commandments, how to read the Bible and to recite English sentences. No attempt was made to eradicate superstition by fostering a closer contact, a familiarity, with the environment. The ability of the child to read the Bible and recite the "Our Father" ensured him a place in the Kingdom of God. Knowledge of the local chiefs, one's village and country were no longer important:

> The approach to education pursued by the missionaries was based upon the assumption of the superiority of Western civilization and the evil character of paganism. African customs, beliefs and practices, family life and even the institution of chiefdom were, with few exceptions, regarded as repugnant. Christianity was confused with Western civilization. The Nigerian was to be remade in the image that the missionaries brought with them.[2]

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[1] Otonti Nduka, op. cit., p. 11

[2] L.J. Lewis, op. cit., p. 30.

The above observation shows that the missionaries were often insensitive to natives' rights and feelings. Perhaps it can be said that "Early missionaries often showed their ignorance of indigenous religions, the natives' total response to their environment, by writing them off as barbaric and antagonistic to the one true faith."[1]

The Attitude of the British Government

While Nigeria was flooded with missionary activities in the 1840s, the administration of the country was in the hands of the British Government. It will not be out of place then, at this point, to ask what the attitude of the British Government was twoards the education of Nigerians. Their attitude was essentially the same as that which they adopted towards the tribal nature of Nigeria: that is, to "turn a blind eye on" the type of education given to the Nigerians by the missionaries. This being the case, the missionaries were left to continue their fundamentalist-type of education.

This period was one of considerable educational change in the metropole itself. The 1870 Education Act in England and Wales permitted the establishment of school boards, a recognition that the voluntary (primarily religious) agencies alone were unable to provide

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[1] Otonti Nduka, op. cit., p. 17.

an efficient nation-wide system of education. The establishment of the boards made church schools in England aware of their responsibilities. It made them seek to increase their efficiency in school administration, for, if it was found out that their schools were insufficiently financed and that no steps were taken to correct deficiencies in school accommodation, school boards could be formed to take over the schools. The school boards made possible the introduction of free and compulsory education in England; even before then, the government had used indirect compulsion to see that parents sent their children to school. Thus, the British Government began to play an important role in formal education, to the extent that educational decision-making became a matter of Cabinet-level importance: "Between 1870 and 1873 education had been of such political importance that policy-making had gone on at Cabinet level."[1]

One might perhaps feel that, bearing in mind this direct governmental concern for education in the metropole, the British Government would have shown some concern for the education of its colonies in Africa. But this was not the case. Instead of using the traditional rulers for educational purposes - as it used the school boards in England - the British Government used them to facilitate the collection of taxes and the production of those material goods needed in Britain. The Missionaires were therefore not competing with other agencies, as

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[1] Gillian Sutherland, Policy-Making in Elementary Education 1870-1895. London: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 125.

were the voluntary agencies with the school boards in England. They therefore tended to provide an education which was not potentially "progressive", in the way that school board education was in England.

It is useful to point out here the aims of the British Government in the education of British children which were contrary to those of the missionaries in Nigeria. This is contained, for example, in a Hand Book of Suggestions for infant schools, in the early 20th century:

> An infant school, according to the Hand Book of Suggestions (1937), will be a place where life has the freshness and vividness of early childhood, and where activities are pursued in a spirit of lively adventure. It will have provided the children with many new interests, and it will have given them in a measure suited to their age and maturity both the freedom and the discipline, through which their awakening of group membership may best be developed. Its product should be a child who, in comparison with the child of five, is self-possessed, responsible, independent, and capable of devoting himself to a straightforward task with a remarkable intensity of purpose and a high regard for the proper way of performing it.[1]

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[1] Consultative Committee. Infant and Nursery Schools. London H.M.S.O., 1937. Cited in Kandel, The New Era in Education, (Massachusetts: Haughton Mifflin Company, 1955), p. 212.

Also commenting on the aims of the primary schools, the Report of the Consultative Committee on primary education has this to say:

> That the special task of the schools which are concerned with the later years of primary education will be to provide for the educational needs of childhood, just as it is the function of the nursery and infant schools to deal with the needs of infancy, and of the post-primary schools to deal with the needs of adolescence. In framing the curriculum for the primary school, we must necessarily build upon the foundations laid in the infant school and must keep in view the importance of continuity with the work of the secondary school, but our main care must be to supply children between the ages of seven and eleven with what is essential to their healthy growth - physical, intellectual, and moral - during that particular stage of their development.[1]

These stood in vivid contrast to what was going on in the missionary schools in Nigeria, where emphases were almost exclusively on religious education. According to contemporary British educational directives, with respect to the infant and the elementary school, this alone was not the sole object of education, which "is to arouse and to develop in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual and moral states,

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[1] Report of the Consultative Committee (Hadow) on the Primary School (H.M.S.O. 1931), p. 92.

which are demanded of him by both the political society as a whole and the special milieu for which he is specifically destined."[1]

Criticism of the missionary system of education started to appear in Nigerian newspapers in the early 1920s. This was intensified after a group of education commissioners visited West and South Africa in 1922 under the leadership of Thomas Jesse Jones, an American trained as a sociologist at Columbia University. They were sponsored by the Phelps-Stokes Fund of America (established by Miss Caroline Phelps-Stokes in 1911), among the objects of which was the "education of the Negroes both in Africa and the United States." The Commission was given these terms of reference:

1. To inquire as to the educational work being done at present in each of the areas to be studied.
2. To investigate the educational needs of the people in the light of the religious, social, hygienic, and economic conditions.
3. To ascertain to what extent these needs are being met.
4. To make available to the full the results of this study.[2]

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[1] E. Durkheim, "Education and Sociology", 1956, p. 71. Cited in Gillian Sutherland, op. cit., p. 1

[2] L.J. Lewis, Phelps-Stokes Reports on Education in Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p.3.

The reports of the Commission, published in 1922, deplored the attitudes of the missionaries towards African education. Following their publication, the British Government issued its statement of policy[1] in education in her African territories. The next chapter examines what the British Government actually *did* in relation to the Nigerian educational system.

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[1] Earlier, in 1847, the British Government had made a general statement on educational policy in its African colonies, but this remained largely on paper. It recommended that "industrial schools for the coloured races may be conducted in the colonies and to render the labour of the children available towards meeting some part of the expenses of their education." Cf. Philip Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

CHAPTER V

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND NIGERIAN EDUCATION FOLLOWING THE REPORT OF THE PHELPS-STOKES COMMISSION

The Phelps-Stokes report of 1922 brought a change in British attitude towards the education of her African colonists. It made the British realise that education should not be left in the hands of such agencies as the missionaries without some guidance and control. Following the Report of the Phelps-Stoke Commission, the British Government in 1925 issued a memorandum on education in her African colonies. Both the Phelps-Stokes report and the British memorandum have been seen as key developments in African education. For example, Makulu points out that: "Of particular importance in this period is the fact that education was gradually beginning to be understood as a much broader process than the teaching of the scriptures in preparation for membership of the Church".[1] The memorandum stated, in particular that:

> The government reserves to itself the general direction of educational policy and the supervision of all Educational Institutions, by inspection and other means. Cooperation

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[1] H. Makulu, Education, Development and Nation-building in Independent Africa (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1971), p. 13). See also Okechukwu Ikejiani, op.cit., p. 5. See also Philip Foster op. cit., p. 157

betweem Government and other educational agencies should be promoted in every way.

Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples.

The study of the educational use of the vernaculars is of primary importance. The content and method of teaching in all subjects should be adapted to the conditions of Africa.[1]

The Memorandum suggests cooperation among scholars, with aid from Governments and Missionary Societies, in the preparation of vernacular textbooks. The content and method of teaching in all subjects, especially History and Geography, should be adapted to the conditions of Africa. Textbooks prepared for use in English schools should be replaced where necessary by others better adapted, the foundations and illustrations being taken from African life and surroundings. On the organisation of the school system, the Memorandum noted that: "School systems in their structure will rightly vary according to local conditions."[2] It suggested that the school system when completed would

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[1] Memorandum on Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa, Cmd. 2374 (H.M.S.O., 1925), p. 3.

[2] Ibid., p. 8.

embody (a) Elementary education both for boys and girls beginning with the education of young children; (b) Secondary or intermediate education, including more than one type of school and several types of curricula; (c) Technical and vocational schools. There was therefore an admission by the British Government that the education given by the missionaries was out of touch with the African environment. It was also an indication that the British Government up to this time had done nothing to influence the mission-dominated education of the Africans. By issuing such a memorandum, the British Government seems to have admitted its past failures, and hence its new guide lines on future educational developments in Africa.

In Nigeria, the British Government set down a series of codes aimed at improving the condition of education. It required all teachers to be registered; teachers failing to comply with this would not be allowed to teach and would not receive salaries. It forbade the opening of a school unless approved by the Director of Education, and authorised the closing of schools if they were not functioning well. These measures were aimed at improving the Nigerian educational system, but they remained largely on paper. Throughout the 1920's and up to the 1930's, no textbooks were issued in the Nigerian language - a suggestion which was made, however, in the 1925 policy paper - nor was education adapted to local conditions, as was equally outlined in the policy paper.

The major development in this period was that the British Government increased its expenditure on education. For example, the expenditure on education in 1923 was £100,063 and this figure increased to £158,454 in 1926 and reached a record high of £289,284 in 1937-8.[1] In addition, there was some progress in the expansion of school facilities and pupil enrollments. In 1926, there were 58 government primary schools in Southern Nigeria with a population of 9,374 children. The number increased to 108 primary schools with enrollment of 12,183 children in 1937. The number of assisted primary schools similarly increased from 192 schools and an enrollment of 32,275 in 1926 to 339 schools and an enrollment of 69,464 in 1937. Similar increases were recorded in Northern Nigeria.[2]

At the secondary level, the number of government schools rose from one in 1926 to seven in 1930 in Southern Nigeria. There were seventeen secondary schools assisted in Southern Nigeria in 1926, with an enrollment of 358 children. There were no secondary schools in the North in 1926 but by 1937, the government had built one secondary school with an enrollment of 65 children. With respect to teacher-training institutions,

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[1]For full details of government expenditure within this period see Otonti Nduka, op. cit., p. 47.

[2]Ibid., p. 73.

there were also increases. For example, there were nine assisted teacher-training institutions in 1926 with student enrollment of 218 in Southern Nigeria. This figure increased to 19 in 1937 with a student enrollment of 752. In Southern Nigeria there was one government teacher-training institution in 1926 with a student population of 55. By 1937 the number had increased to three with a student population of 152.[1] These figures clearly indicate that the increase in government expenditure had led to increases in the number of schools and student enrollments. But the curricula still remained far from reflecting the Nigerian background. The missionaries continued their administration of schools with its emphasis on religious education.

