The development of the Nigerian education system (with particular reference to interaction with the development of the society and economy of Nigeria)

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The Development of the Nigerian Education System
(with particular reference to Interaction with
the development of the society and economy of
Nigeria).

By:
Jinti Magomya Ndagana, B.A. (Ed.)

M.Phil Thesis
Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of Master of Philosophy of the

Supervisor: Dr J.R. Hough
Department of Education

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DEDICATION

For my parents, brothers and sisters, who helped me to see and to understand .......
For my husband, who hasn't let me forget..
For my children, who in turn, I hope, will see and understand ....................
1. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Development, as the word suggests, is a positive and productive improvement on an existing structure. Or, in sociological terms, it is a sort of social change during which the achievements (in terms of wealth) and income of any given society markedly increase - with this increase reflected in higher average incomes for the families and persons within that society. This social change is a result of (or is often activated by) some changes in the political, economic and ideological framework of the society's governing principles.

Development has often been modified by such terms as economic, political, educational and so on. This approach to the word has limitations reminiscent of the study of the blindmen describing an elephant; whereby each man's description is limited only to the part of the animal he touched. Thus, the man who touched the elephant's trunk described it as a snake and the one who touched the leg described it as a tree. In this same manner, this study will narrow the scope of development and describe it in educational terms. But, unlike the blindmen, the other parts of "it" would be exploited because of their inter-dependence. The writer agrees with Adams' & Bjork's assertion that:

"... In the most fundamental sense, development is an educational process whereby people learn to understand and alter constructively their relations to their natural and social environments."

1
An educational process (e.g. learning) forms the most integral part of the developmental process. Many countries, especially developing ones, believe strongly in this interdependence which explains why they believe that there is a causal relationship between education and economic growth. According to L.J. Lewis:

"Developing countries must evidently build their future by an unprecedented use of a planned educational system, starting often from modest resources and partially coordinated endeavours."

The need for educational development for developing countries cannot be neglected. Historical evidence deriving from studies of more advanced countries during their periods of rapid economic growth (i.e. countries like the United States, Denmark, the Soviet Union and Japan, to mention but a few), suggested that there had been a very significant relationship between their economic growth and the amounts and kinds of education provided to their people. In other related studies, it had been indicated that a certain correlation exists between the increase in national expenditure on education and the increase in the gross national product (GNP). In a very influential study, Harbison and Myers found significant statistical relationships between levels of human resource development on the one hand and levels of GNP on the other for 75 countries. Perhaps, two decades ago when Harbison and Myers made their survey, it was, in retrospect easy to assume a causal relationship which attributed economic growth largely to investment in education. But now, and in the light of new evidence, such an assumption appears perfectly justified - as the advanced countries introduced new curricula and diversified their education, their technologies improved, and so did their economies.
Nigeria, like every developing country is therefore faced with the task of attaining economic growth through improved education. In its position as an ex-colony, there were a number of problems it had to overcome before reaching anywhere near the position of advanced countries. As L.J. Lewis put it, Nigeria had to "build ...... nationhood out of a multiplicity of elements ...."\(^4\) and the most urgent of these elements is to correct or eliminate the educational gap or imbalance between the Northern and Southern parts of the country - this would, in effect, serve not only social purposes, but political ones as well. Also, Nigeria inherited from its Colonial administrators, a curriculum which is still being criticised in view of its inappropriateness to the Nigerian basic environmental, cultural and social background. According to Tunde Samuel, one of many critics of the curriculum

"... the curriculum handed down during the colonial era was loaded with alien norms and values with little or no regard for the political socio-economic values and aspirations of the Nigerian people. The philosophical import has no relevance to national goals and development. The colonial curriculum sought to project the Nigerian people as hewers of wood and drawers of water. Creativity or sense of discovery badly needed for the growth of a developing economy was jettisoned in the scheme of things. Most educationists then saw the curriculum from the narrow pedagogical sense not from a macro political socio-economic standpoint....."\(^5\)
When later on in the study (Section Three) we discuss curriculum and how it hampers or helps development or economic growth, it would be known whether the curriculum had taken a new look from what Tunde Samuel described above as a "narrow pedagogical sense."