In 1929, the British Government amalgamated the Education Departments of Northern and Southern Nigeria, the two Provinces having hitherto been administered differently. The number of assisted schools continued to rise, as did teacher-training institutions, and both primary and secondary schools continued to show increases in the number of attendances. In the 1930s, however, the British Government cut down its expenditure, as a result of the world-wide depression. This resulted in the reduction of staffs and the closure of many schools; many teachers were simply not paid their salaries. In the mission schools, teachers were told to accept their work as a "service to God", and often remained in service without pay for months. The majority of the teachers, unable to accept this situation, however, left the teaching profession. Both the government's cut-back in expenditure, and the

[1] Ibid., p. 75.

attitude adopted by the missionaries, dealt the teaching profession a severe blow. Many teachers entered into other more lucrative professions, an exodus which has never been halted to date.

Before this period, there were no higher educational institutions in Nigeria established by the colonial government. It was during the depression years, when the government found itself deficient in staffs to carry out the task of administering the country as a whole, that moves were made to train some Nigerians in various departments[1] so that they could handle certain office duties. The British Government seems to have followed these steps, not because it was eager to see Nigerians receive training in the various civil-service departments, but because it did not wish its administration to be interrupted on account of the dearth of available Europeans during the depression years. Unwittingly, however, the British had initiated the establishment of systematic higher education for Nigerians.

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[1] For details of this departmental training, see Babs Fafunwa, Op. Cit., p. 134.

Higher Education

The colonial government never intended that higher (that is, univeristy) education should be for Nigerians. It has been pointed out that it was "symbolic" of Britain's place in Africa in the early nineteenth century that higher education should have had its beginnings in the Sierra Leone Colony, established for freed slaves. "It was symbolic too of the alien nature of higher education that it should have been conceived in the only part of Africa where a large community of detribalised negro people, grounded in the ways of the white man, existed."[1] It was not suprising, then, that Nigeria had no universities up to 1930. A few Nigerians, like Nnamdi Azikiwe, Eyo Ita and Francis Ibiam had their education abroad. It was when these men[2], and other negro scholars like Edward Willmot and Herbert Macaulay, wrote on and criticised the British attitude towards higher education in Africa that the British Government began to open some institutions of higher learning. Among these, was Nigeria Yaba Higher College. The college was officially opened in January 1934 with courses available in medicine, agriculture, engineering and teacher training, but it closed during

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[1] Gerald Rimmington, "The development of Universities in Africa," Comparative Education, Volume 1, March 1965, p. 105.

[2] See for example Nduka Okafor, op. cit., p. 16. See also Nnamdi Azikiwe, Renascent Africa (London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1937), p. 134.

the second world war, when it was acquired by the army for military purposes.

In 1943 the Secretary of State for the colonies established a Commission to study the needs of West Africa in higher education. The terms of reference for the commission were: "To report on the organisation and facilities of the existing centres of higher education in British West Africa, and make recommendations regarding future university development in that area."[1] The Report of the Commission was presented to the British Parliament in June 1945, but a general election the following month - which saw the defeat of the Labour Government - prevented any consideration of the report at that time. In 1946, further delegations were sent to West Africa for more recommendations. In the same year the British Government established a ten-year Development Plan which made provision for the extension of Secondary education and teacher training facilities and the development of teachnical education.[2]

In 1947, the commission sent to West Africa, published its report which led to the establishment of University College Ibadan in 1947, with the admission of 104 students. The University of Ibadan, like other educational institutions in Nigeria, had its policies guided by the British Government. The government established a body based in London, the Inter University Council, responsible for the running

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[1] Fafunwa, op. cit., p. 144.

[2] See Otonti Nduka, op. cit., p. 71.

of all the Universities in West Africa, the University College Ibadan was therefore subject to the directions of the central Inter-University Council. The activities of the Council were not encouraging for Nigerians, since all teaching appointments were made in London before the Council would notify the college of its choice. "The majority of the recruited staff were expatriates from the British Isles."[1]

This was an indication of the British Government attitude towards the growth of higher education in Nigeria. The conditions of service in the institution continued to differ; there was one policy for British personnel and another for Nigerians. This brought some Nigerian nationalist leaders like Nnamdi Azikiwe to criticize, and suggest the following reforms in the Nigerian interest:

1. Finance:
   a) That annual first class passages for the European members of the University should be discontinued.
   b) That 'those who control the finance of the college must be told in plain language that the tax payers of this country can no longer afford to pay super-scale salaries to the Senior Staff (Members)'.
   c) External students should not be barred from the University.
   d) Pre-fabricated houses should be built for junior

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[1] See Fafunwa, op. cit., p. 150.

and senior staff.

e) The university should submit its annual report to the House of Representatives until it could demonstrate its financial responsiblity.

2. Curricula:

a) While respecting the principle of academic freedom, "we expect the University to relate its curricula to the immediate needs of the country."

b) Instead of creating separate faculties for Education and Economics, these should be included with other subjects in the Liberal Arts Curriculum.[1]

Following these criticisms, the British Government made a few changes in order to accommodate those already willing to speak out on British educational policy in Nigeria. They promoted a few qualified Nigerians and increased their seats in the Senate. But this was not enough to satisfy Nigerian aspirations, which demanded nothing short of complete control of education so as to meet Nigerian needs.

The British Government created one University, primary, secondary and teacher-training institutions. The criticism of British educational policies was not that they failed to increase the number of these institutions, but that what was going on in the institutions

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[1] Debates: House of Representatives, August 1954, p. 265, cited in Nduka Okafor, op. cit., p. 93. (My emphasis).

that they did create was out of touch with the Nigerian environment. Whether (or not) the Nigerians succeeded in altering this tendency will be examined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI

THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AND EDUCATION (1950s-1970s)

This period witnessed a series of movements aimed at the continuation of formal education initiated by the colonial powers. After the end of the 2nd World War, the British Government imposed a constitution on Nigeria known as the Richards Constitution[1] of 1945 (named after the Governor of Nigeria at that time, Sir Arthur Richards). The constitution divided the country into three regions: the East, the West and the North. It established a regional assembly in each of the regions, made up of Civil Servants and other non-official members appointed by the regional governors. The regions established corresponded to the boundaries of Nigeria's three main tribal groups: the Ibos, the Yorubas and the Hausas.

The constitution became effective in 1946. Nigerians were elected at various regional assemblies but the running of the country was still in the hands of British officials. Political parties started in most of the regions, based on tribal-affiliations. These political parties were led by such eminent Nigerians as Nnamdi Azikiwe, Obafemi Awolowo and Sardauna of Sokoto, who renewed criticism of the British Government's educational policy. Commenting on the existing educational situation, for example,

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[1] For full details of this constitution see James Coleman, op. cit., p. 27; John Mackintosh, op.cit., p. 22.

Azikiwe maintained that:

> Education of the African was anachronistic, had prepared Africans for life in a stagnant and unprogressive social order, and had encouraged Africans to cultivate false values. It lacked moral stability, emasculated Africans and was utterly useless as a preparation for leadership. Africans have been mis-educated. They need mental emancipation so as to be re-educated to the real needs of Renascent Africa.[1]

Following this and other similar attacks by some nationalist leaders, the British Government in 1951 amended the 1946 Constitution. It gave autonomy to the three regions and granted them a large say in shaping the administration of the regions. Subsequent amendments led to the granting of self-government to the Eastern and Western regions in 1957 and the Northern region in 1959. Finally in 1960, Nigeria became an Independent State.[2]

Upon attainment of self-rule education became the responsibility of the Nigerian Government, which made a number of moves designed to bring education more in line with the perceived interests of Nigerians - i.e., to establish a sense of national consciousness, seen to be essential in a country marked by cultural and linguistic

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[1] Azikiwe, op. cit., p. 134.

[2] For political changes in Nigeria, see James Coleman, op. cit., p. 369; Melson and Wolfe, op. cit., p. 43; John Mackintosh, op. cit., Chapters VII-XIII; Beckett and O'Connell, op. cit., Chapter 5.

diversity. In order to foster a genuine and "non-imposed" consciousness, a measure of decentralization was adopted (of a kind which had long characterised the British system at home, but not in the colonial territories). The regions were henceforth to be responsible for education. The Nigerian Government felt that the regions were in direct touch with the masses and that they were adequately in a position to know their needs. An expansion of educational facilities sought to increase access to schooling for more children, and scholarships were to be provided to facilitate this. From its central position, the government itself proposed changes in school curricula so that they would reflect the local needs of the people. There was a clear recognition that "Behind the planning exercise was the realization that previous plans did not adequately reflect the aspirations of the country."[1]

While the regional governments are entrusted with educational matters within their respective areas, the federal government has a ministery of education which is responsible for education within the federal territory of Lagos. It formulates policies which apply to all regions, so that a balance between centralised and decentralized authority was attempted. There exists a machinery for consultation in the form of statutory boards of

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[1] Nigeria Second National Development Plan 1970-74, Federal Ministry of Information, (Lagos, 1970), p. 16. See also World Survey of Education Vol. V, (1971), p. 915; Nelson et. al., op. cit., p. 176.

education or education committees, to which representatives of teachers' organizations, voluntary agencies, the heads of leading, educational institutions, trade unions and other official organizations are appointed by the minister of education.

From 1951, when self-autonomy was granted to the regions, the Nigerian Government instituted several commissions to look into the educational needs of Nigerians. It continued the 10-year development plan in education which was initiated by the British Government in 1946. For the first time in the history of Nigerian education, the expenditure on education started to increase rapidly, as shown below.

Expenditure	1952	Expenditure 1937-8
Total	£4,989,444	£289,284
Primary and Secondary	£2,345,183	
Vocational	£ 550,605	
Teacher Training	£ 286,307	
Other Expenditure	£1,407,349	

What is interesting to note here, is that for the first time in practice, attention was paid to vocational education. The expenditure alone on vocational education was greater than all the

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[1] Figures for 1937-8 are complited from Otonti Nduka, op. cit., p. 47. Figures for 1952 are from World Survey of Education, Vol. II, 1958, p. 1128.

total expenditure made by the British Government on education in 1937-8. Teacher training equally received the attention of the Nigerian Government, with an expenditure of £286,307.

As education is the responsibility of the various regions, the progress of education in all the regions following the attainment of self-autonomy in 1951, can be briefly reviewed. In 1954/55, the Northern region had 1814 primary institutions with 6,238 teaching staffs and 153,686 students enrolled. In the Western region, there were 10,000 institutions with 26,663 teaching staffs and a total of 811,432 students were enrolled. In the Eastern region, there were 641,205 students enrolled in primary schools. There were increases in other levels of education (for details see Table I).

In 1955, the Western region introduced "Universal Free Primary" education. The regional minister of education, Chief S. Awokoya, declared that "Educational development is imperative and urgent. It must be treated as a national emergency, second only to war. It must move with the momentum of a revolution."[1] In the Eastern region, universal free primary education was also introduced in 1957. This scheme made it possible for more parents to send their children to school.

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[1] Western Region Debates, 1952, cited in Fafunwa, op. cit., p. 168.