Also, a number of development theorists have postulated that the economic failure of many ex-colonial nations is significantly related to the lack of provision of mass education. Curle Adams pointed out that:

"... the underdeveloped nations can only change through the development of their people. This means people whose education has made them free and flexible, not those who have merely learned to perform a task, however useful."

With reminders such as this, countries like Nigeria are being made to rethink their educational strategies; and that is, that they ought not only to provide education but to eliminate illiteracy and ignorance as a whole.

In 1960, a report entitled 'Investment in Education' was published in Nigeria. This was the end product of a commission set-up to look into higher education in Nigeria, and was headed by Sir Eric Ashby. This report marked the beginning of a new era in thinking about the role of education in development in West Africa, as a whole. The acceptance of this report and all the recommendations made in it, was another way of saying Nigeria now accepts the challenge of meeting its educational problems as well as trying to eliminate the factors that stand between it and development. However, there is a constant nagging fear that the enormous investment being envisaged would become a colossal waste if the policy and the quality of education to be
provided fails to "woo" or impress or even satisfy the people's expectations. On this issue of heavy investment Callaway and Musone observed that:

"...many developing countries which ten years ago, were spending only one or two per cent of their gross national product (GNP) on education are now spending three, four or five per cent. And whereas they were earlier spending less than 10% of their total public budget on education, many are now spending fifteen, twenty or twenty-five per cent."7

In 1974, Nigeria spent 31.5% of its total expenditure on primary education alone. Comparatively, Sweden (which has one of the governments most concerned with welfare in the world), spent, in the same year, only about 16% of its total expenditure on education.9 In addition, Sweden operates a compulsory education scheme, which lasts nine years for children starting school at the age of seven. Also

"...about ninety per cent of ..... 16 year olds go on to pursue at least two years of secondary education, and in recent years, 25 - 30% of the 20 year olds have been enrolled in post secondary education."9

In effect therefore, Sweden offers a lot more education to a higher percentage of its children and yet at a lesser percentage of its total expenditure. This could be attributed to its economic growth as well as social and political development.
These facts raise a number of questions in view of the stance of the developing countries in general, and Nigeria in particular, on education. One would therefore ask: Is this heavy investment in education necessary? In both quantitative and qualitative terms, which is the actual relevance of the educational system that is being expanded at this huge sacrifice to society? How different (in the case of Nigeria) is this new education to the one being replaced (i.e., the colonial education system)? The funds invested in education could be diverted to improve other services like health, agriculture, and even to intensify adult or informal education. Why is emphasis then placed on formal education? Is it the only medium through which economic growth can be attained? These and many more questions, and an attempt to answer them constitute the main focal point of this study. They will be treated in the context of Nigeria, one of the relatively rich developing nations of the world.

1.1 Aims and Objectives of the Study

The present work is aimed at looking into the development of education in Nigeria with a
academic as well as vocational curriculum for it to be useful. In other words, the success of formal education in guaranteeing economic growth depends largely on the curriculum. It is only when people have the literary, vocational orientation, social direction and political awareness with the right national consciousness that they can work towards achieving economic growth.

These assumptions may be true but they impinge on a central theme i.e cost. Education does not just reach the population of a country - it has to be essentially activated; and this is done by providing school buildings, furniture, books (appropriate syllabus), and qualified teachers.

The concept of education in Nigeria bears so many scars which render the orientation of educational policy ineffective and incomplete. As a prelude to effective national educational planning, issues which threaten the progress of the educational system are often probed and put right. Much has not been achieved in Nigeria in this regard because the objectives of Nigerian education are only vaguely perceived and not explicitly defined to suit specific educational policies. As a result, there usually are serious planning and implementation defects. In other words, planned investments in development were not met by any sophisticated planning techniques, as a result of which education plans were drawn up with only the roughest appreciation of manpower needs and priorities.