Table II shows an increase in the number of institutions and school attendance in 1957. In the Eastern region alone, there were 6,986 primary institutions in 1957 with a student population of 1,209,167 and 40,851 teachers. This was a very great leap from the 1954 figure which gave the East a total population of 641205 students. In the Western region also, there were 6,628 primary institutions with a total of 34,851 teachers and a population of 982,755 students enrolled. The Northern region has 2,009 primary institutions with a total of 7,862 teachers and a population of 205,769 students enrolled. The table shows that the Northern region lagged behind the other regions (East and West). The East and West provided Universal free primary education while the North (a poorer region) could not do this, for financial reasons. Moreover, the North was suspicious of the intent of Western education and, fearing its impact on the Islamic religion, was not prepared to embrace it.

The table equally shows increases in the number of secondary schools in these regions. An interesting aspect of what was happening this time as compared with the colonial period, was a steady increase in the number of vocational schools and the number of students entering these institutions. The East alone had 20 vocational schools in 1957, with a population of 3100 students. Most of these vocational institutions were privately managed and were not receiving grants from the government. Teacher training institutions were also expanding (for details see Table II).

Expenditure on education continued to rise at the same time. In 1952, the expenditure on education in the whole country was £ 4,589,444 but in 1957, the Western government alone spend as much as that. The break-down of the expenditure on education was as follows:

Northern region	£ 2,505,488
Western region	£ 4,795,140
Eastern region	£ 3,994,805
Lagos region	£ 415,318 [1]

In 1958, the Eastern Nigerian government established several committees to look into the educational system of the region. One of the committees was known as the Ikoku Committee on the Review of the Educational System in Nigeria.[2] The government accepted some of the recommendations of the committee, which included a reduction in the length of primary education. The government reduced the length of primary schooling from 8 to 6 years. For lack of finance to continue its scheme of universal free primary education, it introduced fees for the last three years in school and left the first three years free. The Western region followed in the footsteps of the East and established a commission to look into the educational system of the region. These commissions were held simultaneously

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[1] World Survey of Education, Vol. III, 1961, p. 1268.

[2] For a full report of the committee see Ikoku Report on the Educational System in Eastern Nigeria (July, 1962), cited in Fafunwa op. cit., p. 172.

in other regions so that it became a year of educational revolution in Nigeria. These efforts at educational improvement continued up to the granting of independence in 1960 and thence till the Nigerian civil war of 1967. Despite financial difficulties and the great diversity among the regions, a real attempt was made to establish a systematic provision of education, which was not only on paper.

Tables III to X show educational progress in Nigeria during these periods. Table III, shows the progress in primary education. In the North there were 2,584 primary institutions in 1961, a considerable leap from the 1955 figure of 1814 institutions in the North. Increases were also recorded by other regions (See Table III). It is to be noted that after the first increase in the number of institutions in 1961, the figures started dropping in some of the regions. For example the East had 7,008 in 1961; 6,478 in 1962; 6028 in 1963 and so on. The West and Mid-West also showed a decrease. The reason for this decrease in the East was that the government ordered the closure of some schools because of mismanagement and some others were required to merge into a single unit. In the West and Mid-West, the decrease resulted from a split of the West into two regions and each started operating a separate educational system. The Mid-West then became a region in its own right.

Table III equally shows the number of children attending primary schools in Nigeria from 1961 to 1967 before the civil war started. There were increases in the number of children attending schools. The slight decrease shown in 1964 was as a result of a reduction in the number of years in the primary school from 8 to 6 years so that the two top classes of primary school were required to take their First School leaving Certificate. The number of teachers in Nigeria also decreased in 1964. This was due to the fact that those teachers who were not qualified were ordered to be trained by the government. Most of these teachers therefore left for the teacher training colleges. By 1966, most of these teachers completed their training, hence the number of increases in 1966 and 1967 (See Table III).

Table IV shows the extent to which these primary schools were controlled. The figures indicate that schools were grouped into three categories: Government schools including local authorities; assisted schools and non-assisted schools. It is to be noted that, despite the fact that the Nigerian government had control of education at this particular time, the number of schools entirely in government hands was very small. For example, in the East, there were 11 government schools in 1961; 11 in 1962; and 10 in 1966. When these figures are compared with the number of aided schools, the gaps are very wide. For example, in 1961, there were 5,215 aided schools in the East,; 4,752 in 1962; 4,399 in 1966. These aided schools were still in the hands of the missionaries. The reason for this

was that the government feared the financial consequences that would follow should it attempt to take over the mission schools. For example such a take-over would have involved the training and supply of teachers, provision of teaching materials, the payment of all transport costs, the responsibility for inspection and supervision, building, furnishing and maintenance of the schools and the teachers' houses, as well as the payment of boarding costs and teachers' salaries. These were burdens which the government was unable to shoulder and the missionaries were thus allowed to continue running the schools, as they had under British rule. (As indicated in Table IV), in the East, the government was controlling only 11 primary schools while over 5,215 primary schools were in the hands of the missionaries in 1961.

Educational data on the Mid-West region started to appear from 1964, following its creation in 1963. In 1964, it had 1,807 primary institutions, 10,801 teachers and a population of 371,709 students enrolled (see Table III).

Secondary Education

In secondary education, there was expansion similar to that of the primary stage. In the East, for example, there were 10,421 students in secondary schools in 1954-55; in 1961, the number had risen to 25,908. There were also increases in the number of institutions. For example, the East had 148 secondary institutions

in 1961 and the number had risen to 284 by 1965. Similar increases were seen in other regions up to 1965, except the Western region, which showed a decline in 1964 because another region was carved out from it (see Table V). As with the primary schools, most of these secondary schools were in the hands of the missionaries: for instance, in the East there were five government secondary schools while over 81 schools were controlled by the missionaries in 1961 (see Table VIII).

Technical and Vocational Education

In the technical and vocational fields, Table VI shows that the North started to show an interest in vocational education. In part, this was a result of the efforts of the Northern leaders, at this point, in preaching the same need to pursue education as characterised their other regional counterparts. Most Northerners were then prepared to enter into any type of educational institution, hence their rush into vocational and technical education. In 1961, the North had 16 technical and vocational institutions with an enrollment of 2,401 students; in 1965 there were 18 institutions, with 2,956 students enrolled. Other regions showed little interest in this field at this time. For example, the Eastern region, which had 20 technical and vocational institutions in 1957 with a population of 3100 students enrolled, had only 9 technical and vocational institutions in 1961 with a population of 1,309 students enrolled

(see Table VI). Foster has suggested the reasons for this in Ghana:

> Returning to the problem of vocational aspirations our evidence would lead us to conclude that income expectation is an extra-ordinarily important factor in influencing preferences. Ghananian children correlate occupational prestige and perceived income very highly. It is income accruing to various types of occupation that has been so important to the products of the school.[1]

This seems also to have been the case in Nigeria. A survey conducted by the manpower board of Nigeria based on three Nigerian Universities (Lagos, Ibadan and Ife) found the following levels of unemployment among the 435 students surveyed in 1972.

Field of study of the students	Unemployment rate %
Business Administration	NIL
Agriculture/Forestry	5.5
Arts	1
Education	NIL
Engineering	13.5
Law	NIL
Science (Physical)	2
Social Sciences	1.5[2]

[1] Foster op.cit., p. 290.

[2] Nigeria Manpower Board, Federal Ministry of Economic Development and Reconstruction, Vol. I, 1973, p. 16.

These figures indicate that Agriculture and Engineering students were the most unemployed in Nigeria. The survey also discovered that out of the total of four unemployed engineers, three happended to be electrical engineers (having pursued a "vocational" education) and they had been unemployed nearly a year after graduating, while their counterparts who studied law, medecine and business administration found employment immediately after graduating. The survey also revealed that graduates in law, business administration, economics and veterinary medicine earned above 2400 naira per annum while their counterparts who studied civil and electrical engineering earned 1600 naira. The same is true also of graduates of other fields of vocational education. As can be seen from the above findings, most of the students who entered technical and vocational institutions came out with very few jobs awaiting them. Those who managed to secure employment found themselves occupying positions which were of very low status in relation to their expectations, and receiving a low rate of rumuneration, compared with their counterparts who were the products of general or academic education. The largest unemployed group in Nigeria came from those who graduated from technical and vocational institutions. Foster has pointed out that:

> An examination of opportunities within that sector (exchange sector of the economy) throughout the colonial period reveals that relatively

> there was a greater demand for clerical and commercial employees than for technically trained individuals. Opportunities certainly existed in technical fields and in agriculture, but they were inferior to the other alternatives. Access to most of the highly paid occupations was, therefore, achieved through academic type institutions.[1]

The findings of the Manpower Survey suggest - though further surveys are required - that Foster's observation is true also of Nigeria. The progressive enlargement of Nigerian governmental agencies[2] has tended to favor employment for clerical and administrative workers.[3] The government has therefore employed a greater number of these people (products of academic-type education) than their counterparts in technical fields. The balance of job opportunities has shifted more in favor of clerical employment: for this reason, there is a growing demand for the academic-type secondary school education that provides access to such positions. Perhaps Foster is right in pointing out that "Africans do not usually

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[1] Philip Foster, "The Vocational School Fallacy in Development Planning", Education and Economic Development, eds. Anderson and Bowman (Chicago, 1965), p. 145

[2] Nigeria National Development Plan, Federal Ministry of Economic Development, Lagos, 1962-68, p. 335; In 1937 there was a total established staff of 9,000 in Public Service; in 1958 it was 10,000 and in 1960 it stood at 11,000. The increase has been of an order of 11 percent a year.

[3] Federal Ministry of Labour Quarterly Review, Lagos, 1964, p. 4, observes that high incidence of unemployment in Nigeria was among electricians, carpenters and mechanics.

disdain manual or agricultural work provided it is linked to real occupational and financial opportunities and does not constitute a useless and unrewarding activity."[1] It is the products of academic type institutions that have formed the "elites" of Nigeria. They are the clerks, the professional and top-ranking government figures, and their positions have gained them respect in the community.[2]

Teacher Training

Teacher training facilities expanded in the North but diminished in the East and West. The North had 44 teacher training institutions with 342 teachers and a population of 4,668 students enrolled in 1961. The student enrollment continued to increase with a record of 13,634 students in 1967. This was an indication that the North had started responding positively to the call by their leaders to follow in the footsteps of their regional counterparts in pursuing formal education. In both the East and the West, the decrease was due to the abolition of Grade III teachers' institutions (see Table VII). Most of these teacher training institutions were in the hands of the missionaries. For example in 1961, there were

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[1] Philip Foster, "Education for Self-Reliance," p. 93 cited in Richard Heyman et. al., Studies in Educational Change (Toronto, Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, Ltd., 1972), p. 149.

[2] See e.g., Damachi, op. cit., pp. 98-99.

only four government teacher training institutions in the East while over 114 institutions were in the hands of the missionaries. Similar control is seen in other regions. (see Table X).