Another assumption is that developing countries possess today a real advantage in that their late modernisation or attempts to achieve economic growth would permit them to avoid the mistakes made by countries which had developed much earlier, and to take short cuts by borrowing from these countries.
But, all too frequently, in spite of all these good assumptions, economic growth has continued to elude countries like Nigeria so that effective education growth and the elimination of illiteracy and ignorance are still far from being achieved. So what can be responsible for this? This study therefore proposes that the retarding effects on the development of education and economic growth are inherent in three basic factors:

(i) inadequate planning coupled with consequential lack of statistical data to project manpower needs, and manpower turn-out;

(ii) the cost of providing the proposed education was thought wholly to be the responsibility of the government;

(iii) official (or governmental) and public attitude towards educational matters that are essential for economic growth.

These propositions are demonstrated with Nigeria's educational resources in that country.

1.3 The Importance of Study.

Most of the existing literature on the study problem, although it has dealt with the subject comprehensively, is not as up-to-date as this study. With this in mind, this study aims to conduct an intensive interpretative survey of events, forces and extant policies that have shaped Nigerian education since its formal inception in 1842. The study will attempt to isolate and classify the various components of the Nigerian education system; treating them in a chronological manner in order to create a fuller understanding of the system and to provide a basis for evaluating the subsequent educational programmes, projects and policies in Nigeria (a manner in which the development of Nigerian education had not been treated before).
The study also derives its importance from the hope that it would create room for reflection by educators and planners which would allow them to pinpoint whatever shortcomings there are in the system. This, in return would help them to focus education more clearly on national commitments. The study equally provides policy-makers and educational planners with ample material to articulate national goals and to employ broad-based frames of reference for their policy making.

1.4 Theoretical Application

In considering the historical developments of Nigerian education and in trying to determine how much impact this has made on the country's economy and people, some theoretical framework or constructs need to be applied. The Modernisation Theories and Dependency Theories and other related theories would be used to bring out the relationship between theoretical postulations and practical things (i.e. what actually obtains). In brief (these theories would be discussed in detail in Chapter 3), the essence of the Modernisation theory lies in its claim to scientific objectivity. It assumed that all countries had to "develop" or "modernize" along a single upward slope - aim to become like the advanced countries like the United States. To do so, they had to identify and remove social and ideological obstacles to such development; and the image of such transformation was in its essence that of the transfer of Western technology in order to increase production. The Dependency theory on the other hand emphasized, above all, the subordinate location of less developed societies within the capitalist world-system and the determination of their fate by external forces. This relationship could be described as exploitative but in view of
the incapability of these less developed societies, the relationship has to continue thus.

These theories deal with and therefore apply to developing countries generally. Whereas, the theoretical framework as formulated by W.F. Stolper in Planning Without Facts: Lessons in Resource Allocation From Nigeria's Development is based primarily on Nigeria; and particularly on its policies on development. Summarising this work, Chief S.O. Adebo said the author concerned himself with the fact that the absence of facts and other material to substantiate planners' beliefs often have a limiting effect on the output - this, in turn results in an uncoordinated frame of reference and an eventual break-down of the whole system.

Among other things, Stolper's theory included issues such as the sort of projects a country should aim at promoting. For instance, the cost of projects like Universal Primary Education should first of all be considered, and teachers trained, before it is finally launched. Thus, anything that cannot be afforded should not be started at all. Moreover, it is better to aim for minimum targets that can be fulfilled than for big or maximum ones that cannot be met.

Although Stolper's work has a particular bias and forms the recipe for economic development, it also has immediate implications for other aspects of the system viz. political, educational, religious, etc; in Nigeria Stolper maintained that:

"All good modern theory is operational in the sense that the concepts used are potentially quantifiable, the relations postulated potentially measurable and the parameters required potentially observable...... Yet a development economist often cannot wait until population
or income data are sufficiently full and accurate
to be useful to him, and a theory in which such data
become crucial policy variables does not help him
very much".10

Also, in any ideal situation, the development planner
and policy maker must always bear in mind that the approach
they ought to employ must be one that starts from the
present, making long-term provisions for the future.
However, because the development plan is not a rigid blue­
print, planners must always be on the lookout for those
judgments that are not immediately essential, and thus must
be postponed or those that have greater losses than gains,
if implemented and therefore must be postponed as well. The
central or outstanding problem of development in whatever
aspect of the economy is how to mobilize and allocate resources
for growth. There is no short-cut to this problem by
copying what some other countries did when faced with the same
problem; because the situations describing their problems
and their reactions to them are different.

In this study, it is possible therefore to examine the
character and policy development of Nigerian education and
economy in the light of the two theories described earlier
as well as in the context of Stolper's theory. Nigerian
development policy has major defects in planning which have
resulted in long term set-backs; the examples of this are the
UPE schemes of the 1950's and 1970's in the country. Other
things that agree with the theory also include how the
experiences of other countries are used to solve the country's problems; assumption of facts and data, e.g. the population figures and growth rates (see Chapter 2).

In the light of this theory in particular, therefore, it is the thesis of this study that a trend of good development in Nigerian education can make a significant contribution to national aspirations.

1.5 Scope of the Study and Limitations

In view of the interdependence of parts of a system (a working system), it is difficult to sharply divide the economic system from the educational one; for example, each works for the growth and development of the other. Information, data, policy and so on which are crucially important to an economist may also be of immense importance to an educationist. What this suggests is that even though an attempt is made here to define the scope of the present work, occasionally the discussions can go beyond this boundary to include economic, political, and even social issues in order to draw out the full impact of the story.

The main scope of this study is educational development in relation to nation-building in the particular case of Nigeria; with emphasis placed on how curriculum and especially the economy, aid this development or nation-building.

The study intends to focus on all the periods of formal education in Nigeria. This means that the development of formal education is traced from when it was introduced in 1842
to the present. It is necessary to go back this far in order to show the stages of development attained and to appreciate the progress made (both in theoretical and practical terms) in developing the Nigerian education system to its present status. However, more emphasis will be placed on the post independence era i.e. from 1960. This is a period marked by a number of significant political changes; the most remarkable being a change of government from colonial to indigenous (i.e. Nigerians now make their own political decisions, education policies, etc). It ought to be pointed out that the civilian administration that succeeded the colonial government lasted from 1960 to 1966 when it was over-taken by successive military governments. (This was initiated by an out-break of ethnic hostilities which culminated into the Civil War).

Another remarkable change is that which saw Nigeria metamorphosing from a nation of four regions to that of twelve States in 1967 and then 19 States in 1976. The change of "relay batons" from military to civilian regimes is still a significant and almost permanent feature of Nigeria's political life. These changes or the instability of any given regime (whether military or civilian) have the unpleasant effect of disrupting plans and policies pertaining to education: these become susceptible to reviews or modifications so that they harmonise with the ideology and ideals of the new regime. The extent to which education has
been politicised is so great that just little of what is entailed in the four National Development plans, so far, (from 1962-1968 to 1981-85) is ever achieved.

In view of the limitations imposed on the writer as a result of factors like unavailability of some relevant reports from Nigeria coupled with the problems of red-tape which often means that one cannot readily gain access to materials even if they are evidently available, it would not be possible to claim total exhaustion of the problems and prospects of Nigerian society, from the standpoint of its education system. However, it is hoped that the salient problems would be adequately treated.

1.6 Review of Related Literature

Literature review is the widest and perhaps the most exhaustive aspect of any research work. It is, however, the most essential because it determines the shape or form which the work at hand would take, because the material reviewed shows how much ground had been covered in the subject area and how much is left to be explored. The process of this work has been, looking into Nigerian education from 'outside', and also based on three years guided research study on a full-time basis, with oral and written assignments as given by my Supervisor.