Controlling Authorities

Tables VIII to X show how these institutions were controlled, mostly by the missionaries. For example, in the case of general education in the East, the government was controlling only five of these institutions in 1961 and the number showed little change up to 1966. The rest of the institutions were in the hands of the missionaries, and the government was in no hurry to assume the financial responsibility for so many institutions.

In technical and vocational education, there were very few existing institutions and these were purely in the hands of the government. The voluntary agencies in Africa as a whole showed very little interest in it because, as Foster has indicated, there was little demand: "The financial rewards and the employment opportunities for technically trained individuals were never commensurate with opportunities in the clerical field."[1] Other possible reasons for lack of interest in vocational and technical education were that the missionaries were primarily concerned with

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[1] Foster, "The Vocational School Fallacy in Development Planning", Anderson and Bowman op.cit., p. 145.

religious matters and had little time for other forms of education, while the setting up of technical institutions involved financial burdens which the missions were unwilling to assume. Table IX shows that only one of these institutions in the East was in the hands of the voluntary agencies in 1961 and there was little change up to 1966. The same lack of interest was shown by other regions (see Table IX).

In teacher-training institutions, control was also in the hands of the voluntary agencies, mostly the missionaries. As the figure on Table X indicates, 114 of such institutions in the East were in the hands of voluntary agencies in 1961 while the government controlled only four. Similar control was seen in other regions (see Table X).

As the tables show, there is an expansion of educational facilities and an increase in the enrolment of students. This could lead one to conclude that there has been a real shift from an "elitist" to an egalitarian system of education. However this is not so. In Nigeria, there still exist many private and expensive nurseries and some private fee-paying primary schools, which are for the sons and daughters of the rich. The majority of other children have to attend the government free primary schools, most of which are ill-equipped. On top of this is the important question of maintenance, which takes into account such factors as books, class dues and clothes. Only the sons and daughters of comfortable families could afford these, and those of the poor

Nigerians could be forced to withdraw from schools since ill-equipped to attend.

As the tables indicate, most of the schools were in the hands of the voluntary agencies, especially the missionaries. Much has been said about the activities of the missionaries during the colonial period, but now they were operating under the Nigerian Government: one might therefore have expected changes in the organization and curricula of these schools, but such was not the case. The government, for fear of heavy financial responsibilities, left the missionaries alone. What happened, then, was that day to day life in the schools remained much as it had been under the old colonial regime; religion continued to dominate the classroom.

As an illustration of the type of education occuring at this period, I will refer to a secondary school in which I was a student from 1960 to 1965, Holy Cross High School Umuawulu-Awka. The school was under the administration of a missionary priest, Father Patrick Kinnerka. What was happening in the school was out of touch with the local environment: religion took precedence over any other subject, each student had a copy of a religious book called "This is the Faith" without which no student would attend classes. Each morning and evening students assembled for prayer, and in the class, each lesson usually started with such prayers as "Our Father," or "Hail Mary". In the class subjects such as Latin, French and English assumed prominence; the Nigerian Languages had

no place. To fail in a subject like Latin meant failure in the whole examination, and I recall vividly when in 1963, the principal wrote in my report card that "Because he has failed in Latin, he has failed the whole exam." This was typical of the type of education given in other institutions at this period of Nigerian Independence.[1]

Given the emergence of self-rule, what was the position of the Nigerian leaders? They condemned the educational system under the British. Now these leaders were in control of Nigeria's destiny, and yet the educational system was still much that of the British, which they had rejected. There might be several reasons for this. As Ayo Ogunsheye has pointed out: "Nigerians and their leaders do not as yet look up to the schools as instruments for the conscious fostering of a Nigerian consciousness or solidarity. One possible explanation may be in the federal structure of a country in which there is no single dominant political party and where education is a regional responsibility."[2] Other possible factors might be that criticisms of British educational policies on the part of nationalist leaders were aimed at securing political office. When such office was attained, everything else, including the educational system, became of secondary importance until a general election was called.

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[1] See for example Otonti Nduka, "Education and National Mobilization," Nigeria Opinion, Vol. 9 (1972), p. 5 who notes that up to the present day, many have criticised the curriculum as bookish and literacy in orientation, out of touch with the local environment and displaying a too-prominent religious bias.

[2] Ayo Ogunsheye, "Nigeria," Education and Political Development, James Coleman, ed., (New Jersey: Princeton University Press 1965), p. 134.

when the leaders would re-emerge to feed the masses with explanations of why this or that had not been accomplished. With reference to the latter, it is worth noting the statements on education of some of these leaders in their preparation to take over power from the present military government in 1979:

> The United Party of Chief Awolowo proposes "free education at all levels effective from October 1 next," the National Party, under the Chairmanship of Alhaji Makaman Bida, aims "to eradicate illiteracy throughout Nigeria and to promote learning, science and culture," the Nigerian People's Party, of Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim and others, has said it "will work towards free and high-quality education at all levels."[1]

These kinds of statements were heard during the colonial period, yet systematic education remained unchanged when Nigerians themselves came to power. It seems reasonable to argue that these are essentially political statements aimed at gaining political office.

Other possible reasons why no change has been effected in the Nigerian educational system are that the government borrows most of the money from abroad (See Chapter VII) and for this reason finds itself financially restrained in carrying out any

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[1] West Africa, 16 October 1978, p. 2027.

massive educational reforms. Furthermore, Nigerians have opposed any departure from the traditional academic-type education, which has offered Nigerians an opportunity to compete with the Europeans. For this reason, parity of examination standards had become highly symbolical. As Coleman notes, "As a group these Nigerians aspired to European standards, and the English school certificate represented at least one area where nominal equality had been achieved. Possession of the certificate was a prerequisite not only for employment in Nigeria, but also for entry into universities abroad."[1] On this account, Nigerians did not like the rural, tribal, vocational, vernacular and moral instruction that the government intended to substitute. "Only complete and unadulterated Western education would satisfy their material and psychological aspiration."[2]

Higher Education

Higher education was a joint responsibility of both the regional and federal governments. In 1959, the federal government appointed a commission "to conduct an investigation into Nigeria's needs in the field of Post-secondary School Certificate and Higher Education over the next twenty years (1960-1980)." The commission was chairmaned by Eric Ashby and it submitted its report on October 1960

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[1] James Coleman, op. cit., p. 120.

[2] Ibid.

and recommended:

University development in Nigeria should be so planned as to ensure that by 1970 there will be an enrolment of at least 7,500 students, with a substantial growth beyond that figure in the decade 1970-80.

All universities in Nigeria should be national in outlook and general policy.

There should be wider diversity and greater flexibility in university education if it is to be relevant to the needs of Nigeria.

Every university in the country should have an Institute of African Studies, which co-ordinates research being conducted by various university departments.

Nigerian universities should be independent of one another and that each should offer its own degrees.

Grants should be made from Regional or Federal funds to all students who are accepted for admission to Nigerian universities and who are not able to pay for their university education themselves.

A National Universities Commission should be established without delay under the chairmanship of an outstanding Nigerian citizen.[1]

The above recommendations recognise the need for wider access to university education. By the time of the recommendations, Nigeria had only one univeristy college which was situated at Ibadan. The federal government accepted some of the recommendations of the commission. It established four more universities:- the University of Nigeria, Nsukka (1960), Ahmadu Bello Univeristy, Zaria (1962), Univeristy of Ife, (1962) and the University of Lagos (1962); the Univesity College Ibadan was expanded into a full-fledged university. Table XI shows the progress in university enrollment in Nigeria from the time of Independence to the period of the Civil War. In the University of Nigeria Nsukka, there were 905 students enrolled in 1961; 1,148 in 1962 and a record high of 3,482 students enrolled in 1966. Similar increases were recorded by other universities (see Table XI). The figures indicate that for the first time in Nigerian history, many Nigerians were pursuing education in the institutions of higher learning, without going abroad (Largely to Britain.). These Nigerian universities strive to attain internationally recognised standards.[2] But despite this many

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[1] Investment in Education, The Report of the Commission on Post-School Certificate and Higher Education in Nigeria (Federal Ministry of Education, 1960), pp. 44-46.

[2] See Nduka Okafor, op. cit., p. 170.

Nigerians still prusue their education abroad for the mere fact that the universities in Nigeria could not accommodate all the students wishing to receive a university education. In the 1976/77 academic year over 1,722 Nigerians were pursuing courses in overseas institutions.[1] The government encourages this for in the same year the government spent #3,144,000 to support most of these students.[2]

Scholarships

The federal government expenditure on scholarships for 1962-67 was as follows:

1962-63	£1,307,947
1963-64	£1,414,599
1964-65	£1,229,704
1965-66	£1,253,521
1966-67	£1,383,316[3]

Table XII shows the number of students receiving these awards. For example, in the University of Nigeria Nsukka, there were 869 students studying with scholarships in 1965-66 while 1701 students were paying fees. The gap was similar to that found

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[1] Press release: Nigeria High Commission, Ottawa, (unpaginated).

[2] Ibid.

[3] Federal Ministry of Education, Lagos, 1967, p.70.

in other universities except Ahmadu Bello University. The government was willing to offer more scholarships to Ahmadu Bello University students (composed mainly of Northerners) so as to encourage more students from the North to pursue univeristy education. By doing this, the government hopes to narrow the gap in education between the North and its Southern counterparts. With respect to other universities, the government, for financial reasons, could not provide scholarships for most of the students: hence the limited number of students studying with scholarships (see Table XII).

In its policy on scholarships, the government stated that:

> Under - Graduate - All applicants for Undergraduate degree courses must posses the HSC/GCE 'A' level, a Division One School Certificate, or GCE 'O' level in at least six subjects, including English and Mathematics.
>
> Vocational/Technical Courses - Applicants must possess at least a Grade III School Certificate with credits in Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry and Biology.[1]

This suggests that those who go to technical/vocational schools are those with lesser marks who cannot "make it" at the undergraduate level in the eyes of the government, or, as Foster puts it, "students

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[1] West Africa, 24 October, 1977, p. 2176.

who are for the most part composed of 'rejects' from selective academic type institutions."[1] The federal government therefore recognises that vocational education is in a sense "inferior" to general education, and hence the high requirements placed on those entering that field. It is therefore not suprising that students should show a greater interest for academic than for technical/vocational education. This position remained unchanged up to 1967, when Nigerians were plunged into civil war. Educational progress was then halted. In the same year, 1967, Gowon (the then Nigerian head of government) split the country into twelve states. The war lasted for two and a half years and, during this period, most of the schools were used for war purposes and the majority of Nigerians saw their education disrupted, so that, following the war, "our primary objective is the restoration of facilities and services damaged or disrupted by the civil war."[2]

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[1] Foster, op. cit., p. 155.

[2] Second National Development Plan, 1970-74 Federal Ministry of Information, Lagos, 1970, p. 237. See also Nelson et. al, op. cit., p. 178; maintain that "During the civil war the educational process was largely suspended in East Central State. All primary and secondary schools were closed from July 1967 until March 1970, as were classes at the University of Nigeria Nsukka."