The appraisal begins with a survey of the relevant literature on education and national development and indicates the lines of enquiry that have been pursued (as stated above) and provides a theoretical framework for the more detailed
investigation within the theme under discussion. This has been found necessary because this study cuts across a number of subject areas; it is interdisciplinary.

"Vital to interdisciplinary courses is the recognition that either they are oriented toward a broad problem such as peace, or they are created on a very broad knowledge base, such as the interaction of science, technology and society". 11

Such is the subject of this study. For this reason it has been found impossible to follow the standard form of 'review of pertinent literature' but to attempt and select and appraise the literature most appropriate to the theme in question. It can be perceived that educational development and economic development are inseparable because both of them can hardly be effectively implemented without a corresponding force of personnel who are capable of putting the development strategies into action as planned.

Inevitably, most books which discuss and co-relate education and development are written by people from the advanced countries of Britain, United States and the rest of Europe, from a western view-point. Most of them make little or no reference to developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Those that do, however, often streamline their arguments (on a theoretical basis) to suit such theories as the Modernisation and Dependency theories. However, this writer is of the opinion that principles and scientifically based theories are the same everywhere - both
in developed and developing countries alike – although their practice and extent of their functioning may differ according to the technological know-how and the environment in which one lives.

Thus, as mentioned above, instead of the conventional literature review, it has been found necessary to attempt a review that covers a number of areas of study: education and development, curriculum development, economic studies, etc.

1.6.1 Education and Development.

Today, all over the world, the subject of education and development has been the subject of many a conference and seminar in institutions of higher learning. The role of education in accelerating social as well as economic development can hardly be disputed. The concept and purpose of education, either implicitly or explicitly, for all societies – the capitalist societies of the West, the communist ones of the East and the post and pre-colonial societies of the so-called Third World – have been the same, that is, it entails the transmission and accumulation of the wisdom and knowledge of the respective society, the preparation of the young for their future membership of the society as well as their participation in its maintenance and development. Inevitably, education has become an indispensable process in modern life and
it is a key to any country's cultural self-appraisal.

In the Western world, education is said to have played an important part in bringing about economic growth particularly during the post-industrial era. Durkheim, as quoted by Williamson, defined education as the organized intelligence of a society which functions to consolidate the values, norms and habits of thought embedded in the culture of the society from one generation to another. He said:

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

Durkheim, however, asserts that although schooling contributes a lot to the realisation of all these potentials, it is by no means the only form of education: non-formal education (or organised educational programmes outside the school system) is also another form of education.

To the theorists with Marxist analyses like Bowles & Gintis (1976),

"The main function of education is to prepare people for their economic fate in capitalist production, either to be exploiters or to be exploited."

Education, in this context therefore has to be studied in its relationship to economic return or material production. The
educational system, according to them "tailors the self concepts, aspirations and social class identifications of individuals to the requirements of the social division of labour." ¹³

However, available records confirm that the Industrial Revolution that first took place in Britain in the 18th Century had little to do with education. According to Hobshawn (1969)¹⁴, the Revolution did not depend upon complex technical changes that an ordinary skilled artisan could not have designed. Nonetheless, education for the masses came to play an important role in the formation of an industrial labour force during the post-Industrial Revolution period, reinforcing factory discipline and teaching respect for authority.

As the demands for material values increased and "the age of high mass consumption"¹⁵ became a reality, so also the workers demanded more education and more schools in order to keep pace with the technical know-how required by the expanding industrialization; and also to attain high individual living standards in an increasingly competitive society. Consequently, the concept and values of pre-industrial education for the salvation of the soul changed more to the acquisition of material values in line with the economic growth and industrialization. (This view is not confined to people adopting a Marxist stance). Thus, "masses of students (raw materials) assembled to be processed by
This factory model was to become the beginning of the contemporary Western type education and schooling. Indeed,

"mass education was the ingenious machine constructed by industrialization to produce the kind of adults it needed." \(^{16}\)

Even today, the Western world in particular is still governed by the many values that have been necessary for economic success - productivity, increased output, speed, profit margins, etc. The education systems in these parts (the West) have been geared towards what Toffler calls the "cranking out of industrial man",\(^{16}\) resulting in disillusionment; and concern for and more emphasis on machines have been so great that these have been gradually replacing man, causing educated unemployment, urban congestion and a high crime rate. These are enough to start the Western world questioning the value of education and schools in the future. Would the society need to be re-educated? On what should educational emphasis be placed?

Such questions and many more have cropped up in the educational decisions and policies of these countries.

Taking Britain, for example, it can be seen that education has played a major role in her development particularly during the post-Industrial Revolution period.
British education as it is today is largely industrially-oriented. Compulsory education was initially introduced in order to produce the kind of adults needed for the industrial, urban oriented development as well as to meet the explosive increase in national educational demand by the masses. The legislation which began with the 1870 Education Act was intended largely to ensure the provision of schools for the educationally-neglected child. However, according to Pluckrose and Wilby (1979), it marked the beginning of compulsory education for all (and not just the urban child). Judging from the school debate, as discussed by Hopkins (1978), which looked at the main issues against the background of what actually happens in schools from day to day, this writer is of the view that the British are now, as suggested earlier, in search of a comprehensive curriculum and standards appropriate to their current general level of development as a society. The standards will not be academic in nature, but ones that will be appropriate for the future, ones which will succeed in bringing the school and the world of work a little closer; i.e. a search for a more effective relationship between education, economy and society.

Warnock (1979) in her examination of contemporary British education argues that "there was a time when education was regarded as a luxury, inevitably confined to a few. We recognize it now as a right, a necessity to which all children are entitled by law; the law re-inforces and confirms our feeling that without education, a child is deprived."
Children, that is to say, are now held to have educational needs which must be satisfied." And Stonier summarizes the several objectives of the new British educational order when he writes:

"At least as important will be 'education' for life, education for the world, education for self-development, education for pleasure .... education for employment."

It can be said (and rightly so) that this re-thinking on education which is currently being shown by the British, is equally applicable to the United States, Canada and the rest of the Western world; although there may be linguistic difference. For example, what Molyneux analysed, in relation to Great Britain on "recurrent education: perceptions, problems and priorities" could well apply to all the countries of Europe, United States and Canada.

In the Soviet Union and China, education is seen as perhaps the most important factor towards the development of their socialist societies to Communism. This is true if one examines the development strategies taken by these countries since the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the Chinese Revolution of 1949. Ablin (1963) gave evidence of how education contributed to the Russian goal of achieving "rounded development of the human personality - the paramount task of communist construction". This is also in line with Lenin's observation that "without teaching, there is no knowledge and without knowledge, there is no communism". Hawkins (1974) on the other hand, quoted Mao Tse-Tung on the role of educational policy, that it
"must enable everyone to receive education to
develop morally, intellectually and physically
and become a well-educated worker with
socialist consciousness". 

Furthermore research studies carried out by such writers
as Bereday, et al (1960), Grant (1964), Price (1977) and
many more, confirm that education is apparently serving
effectively the avowed political and social needs of those
countries.