CHAPTER VII

POST-CIVIL WAR NIGERIA

When civil war ended in 1970, the missionaries were blamed for the part they played for the duration of the war. Most of the missionary organizations, including the Catholic Church, sent relief materials to areas affected by the civil war, the Eastern Region (which was most affected) receiving the largest share. The Nigerian Government did not support this relief effort as applied to the East, for according to the government, it would sustain the East in its rebellious struggle. By their involvement in relief operations, the churches were accused of having helped in the prolongation of the war. For example, Otonti Nduka argued that "in the use of humanitarianism Roman Catholic Organizations smuggled in both relief matierials and arms to those who were bent on encompassing the disintegration of the Corporate Unity of this country."[1] The Churches' action was therefore seen as not in the best interest of Nigerians, and the wisdom of entrusting religious bodies with upbringing of future generations of Nigerians was seen as "highly questionable".[2]

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[1] Otonti Nduka, "Education and National Mobilization," Nigeria Opinion, Vol. 8, (1972), p.6.

[2] Ibid.

Once again, then, the missionaries have served as a scapegoat. It has been a way of life for Nigerians to blame other people for their ills, instead of placing the blame where it lies, that is, in the hands of the government (for failing to resolve the Nigerian crisis).[1] It was this type of attitude that led Bayo Okeyode (a former university student) to denounce the regime for its ruthlessness:

> When Gowon's regime started arbitrary arrests and detention of people who spoke up their minds about the widespread corruption in the country then Nigerian students protested and deomonstrated violently against the regime's excess. No other group in the society then had the courage to confront the Gowon Government.[2]

Thus, the missionaries were expelled for their alleged complicity in the strife. The government ordered the complete take-over of all schools, more especially in the Eastern Region (now East Central State), where the rebellion took place.

Government policies during this period were aimed at rebuilding a society torn apart by the civil war by restoring such facilities and services as roads, housing and communications. In education, the government was concerned with ways of restoring and reactivating

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[1] See A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, op. cit., Chapter 1.

[2] The Nigerian Daily Times, 10 June, 1978, p. 3.

educational facilities which had been disrupted. For example, in the East Central State, most of the schools were damaged by the civil war, and the Nigerian Government planned a special grant to help the East Central State and other states that sustained similar damages.[1] At the same time, the government continued the development and expansion of primary, secondary, technical, teacher training and university education.

Table XIII shows the progress in education after the civil war. In 1970, there were 3,515,827 students enrolled in primary schools in Nigeria and 103,152 teachers. In 1971 the nubmer of students enrolled rose to 3,894,539 and 116,640 teachers. Similar increases occured in general, vocational and teacher training enrollments (see Table XIII).

Government expenditure in education was increased from 30.042 million in 1970-71 to 38.738 million in 1972-73.[2] In the schools, the government moved for the first time to take direct control of administration and the entire curricula. In the school curriculum, the government planned the inclusion of such subjects as civics and social studies, through which the study of the local community and the country as a whole should be encouraged. On the language of instruction, English continues to be used in all Nigerian schools while the government "considers it to be in the

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[1] See Federal Ministry of Information, op. cit., p. 237.

[2] Ibid.

interest of national unity that each child should be encouraged to learn one of the three major languages other than his own mother-tongue. In this connection the government considers the three major languages in Nigeria to be Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba."[1] These measures all mean that on the level of language, there is little that is designed to foster a sense of being "Nigerian" (that is, by choosing a Nigerian language such as Ibo, Hausa or Yoruba and making it a national language). The government is in a difficult and delicate position in choosing a national language for the whole country for fear of being accused of favouritism towards any one tribe hence its continued emphasis on the learning of one of the three major languages in the country.

In the East Central State, the government ordered a complete revision of all text books, and took upon itself the responsibility of issuing texts as were to be subsequently approved. Prayers were drafted by the Ministry of Education and sent to schools, names of all schools were changed to reflect the localities in which they were situated, and children were requried to attend the nearest school in their areas. For the first time in Nigerian schools, the Nigerian map was drawn and redrawn everyday. Local towns and names came into use and the children were taught to sing Nigerian songs. This was the first attempt to change the image of Nigerian schools.

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[1] National Policy on Education, Federal Ministry of Information, Lagos, 1977, p. 5.

But it was not altogether successful. Traders protested the sale of books by the government for it threatened their business and many teachers even refused to sell the books in their classes.[1]

In 1973, the Federal government turned to the universities as institutions that could help foster the national unity which was badly needed as a result of the civil war. The government introduced a one-year compulsory National Youth Service Corps for all students graduating from the universities. This scheme resembles that established in Tanzania in 1966, "requiring all secondary and university graduates to join the National Service (a nation-building program which includes teaching and community work in the rural areas), spend six months in camps and 18 months at their regular jobs at 40 percent normal pay."[2]

Giving the background account of the Nigerian National Youth Service Scheme, the Director, Colonel S. Omojokun, had this to say:

> Dating from the early years of Independence, Nigerians from various walks of life, including students, began to express the need of the government to establish a scheme to mobilize the

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[1] As a personal example, I told the headmaster of the school where I was teaching in 1973 that I could not function effectively as a teacher while at the same time having to sell these books. Most other teachers made similar criticisms and the government was forced to abandom some of its measures.

[2] Jane Idrian and Resnick, "Tanzania Educates for a New Society," Africa Report, 16, 1 (1971), pp. 26-29.

youths and involve them in the social and economic development of the country. It was in response to these sentiments that the National Youth Corps Decree was promulgated on the 22 May, 1973 embracing in the first instance graduates of Nigerian universities.[1]

The Director enumerated problems which are facing Nigeria as a developing nation. Among these are poverty, mass illiteracy, an acute shortage of high-skilled manpower and inadequate socio-economic infrastructural facilities, i.e. housing, water and sewerage facilities, roads, adequate health care services, and an effective communications system. He then declared that, faced with these almost intractable problems, which were further compounded by the burden of reconstruction after the civil war, the government had set fresh goals and objectives for the country aimed at establishing Nigeria as:

a. A united, strong and self-reliant nation;
b. A great and dynamic economy;
c. A just and egalitarian society;
d. A land of bright and full opportunities for all citizens; and
e. A free and democratic society.[2]

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[1] Federal Republic of Nigeria, Message of the Director of the National Youth Service Corps, (n.d.), p. 1.

[2] Ibid., p. 2.

The Director hoped that education would help to achieve these aims. This was in line with the general thinking that education was the major tool for the building of society.[1] But Foster has argued that "schools are remarkably clumsy instruments for inducing prompt large-scale changes in underdeveloped areas."[2] However, the Nigerian Government hoped that universities would help in achieving these fresh goals, only through the National Youth Service Corps. They would identify with the plight of the common man, and appreciate the predicament of the vast majority of the people who live in rural areas.

The government felt that the National Youth Service Corps would inculcate discipline in Nigerian youths by instilling in them a tradition of industry at work, and patriotic and loyal service to the nation in any situation they might find themselves; raise the moral tone of the youths by giving them the opportunity to learn about higher ideals of national achievement and social and cultural improvement; develop in youths attitudes of mind acquired through shared experience and suitable training, which would make them

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[1] Coleman, op. cit., p. 522, notes that "education tends to be regarded by many as the prime determinant of the total development process, as the master instrument for changing attitudes, for transforming social structures, for sparking or accelerating economic growth". See also L.J. Lewis, Education and Political Independence in Africa (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1962), pp. 2-3; John Wilson, Education and Changing West African Culture (New York: Columbia University, 1963), Chapter 1; Makulu, op. cit., p. 31.

[2] Foster, "The Vocational School Fallacy in Development Planning", Anderson and Bowman, op. cit., p. 144.

more amenable to mobilization in the national interest. It was also envisaged that the latter would develop common ties among youths and promote national unity by ensuring that:

i As far as possible, youths are assigned to jobs in states other than their own states of origin;

ii Each group, assigned to work, is as representative of the country as possible;

iii The youths are exposed to the modes of living of the people in different parts of the country with a view to removing prejudices, eliminating ignorance, and confirming at first hand the many similarities among Nigerians of all ethnic groups.[1]

During the period of assignment, the graduates are expected to work anywhere in Nigeria. They are expected to work with the local inhabitants, eat with them and acquire an insight into local traditions, customs and general knowledge of the people.

The scheme was unpopular with some students[2] (as in the

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[1] Federal Republic of Nigeria, op. cit., p. 4.

[2] Beckett and O'Connell, op. cit., p. 22, note that: "The students resent this service year and it is an embittering factor in their relations with the military government."

similar scheme in Tanzania) despite the claim by the Director that students in institutions of higher learning expressed the need for the government to establish such a scheme. In Tanzania, over 300 students marched in protest against the scheme and called on the president to relent.[1] In Nigeria, the students adopted a different method. Some, in order to show their dislike of the scheme, were in the habit of holding all-night parties and dances to the utter disregard of the feelings of other families who shared the same building.[2] Others refused to report for assignment upon graduating from the universities. This brought the director of the programme to issue the following statement:

> At the inception of the National Youth Service Corps scheme in 1973, some students who graduated that year were, on the recommendation of their vice-chancellor, granted a three year deferment from participation in the NYSC scheme to enable them to pursue post-graduate studies. This period of deferment ended in 1976, and while some of the graduates have reported for National Service, many others, have so far, failed to do so. The Directorate of the National Youth Service Corps is, therefore, asking the affected graduates to honour their obligation and report to the

[1] See Jane and Resnick, op. cit., p. 26.

[2] See Nigerian Service News, April 1978, p. 1.

Directorate in Surulere without further delay.[1]

The Director went on to say that the attitudes of the students concerned were reckless and damaging to the nation. He expressed the view that students were mature and patriotic enough to understand the need for a good citizen to honour his obligation either to his fellow human beings or to the society at large. This comment was followed by an editorial in the Nigerian Service News:

> Look out Readers for the next edition of Service News (May 1978) which will carry a full list of these unpatriotic elements who think they can succeed in evading National Service. They must turn up and serve.[2]

This is typical of the Nigerian press: it always supports the views of those in power. It equally carries the views of the opposition, but for fear of repressive measures it supports the government line of thinking. A number of questions need to be raised, however: What obligation have these students entered into? What makes them unpatriotic? Is the National Youth Service Corps Decree No. 24, a way of achieving democracy? Paradoxically, there is an expressed desire for democracy in public statements, while simultaneously, governmental procedures are distincly undemocratic.

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[1] Ibid., p. 2.

[2] Ibid.

In 1974, the government introduced its Third National Development plan, aimed at nation-building, through "equality of educational opportunity":

> Nigeria continues to recognise education as a very powerful instrument for social change in a process of dynamic nation building....Government commitment... is the creation in the country of an educational system capable of ensuring that every citizen is given full opportunity to develop his intellectual and working capacities for his own benefit and that of his community.[1]

This plan is different from other plans in that it aims at giving every Nigerian the opportunity to acquire education up to the university level. Being fresh from the civil war, the government is aware of the conflicts and tensions within and among ethnic groups as a result of their religious, cultural and linguistic differences which have been intensified as a result of the differential amounts of formal schooling received. The government felt that giving every Nigerian an opportunity to receive education would help close the gap between the regions, and at the same time enable every Nigerian "to understand both the physical and human environment of which he is a part."[2] It is hoped that by an

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[1] Nigerian Year Book, 1977, p. 187.