In the so-called developing countries of the Third
World, especially Africa, institutional education was
introduced by a colonial power, notably the British, French,
Belgians, Portuguese, etc. It is generally accepted that
the colonial powers went to Africa for varied reasons:
some went for trade, some to spread Christianity to the
so-called uncivilized, uncultured heathens, and yet some
to settle, particularly those who were 'sick' of the
problems of industrial life. To these different groups
of Europeans, 'development' meant different things - to the
missionaries, it involved a search for the redemption of the
poor indigenous peoples' souls; to the settler class, it
meant the promotion of good work habits amongst the
natives; to the administrators, it involved the acquisition
of a basic literacy and numeracy by some of the indigenous
inhabitants which would mean that the clerical posts in the
expanding colonial administration are filled; whereas to
the traders it represented the production of cheap raw materials and agricultural products for the mother country while the manufactured goods are later imported into the colony. Thus development was externally defined and imposed along with the colonisers' values and norms. The Berlin Conference of 1884 legitimized the 'scramble' for Africa by partitioning the African Continent amongst the major European powers. In the case of the British colonies, protectorates and mandated territories, the British government issued, through the Phelps-Stokes Report of 1925, (quoted in Ngonyani, 1980), a "statement of principles and policy for the guidance of all those engaged directly or indirectly in the advancement of education." This report, like that of W.C. Groves of 1937/8 for the Solomon Islands was really directed at the advancement of the indigenous populations. Such an aim as "to raise native standards; economic and material; moral and social; to improve housing and beautify village surroundings and raise the standard of personal hygiene; to improve the methods of production and the nature of the food supply; to initiate individual and group economic projects that will provide the natives with the means to acquire European materials so as to simplify their everyday lives and ensure their greater personal comfort, to allow more time for leisure and provide the means of using it wisely," was without doubt directed to the social and economic development of the indigenous people of the Solomon Islands. However, the
same may not be said of the administrations in colonial Africa. Colonial education induced and encourage attitudes of human inequality, elitism and white collar job orientation, the domination of the weak by the strong and the provision of a curriculum which was irrelevant to the needs of the peoples of those countries.

After World War 2 (1945), the wind of change to political independence blew across developing countries with the consequence that most of them are now independent; e.g. British India became independent in 1947, then countries like Ghana and Nigeria followed in 1957 and 1960 respectively. The latest British colony to gain independence is Zimbabwe whose freedom came in April 1980.

The real impetus however, toward African development in education started in 1961 when African Ministers of the Member States of Africa met in Addis Ababa under the auspices of UNESCO, Economic Commission of Africa (ECA) and the United Nations. This first meeting was to pave the way for more such meetings which took place in Abidjan (1964), Nairobi (1968) and Lagos (1976). The Addis Ababa Conference chartered a twenty years African education development plan in which the year 1980 was set as one when free primary education should be attained by all member countries, secondary education would be expanded to at least 30% and the quality of schools and universities would be improved. These wishes and 'bogus' plans of the four Conferences were summarized by Damiba when he wrote:

"The Addis Ababa Conference had formulated regional objectives for the development of educational institutions... the Nairobi Conference ...... stressed the urgent need to expand and improve primary education and to develop scientific,
technical and vocational education ..... the Lagos Conference expressed a general determination to introduce innovation and reforms towards three main objectives - democratization, cultural identity and development - which are closely bound up with each other.29

During the 1960’s and 1970’s, educationists in and outside the African continent had and indeed, are still thinking about relevant educational reforms for rapid social and economic development. Most of these people have written, as well as spoken, convincingly of the need for radical and progressive education if the poor countries are to meet their manpower and other socio-economic needs. It is therefore imperative that one should come to grips with some of the works of such social activists like Julius Nyerere (1967) who has spearheaded in a very practical way (through the Education for Self-Reliance, (ESR) reform) the concept of functional, liberating and utilitarian education for self-reliance; Frantz Fanon (1967) on a militant political education for peasant militancy and national liberation; Adam Curie,32 (1970) education for liberation; Paul Freire (1972) a conscientizing and liberating popular education and Mao-Tse Tung through his works on the popular functional education which obliterates the factory-school distinction. Arising from the works of these people and indeed many others, the writer is of the view that education is all about promoting moral and emotional security and confidence in the individual by way of a secure, educative
(teaching-learning) atmosphere within and compatible with the context of the local, social, cultural and physical development. It is all about nourishing a spirit and practice of originality, creativeness, self-reliance, and confidence in the pursuance of worthwhile knowledge, skills and trades. This, in essence, is the education for national development. (See Chapter 3 for a more detailed analysis of development theories).