[2] James Coleman, op. cit., p. 539.

understanding of the Nigerian environment, Nigerians will be drawn into a wider circle of social interaction necessary for the acquisition of more information and knowledge on the country, as well as on personal relations and forms of social and political behavior. In other words, the Nigerian Government is determined to "develop among the masses a level of political action and political commitment to an entity larger than the customary tribes, village communities, castes, lineages or other small groups which in the past formed the major foci of the loyalty of the masses."[1] The main implications of the Development Plan therefore centred on:

(a) Free universal and compulsory education throughout the country.

(b) The expansion of secondary schools.

(c) The introduction of a parallel system of secondary technical schools to supplement the present system of secondary education.

(d) The production of trained teachers for schools at all levels and the up-grading of teachers-in-service.

(e) The expansion and consolidation of the existing universities and the establishment of new universities under the Federal

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[1] Bert Hoselitz, "Investment in Education and its Political Impact", in James Coleman op. cit., p. 556.

Government leadership.[1] That is to say, a priority was seen to lie with establishing a real access to the best possible facilities of the traditional (i.e. British-style) system of education from the primary school to the university. The discussion of educational planning and reform did not centre specifically on a re-shaping of the curriculum to meet the multiple ethnic and linguistic nature of Nigeria. The responsibility for the curriculum lies with the regions.[2]

During this period the government spent over 2.5 billion naira in education. In September 1976, it commenced the Universal Free Primary education scheme. Responsibility for this scheme, which had been started earlier in the regions, was now assumed by the federal government. Over 150,000 classrooms were provided for pupils at an estimated cost of 300 million naira. In the secondary schools, total enrollments exceeded 500,000 students. In the training of teachers, over 6,600 additional classrooms were provided in teacher colleges for primary school teachers at a cost of 200 million naira.[3] Additional universities were built, bringing the total number of universities in Nigeria to thirteen. These are:- Ibadan, Jos, Calabur, Maiduguri, Sokoto, Ilorin, Kano, Nsukka,

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[1] Nigerian Year Book, 1977, p. 187.

[2] See Robert Melson and Howard Wolpe, op. cit., p. 433.

[3] Nigeria Diary 1978 (unpaginated).

Lagos-Yaba, Ife, Zaria, Benin and Port-Harcourt.

Most of the financial resources needed for these expenditures usually come from the United Kingdom and the United States; in 1970-71, Britain alone granted Nigeria a total sum of £2,000,000.[1] These countries see Nigeria as designing a democratic future as opposed to the socialist state which Tanzania aims to establish.[2] President Carter of the United States made this clear during his recent visit to Nigeria when he declared that:

> Americans had been encouraged by the movement towards democracy being made in many African nations. Nigeria is an outstanding example. The free and fair elections you held in the past year leave no doubt that your government is determined to pursue its decision to abolish military rule by 1979. This action will be an inspiration to all those in the world who love democracy and also who love freedom. And we congratualte you on this.[3]

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[1] Capital Estimates of the Government of Nigeria, 1970-72, Federal Ministry of Information, Lagos, 1971, p. 7.

[2] See for example Richard Heyman et. al., Studies in Educational Change (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, Ltd., 1972), p. 144. See also Nelson et. al. op. cit., p. 249 who note that Nigerian "nonalignment has resulted in friendly relations with both the West, the East and with Communist China."

[3] West Africa, 10 April, 1978, p. 700.

The governmental measures referred to above did not in fact help the majority of Nigerians to have increased access to the best educational facilities. Schools were over-crowded with students as a result of the Universal Free Primary Education Scheme. Teachers found themselves holding larger numbers of students in the class, the majority of whom they could not teach. Parents resorted to private lessons for their children, to improve the quality of education their children received; others, who could not afford private lessons, were left to cope with the low quality of education. To add to this, the government in 1978 introduced measures which the students regarded as retrogressive. These included increases in school fees in secondary and University education and the transfer of the loan scheme at the Federal level to State level. The students responded to these measures by calling a general protest strike. They condemned the government's execution of the scheme of Universal Free Primary Education, increases in secondary and university fees, transference of Federal loan scheme to the State Government and shortage of teachers. They then asked: "Why must education be made the Judas of past national extravaganzas and squandermanias on jamborees of Festacs and Festivals?"[1], and issued the following unambiguous demand: "Reform and democratize education. Education is a right

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[1] Government Press Release, Nigeria High Commission, Ottawa, May 30, 1978, p. 12.

and not a privilege. Education should be made a popular commodity and not an exclusive elitist luxury. Education should be compulsory and free at all levels".[1] It echoed demands made earlier in most European democracies, for an end to "dual systems", for common access to a common school. It should be ntoed here that the students' demonstration had no connection with a "subversive" political movement. It resembeled Nigerian students' past demonstrations.[2] It is an indication that students are becoming more politicized and appear to be questioning government policy more than in the past.[3] It is also generally in line with student demonstrations in other African countries where students have demonstrated as a result of

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[1] Ibid., p. 13.

[2] See William Hanna, University Students and African Politics (New York: African Publishing Company, 1975), p. 15, Nigerian students protested against the replacement of Dr. E. Njoku by Dr. S. Biobaku as Vice-Chancellor. See also p. 61: University of Nigeria students boycotted classes and demonstrated to protest the rigging of elections in what was then the Western Region.

[3] See Beckett and O'Connel, op. cit., p. 22, who argue that "with the enormous growth in student numbers, students give the impression that for the first time they are conscious of themselves as students--and movements of student power elsewhere have suggested a fuller political role to Nigerian students."

changes in the conditions of their life.[1]

This position was a clear indictment of the elitist system of Nigerian education. The government was forced by the students' actions to explain that the increased fees were justified considering the financial strains of the country precipitated by reduced oil production, reduced sales and prices, inflated prices of imported goods, and other economic pressures. The students rejected such explanations and the government was forced to use the police to bring the situation under control. That is, the government tried to apper as a reasonable democratic force, by "explaining" the economic difficulties and responding to student criticism; thus offered a "justification" for its hard-line tactics. However, it was also an indication to the Nigerian Government that its educational system is far from adequate.

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[1] See Hanna, op. cit., p. 211, who argues that "the demonstrations by Tanzania students over national service in late 1966 occured because student were being asked to defer the gratification of their upper-middle class goals for the two years they would participate in the program. In the same vein, the attempted strike of Senegalese students in May 1968 was primarily the result of a reduction in students scholarships".

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

From a traditional, tribal organization of society in which education was of an informal sort, inextricably tied to the business of ordering daily life and work patterns, Nigerian society came to embrace an externally imposed system of formal education, which was incidental to the over-all designs of the colonizing powers (primarily Britain). Under the British administration, formal education was mainly in the hands of the missionaries, who laid greater emphasis on a "fundamentalist" type of education. This was criticized by Nigerians on the basis that it was out of touch with the Nigerian environment.

Following the Phelps-Stokes Commission of 1922, which condemned the type of education given by the missionaries, the British Government took over in the enunciation of educational policies. The missionaries were still in control of most of the schools but the British Government was laying more emphasis on the production of subordinate personnel to assist in the administration of the country. Grants were given to schools and the number of children eager to receive formal education increased. The schools were seen by some Nigerians as not functioning in a manner anticpated to develop Nigerian consciousness and to foster national unity. This led to agitation by Nigerians to control their educational system, and in the early 1950s education was handed over to the Nigerian Government.

Following from this change-over, some important questions need to be raised: To what extent did the change over from British rule to Independence serve to bring about changes in the British-established system? What were the areas the Nigerian Government looked to and why? Why did an elitist-type of "dual system" remain essentially unchanged? The Nigerian Government embarked on a policy of expanding educational facilities at all levels. Universal free primary education was introduced in certain parts of the regions and, later in 1976, this scheme was introduced in the whole country. There were increases in school enrollments and the number of qualified teaching staff. Most schools were still in the hands of the missionaries, and the content of education was little altered--a long-standing and major criticism by Nigerians during the period of British regime. The government recognises this and what is usually heard is an intent to change the content of education and make it "Nigerian" in outlook, but without any major implementation of the expressed policy. For example the government has recently stated that:

> Efforts will be made to relate education to overall community needs. In addition to appreciating the importance of language in the educational process, and as a means of preserving the people's culture, the Government considers it to be in the interest of national unity that each child should be encouraged to learn one of the

> three major languages other than his own mother tongue. In this connection, the Government considers the three major languages in Nigeria to be Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba.[1]

This is a clear admission of the necessity for the government to relate education to perceived Nigerian needs (including a form of national unity); but perhaps it can be asked, as David Abernethy has, how much one can "truthfully write about Nigerian unity".[2] The government's educational policy has not given any indication that it specifically seeks to foster a national unity or identity based on peculiarly "Nigerian" or indigenous cultural elements. The regions are responsible for the disposition, and the type of education in their respective geographical areas. Their syllabi display little that could be seen to promote an interest in national unity. As Alan Peshkin has pointed out, "Nigeria's large and growing network of schools was not put to work on behelf of national political goals."[3] Discussions in schools are mainly centred on the ethnic and linguistic diversity

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[1] National Policy on Education, Federal Ministry of Information, Lagos, 1977, p. 5.

[2] David Abernethy, "Education and Integration", Melson and Wolpe, op. cit., p. 405.

[3] See Alan Peshkin, "Education and National Integration in Nigeria", Melson and Wolpe, op. cit., p. 443.

of the country, on how the North and South were amalgamated, and on various crises that have affected the regions following Independence. Perhaps Abernethy is correct in pointing out that "since education has made young Nigerians acutely aware of their country's troubles following Independence, increased knowledge of their fellow country men cannot be expected, by itself, to create good feelings among the educated members of the contending groups".[1] Added to this, are the admission policies of the various regions: each region admits people indigenous to its own territory.[2] Conceivably, recruitment policies might have been a possible contributing factor to the process of fostering national unity. If, through their recruitment policies, Nigerian schools had actively brought together members of numerous different ethnic groups, they might have become a miniature nation by instilling cooperative habits among a diverse student body. In this respect, the common denominator of an"old school tie"--based on a variety of common cultures, a "mainstream" tradition--might, over a long period, have been more conducive of political cohesion or cooperation than of political differences and civil war. But this has not been so, and each region continues to cater to its own people. What we have, then, is a situation in which

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[1] See Melson and Wolpe, op. cit., p. 405. See also Obafemi Awolowo, The People's Republic, (Ibadan: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 108.

[2] See Melson and Wolpe, p. 408.

schools become progressively less capable of imparting to students the kind of personal contact with different groups that can give rise to the growth of truly national sentiments.

The Nigerian leaders themselves have done little, in fact, to foster Nigerian unity. They have constantly talked of Nigerian unity while displaying anything but unity among themselves. At least Awolowo is honest enought to point out that "Africa has produced more self-seeking leaders than public spirited ones."[1] Nigerian leaders are included in this. It is the leaders who plunged the nation into many crises. They are the educated elite who convince the masses and tell them what they want them to hear. As Friedmann has pointed out, "it is they who define the problems, formulate the goals, and indicate the alternative means for attaining intermediate objectives."[2] Their power base is in the regions, among the various ethnic groups, and they always pose as the champions of their constitutents against real or imagined threats from "outside" groups. It is hard to see how schools can reflect a Nigerian nationalism which does not exist. As Awolowo has rightly pointed out: "the so-called common 'Nigerian nationality' is a complete misnomer, as there is no such thing as a Nigerian nation anyway."[3] Even the main Nigerian languages

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[1] Obafemi Awolowo, op. cit., p. 108.

[2] See J. Freedman, "Intellectuals in Developing Societies", Kyklos, Vol. XIII, 1960, p. 540.

[3] Awolowo, p. 235.

have not found a place in the Nigerian educational system. The government maintains that "each child should be encouraged" to learn these languages, but how has this been encouraged? For instance, the government's scholarships policy offers little encouragement: "All applicants for undergraduate degree courses must possess the HSC/GCE 'A' level, a Divison One School Certificate, or GCE 'O' level in at least six subjects, including English and Mathematics". There is no particular mention of the three main Nigerian languages. Why then, should a student bother himself with something demonstrably "Nigerian" when it will not earn him recognition by the government?

It is this kind of attitude by the government that makes possible the prolongation of an elitist system of education in Nigeria today. Emphasis is on Division One School Certificate (that is the qualification received on completion of secondary education). The elite and the wealthier groups continue to send their sons and daughters to expensive and private nurseries and primary schools to ensure that they get the best start. The rest of the population can only afford to send their children to the free primary schools, most of which are ill-equipped. The elite are then assured that their children probably stand to benefit most from secondary and university education. The poor are left with the vocational institutions, which are mostly composed of "rejects" from academic institutions. We are left

to conclude, with Otonti Nduka, that "In practice, Nigerian educational institutions do not reflect the declared commitment of the Second National Development Plan 'to establish.....a just and egalitarian society'".[1] The content and methods of education throughout the country continue to be academically oreinted.[2] The emphasis, as in the inherited British Sixth-form is on preparation for higher levels of formal schooling. The school environment stands in marked contrast to that of the surrounding community--a source of major criticism, of the Nigerian leaders, of the colonial regime. One is perhaps forced to conclude, as Foster has for Ghana, that "Apart from the vigour with which the educational system has been expanded, there has been a surprising degree of timidity in effecting any other changes."[3]

This has perhaps been a major weakness of many African (and, in deed, other) blueprints for "nation-building", a common theme in the literature of comparative education and educational planning in the 1950s and 1960s. The experience of Western industrialised nations during the "Development Decade" of the 1960s has generally eroded the notion that a high correlation between quantitites of education and progress, however measured,

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[1] Otonti Nkuka, "Colonial Education and Nigerian Society", Williams Gavin, ed., Nigeria Economy and Society (London: Rex Collings, 1976), p. 105.

[2] Eicher and Liedholm, eds., Growth and Development of the Nigerian Economy (U.S. Michigan State University Press, 1970), p. 404.

[3] Philip Foster, op. cit., p. 299.

was a defensible argument in favour of more education. It has been suggested that the tendency, amongst developed countries, towards similar national patterns led to a refocussing of attention away from "interesting" national educational peculiarities towards the association of education with industry, modernisation and growth. This was already apparent at the turn of the century, (e.g., in Britain and the United States) and it subsequently came to influence developing nations, particularly in the widespread enthusiasm for economic growth as an important national policy. The precise nature of the role of education in this, however, is far from clear. An emphasis on a peculiarly "Nigerian" form of education might well derive support from the partial de-emphasis, following the 1960s, of a close relationship between education and industrial growth: in general terms, greater variety in educational systems may develop rather than a tendency towards similarity. That is, there might be an increase in the heterogeneity of educational styles.

The government has to re-examine its policies, and offer more than mere statements of intent. Moreover, expansion of educational facilities alone to ensure access to schooling will not solve the country's problems. There has to be a simultaneous development of other productive services, such as an expansion of the oil and

cocoa industries and massive investments of human and financial resources for improvements in agriculture, in rural public works, and in community development activities of all kinds. Unless there are attractive opportunities for people, investment in education will bring disappointing low returns. The government has therefore to give priority to building these productive services possibly by borrowing money - if need be - from Britain and the United States. These countries have helped Nigeria in the past and there is no reason to suggest that they will not do so if requested to assist.

The government has been stressing national unity in most of its educational planning without practical implementation of any measures that should at least aim at achieving this. If the government wants to achieve national unity, the Regions should relax their regionalist admission policies. If this is not done, it will have the effect of accentuating Regional jealousies and worsening political dissension throughout the Federation. Obviously, unless there can be free admission of students from one area to another, with the presence of activities such as sports and cultural displays aimed at unification, intentions of national unity stated on paper will remain largely unrealized. Alan Peshkin has pointed out that, "schools do not usually create beliefs, attitudes, or values de novo;

they communicate them from sources outside the school".[1]

On the question of language, the government should not continue to encourage on paper but do something concrete to give such encouragement. At least Awolowo has pointed out that: "Language lies at the base of all human divisions and divergences: language differences breed suspicion, and generate an unconscious overpowering urge for separateness and exclusiveness."[2] In view of this, the government should make it compulsory to study the three main Nigerian languages at all levels of education. Scholarships should be established and awarded to scholars who show excellence in these languages.

On vocational education, the government should abolish the present policy whereby only those with minimum qualifications pursue that aspect of education. This would require the acceptance of a similar set of criteria for all students entering secondary grammar and vocational training. To encourage more students into vocational, the government could increase the number of scholarships available to students entering that field. These would at least be a gesture in favour of an elimination of the elitist tradition of education prevalent in Nigeria since colonial times. And the expansion of those productive sectors referred to above would at least ensure their employment on completing formal schooling.

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[1] Alan Peshkin in Melson and Wolpe, op. cit., p. 443.

[2] Obafemi Awolowo, op. cit., pp. 88-89.

The above measures will not solve all the Nigerian problems overnight, but at least they would constitute a reasonable beginning. The present military government would have to take such concrete steps as these if it really wanted the Nigerian educational system to reflect the country's changing needs. They should do this before handing over power to the politicians, who, on the basis of their record, would be unlikely to implement any such measures.

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TABLE 1

SCHOOL STATISTICS 1954/55

Level of Education and Type of Institution	School year	Number of Institutions	Teaching Staff	Students enrolled
Primary				
Northern Region	1954/55	1814	6238	153686
Western Region	"	10000	26663	811432
Eastern Region	"	-	-	641205
Secondary General				
Northern Region	1954/55	25	203	2382
Western Region	"	70	-	10935
Eastern Region	"	-	-	10421
Vocational				
Northern Region	1954/55	-	-	535
Western Region	"	2	-	-
Eastern Region	"	-	-	323

TABLE 1 (cont'd)

Level of Education and Type of Institution	School year	Number of Institutions	Teaching Staff	Students enrolled
Teacher Training				
Northern Region	1954/55	33	-	1924
Western Region	"	86	-	6752
Eastern Region	"	-	-	4008

Source: World Survey of Education. UNESCO Publication, Vol. II, 1958, p. 1129.

TABLE II

SCHOOL STATISTICS 1957

Level of Education and Type of Institution	School year	Number of Institutions	Teaching Staff	Students enrolled
Primary				
Northern Region	1957	2009	7,862	205769
Western Region	"	6628	34,851	982755
Eastern Region	"	6986	40,851	1209167
Secondary General				
Northern Region	1957	27	318	3651
Western Region	"	362	1956	46810
Eastern Region	"	68	934	12242
Vocational				
Northern Region	1957	8	78	872
Western Region	"	2	33	220
Eastern Region	"	20	126	3100

TABLE II (cont'd)

Level of Education and Type of Institution	School year	Number of Institutions	Teaching Staff	Students enrolled
Teacher Training				
Northern Region	1957	46	235	2546
Western Region	"	99	738	10471
Eastern Region	"	152	738	9413

Source: World Survey of Education. UNESCO Publication, Vol. III, 1961, p. 1267.

TABLE III

PRIMARY EDUCATION: NUMBER OF SCHOOLS

NUMBER OF TEACHERS AND PUPILS 1961-67

Year	No. of Schools	Teachers	Pupils
	NORTH		
1961	2,584	10,645	316,264
1962	2,568	11,587	359,934
1963	2,625	13,069	410,706
1964	2,684	14,173	452,319
1965	2,743	15,312	492,829
1966	2,714	15,706	518,864
1967	2,733	16,113	506,818
	EAST		
1961	7,008	42,267	1,274,383
1962	6,478	44,589	1,266,566
1963	6,028	38,954	1,278,706
1964	5,986	33,783	1,173,277
1965	5,949	33,372	1,199,692
1966	5,925	35,396	1,236,872
1967	-	-	-

TABLE III (Cont'd)

Year	No. of Schools	Teachers	Pupils
	MID-WEST		
1964	1,807	10,801	371,709
1965	1,788	11,050	352,179
1966	1,799	11,603	387,130
1967	1,830	12,703	384,607
	WEST		
1961	6,468	40,277	1,131,409
1962	6,420	40,149	1,108,999
1963	6,311	38,856	1,099,418
1964	4,375	23,056	733,170
1965	4,364	23,480	737,148
1966	4,340	24,110	740,997
1967	4,346	24,801	756,717

TABLE III (Cont'd)

Year	No. of Schools	Teachers	Pupils
	LAGOS		
1961	117	2,507	81,780
1962	120	3,010	98,511
1963	126	3,297	107,552
1964	124	3,581	119,013
1965	123	3,860	129,894
1966	129	4,234	142,118
1967	134	4,252	130,834

Source: Federal Ministry of Education. Lagos, 1965 and 1967.

TABLE IV

PRIMARY EDUCATION: CONTROLLING AUTHORITY

1961-67

Year	Government Schools	Local Authority Schools	Aided Schools	Unaided Schools
		NORTH		
1961	2	929	1,162	491
1962	-	1,251	1,063	254
1963	-	1,374	1,051	260
1964	1	1,372	1,059	252
1965	1	1,424	1,068	250
1966	1	1,993	595	125
1967	1	2,199	461	72
		EAST		
1961	11	1,673	5,215	109
1962	11	1,628	4,752	87
1963	11	1,515	4,464	57
1964	12	1,473	4,473	29
1965	11	1,479	4,429	30
1966	10	1,486	4,399	30
1967	-	-	-	-

TABLE IV (Cont'd)

Year	Government Schools	Local Authority Schools	Aided Schools	Unaided Schools
		MID-WEST		
1964	8	575	1,224	-
1965	8	570	1,210	-
1966	8	581	1,210	-
1967	8	-	1,822	-
		WEST		
1961	9	1,759	4,700	-
1962	8	1,749	4,663	-
1963	8	1,724	4,579	-
1964	3	1,070	3,302	-
1965	2	1,061	3,301	-
1966	1	1,062	3,277	-
1967	2	1,058	3,286	-

TABLE IV (Cont'd)

Year	Government Schools	Local Authority Schools	Aided Schools	Unaided Schools
		LAGOS		
1961	1	4	97	15
1962	1	5	98	16
1963	1	5	104	16
1964	1	5	104	14
1965	1	5	104	13
1966	1	5	104	19
1967	1	5	106	22

Source: Federal Ministry of Education. Lagos, 1965 and 1967

TABLE V

SECONDARY EDUCATION: NUMBER OF SCHOOLS;
NUMBER OF TEACHERS AND PUPILS
1961-67. (GENERAL EDUCATION)

Year	No. of Schools	Teachers	Pupils
	NORTH		
1961	47	435	6,487
1962	50	484	7,995
1963	56	610	9,881
1964	70	671	12,885
1965	77	875	15,276
1966	81	965	17,700
1967	117	1,131	20,316
	EAST		
1961	148	1,512	25,908
1962	207	2,089	32,712
1963	231	2,389	39,938
1964	254	2,836	47,806
1965	284	3,435	58,556
1966	306	4,062	68,737
1967	-	-	-

TABLE V (Cont'd)

Year	No. of Schools	Teachers	Pupils
	MID-WEST		
1964	321	1,892	39,349
1965	334	1,582	32,774
1966	308	1,740	28,481
1967	203	1,170	24,216
	WEST		
1961	763	5,746	128,751
1962	855	6,591	144,734
1963	906	7,271	150,688
1964	633	4,657	92,339
1965	636	4,257	88,874
1966	605	4,127	82,299
1967	550	4,157	84,248

TABLE V (Cont'd)

Year	No. of Schools	Teachers	Pupils
	LAGOS		
1961	39	414	7,092
1962	44	615	10,058
1963	47	635	11,372
1964	49	697	12,633
1965	51	796	13,535
1966	50	750	14,088
1967	53	759	14,057

Source: Federal Ministry of Education. Lagos, 1965 and 1967.

TABLE VI

TECHNICAL EDUCATION: NUMBER OF SCHOOLS
NUMBER OF TEACHERS AND PUPILS. 1961-67

Year	No. of Schools	Teachers	Pupils
	NORTH		
1961	16	214	2,401
1962	16	212	2,608
1963	16	226	2,658
1964	16	237	2,703
1965	18	236	2,956
1966	16	254	2,920
1967	16	267	3,237
	EAST		
1961	9	65	1,309
1962	8	62	1,571
1963	7	71	1,688
1964	10	79	1,739
1965	15	280	2,375
1966	23	198	3,280
1967	-	-	-

TABLE VI (Cont'd)

Year	No. of Schools	Teachers	Pupils
	MID-WEST		
1964	4	113	2,209
1965	15	140	3,734
1966	19	100	4,674
1967	-	-	-
	WEST		
1961	4	29	454
1962	4	67	1,064
1963	6	55	775
1964	6	58	815
1965	12	77	1,256
1966	12	116	1,654
1967	12	134	2,004

TABLE VI (Cont'd)

Year	No. of Schools	Teachers	Pupils
	LAGOS		
1961	2	71	1,859
1962	2	79	1,998
1963	2	90	2,234
1964	3	86	2,445
1965	3	99	2,325
1966	3	121	2,531
1967	2	100	2,213

Source: Federal Ministry of Education. Lagos, 1965 and 1967.

TABLE VII

TEACHER TRAINING EDUCATION: NUMBER OF SCHOOLS: NUMBER OF TEACHERS AND PUPILS. 1961-67

Year	No. of Schools	Teachers	Pupils
	NORTH		
1961	44	342	4,668
1962	52	430	6,320
1963	54	492	7,773
1964	54	504	9,027
1965	55	670	10,936
1966	61	707	12,687
1967	56	727	13,634
	EAST		
1961	143	772	11,987
1962	133	766	11,160
1963	115	713	10,685
1964	105	670	9,846
1965	78	596	9,054
1966	75	588	9,093
1967	-	-	-

TABLE VII (Cont'd)

Year	No. of Schools	Teachers	Pupils
	MID-WEST		
1964	21	146	3,114
1965	20	212	4,371
1966	17	193	3,714
1967	12	131	2,055
	WEST		
1961	104	787	12,306
1962	97	790	12,954
1963	92	775	12,985
1964	72	511	8,120
1965	37	349	5,529
1966	35	266	3,924
1967	31	266	3,816

TABLE VII (Cont'd)

Year	No. of Schools	Teachers	Pupils
	LAGOS		
1961	4	37	563
1962	5	71	736
1963	5	72	896
1964	5	79	947
1965	5	98	1,036
1966	5	83	1,075
1967	5	94	990

Source: Federal Minstry of Education. Lagos, 1965 and 1967.

TABLE VIII

GENERAL EDUCATION: CONTROLLING AUTHORITY.

1961-67

Year	Government Schools	Local Authority Schools	Aided Schools	Unaided Schools
		NORTH		
1961	5	16	24	2
1962	5	18	25	2
1963	5	19	27	5
1964	5	19	38	8
1965	5	21	42	9
1966	30	-	43	8
1967	43	-	61	13
		EAST		
1961	5	8	81	54
1962	5	12	92	98
1963	5	12	99	115
1964	5	16	116	133
1965	5	16	112	151
1966	6	17	121	162
1967	-	-	-	-

TABLE VIII (Cont'd)

Year	Government Schools	Local Authority Schools	Aided Schools	Unaided Schools
		MID-WEST		
1964	2	49	38	232
1965	2	42	-	-
1966	2	-	-	-
1967	2	2	62	137
		WEST		
1961	4	158	131	470
1962	4	171	95	585
1963	5	168	113	620
1964	3	130	88	412
1965	3	130	86	417
1966	3	119	91	392
1967	3	110	127	310

TABLE VIII (Cont'd)

Year	Government Schools	Local Authority Schools	Aided Schools	Unaided Schools
		LAGOS		
1961	2	-	27	10
1962	3	-	27	14
1963	3	-	29	15
1964	3	-	29	17
1965	3	-	30	17
1966	3	-	30	17
1967	3	-	30	21

Source: Federal Ministry of Education. Lagos, 1965 and 1967.

TABLE IX

TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION:

CONTROLLING AUTHORITY. 1961-67.

Year	Government Schools	Local Authority Schools	Aided Schools	Unaided Schools
		NORTH		
1961	16	-	-	-
1962	16	-	-	-
1963	16	-	-	-
1964	16	-	-	-
1965	18	-	-	-
1966	16	-	-	-
1967	16	-	-	-
		EAST		
1961	3	-	1	5
1962	3	-	1	5
1963	2	-	1	4
1964	2	-	1	6
1965	3	-	2	10
1966	3	-	2	11
1967	-	-	-	-

TABLE IX (Cont'd)

Year	Government Schools	Local Authority Schools	Aided Schools	Unaided Schools
		MID-WEST		
1964	-	-	-	-
1965	-	-	-	-
1966	2	-	-	17
1966	-	-	-	-
		WEST		
1961	4	-	-	-
1962	6	-	-	-
1963	6	-	-	-
1964	6	-	-	-
1965	6	6	-	-
1966	6	6	-	-
1967	6	6	-	-

TABLE IX (Cont'd)

Year	Government Schools	Local Authority Schools	Aided Schools	Unaided Schools
		LAGOS		
1961	2	-	-	-
1962	2	-	-	-
1963	2	-	-	-
1964	2	-	-	1
1965	2	-	-	-
1966	2	-	-	1
1967	2	-	-	-

Source: Federal Ministry of Education. Lagos, 1965 and 1967.

TABLE X

TEACHER TRAINING EDUCATION: CONTROLLING AUTHORITY. 1961-67.

Year	Government Schools	Local Authority Schools	Aided Schools	Unaided Schools
		NORTH		
1961	18	-	25	1
1962	22	-	25	1
1963	25	-	28	1
1964	25	-	28	1
1965	25	3	26	1
1966	29	3	27	-
1967	26	3	25	1
		EAST		
1961	4	12	114	13
1962	4	12	117	-
1963	5	11	99	-
1964	4	11	101	-
1965	4	10	64	-
1966	4	7	64	-
1967	-	-	-	-

TABLE X (Cont'd)

Year	Government Schools	Local Authority Schools	Aided Schools	Unaided Schools
		MID-WEST		
1964	1	6	14	-
1965	1	6	12	1
1966	1	5	10	1
1967	1	4	7	-
		WEST		
1961	5	28	71	-
1962	5	27	65	-
1963	6	28	58	-
1964	6	22	44	-
1965	6	6	25	-
1966	4	6	25	-
1967	4	6	21	-

TABLE X (Cont'd)

Year	Government Schools	Local Authority Schools	Aided Schools	Unaided Schools
		LAGOS		
1961	1	-	3	-
1962	2	-	3	-
1963	2	-	3	-
1964	2	-	3	-
1965	2	-	3	-
1966	2	-	3	-
1967	2	-	3	-

Source: Federal Ministry of Education. Lagos, 1965 and 1967.

TABLE XI

ENROLMENT IN NIGERIAN UNIVERSITIES

University	Students Enrolled						
	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967
Ibadan	1,501	1,688	2,016	2,284	2,687	2,729	2,559
Ahamadu Bello	-	426	558	719	946	895	1,351
Nsukka	905	1,148	1,828	2,499	2,579	3,482	-
Ife	-	244	475	659	713	945	1,258
Lagos	-	100	271	558	772	1,119	1,436

Source: Federal Ministry of Education, Lagos 1965 and 1967.

TABLE XII

SCHOLARSHIP AND NON-SCHOLARSHIP HOLDERS IN NIGERIAN UNIVERSITIES 1965-1966.

University	Scholarship Holders	Fee Paying
Ahmadu Bello	677	187
Nsukka	869	1701
Ibadan	1038	1443
Ife	284	429
Lagos	147	507

Source: Federal Ministry of Education. Lagos, 1967.

TABLE XIII

SCHOOL STATISTICS 1970-73

	Teachers			Pupils		
	1970	1971	1973	1970	1971	1973
Primary	103,152	116,640	136,142	3,515,827	3,894,539	4,662,400
Secondary	16,793	18,341	20,448	356,000	396,000	516,658
General	14,091	15,278	17,215	310,000	343,313	452,372
Vocational	845	965	1,111	14,000	15,000	21,515
Teacher Training	1,857	2,108	2,122	32,000	38,000	42,771

Based on UNESCO Statistical Year Book, 1970-75.