On this theme of development as viewed from an educational perspective and on the subject of education systems, policies, etc., both in Africa in general and Nigeria in particular, a very wide range of literature exists. It is not possible to mention and/or review all the many miscellaneous works in a study of this size. The works of Ogunsola (1974), Beckett and O'Connell (1977), Abdurrahman and Canham (1978), E.B. Castle (1972), D'Aeth (1975), Curle, A. (1973), Fafunwa, A.B. (1975), Onuoha (1975), Mounouni (1968), Thompson, A.R. (1981) and a host of others in the last two decades have contributed immensely to the argument that the Nigerian educational system is rather too limited in scope to effectively cope with the new post-independence developments in Nigerian life and culture. They argued that in the Nigerian educational set-up, practice was well behind the best in theory and that there was an urgent need for education to be re-vamped and re-interpreted for a new theory aimed at eliminating outworn and irrelevant practices and building up new concepts of education as it affected Nigeria's overall development.
In a related note, Fafunwa (1971), undertook a remarkable study of Nigerian education. In the analysis, he dealt with the history and growth of higher education in Nigeria; concentrating on organization, finance, student enrolments, staff, curriculum (as it related to national needs) and the future of higher education in the country. His work ended on a very hopeful note; hopeful of better things to come as far as higher education was concerned. He never envisaged the utter gloom into which Nigeria's higher education has been plunged lately (this will be discussed in detail in Chapter 9). Fafunwa's subsequent book (1974) treated the history and growth of primary education as well as secondary and technical education. Here he stressed the importance of indigenous and koranic education and the reaction of the people to Western-type education when it was eventually introduced.

Nduka Okafor wrote a book on the development of Universities in Nigeria in 1967. This book was not published until 1971 - the delay was caused by the out-break of Civil War in Nigeria in 1967. The book, however, traced the factors both internal and external that influenced the development of Nigerian Universities. A brief reference was made to the early contacts between West Africa and Europe, but nationalist activities were treated in detail showing how they constantly pressed on until their demands for the establishment of Universities were met.

C.O. Taiwo's book (1980) dealt mainly with the statutory system of education in Nigeria. It also traced this development
from 1842 to 1978, taking cognizance of other systems and their interactions with the statutory system. *Education in Northern Nigeria*, which was written by Albert Ozigi and Lawrence Ocho was published in 1981; was based on the same format as C.O. Taiwo's; only this particular book narrowed its scope and treated Northern Nigerian education alone. It analyzed the co-existence of Western-type education and Islamic education and also stressed the historical, religious as well as administrative reasons which account for the educational backwardness of this region.

Generally, the Nigerian education system is a very complex one and the truth about it depends on the angle of approach. However, in treating it from the view-point of economic and curriculum development in particular, perhaps the most essential document is the 'Report of the Commission on Post-Certificate School and Higher Education in Nigeria', otherwise referred to as the Ashby Report. The Commission's main objective was to forecast Nigeria's educational needs up to 1980. The report duly established the guidelines for the educational reforms and programmes now being implemented. Some of the manpower projections upon which the Commission based its recommendations have, however, been subjected to some criticisms because the projections were underscored. Nevertheless, the report still remains an important, far-reaching document.

One of the critical recommendations of the Ashby Report concerned the desperately needed expansion in Nigeria's teacher training facilities, after having noted the consequences of inadequate teacher supply - in the Universal Primary Education

1.29
programmes of the 1950's in the Eastern Region, Western Region - and Lagos.

1.6.2 Curriculum Development

In the field of educational studies, curriculum development is a rather broad area of activity which encompasses the orientation of institutional objectives and the forms of knowledge required to bring about learning experiences in students. But above all, curriculum development or change is a reflection of societal change. It is a pace that ought to be maintained in order to give the citizens the autonomy to adapt and prosper as fulfilled individuals; to make decisions and to choose life-styles in a changing world. Thus, curriculum is not limited to those activities which take place between students and teachers in the classroom and occupy squares on the timetable. It involved the economics and politics of the society; a preparation for the fast-changing world of work; because, as Holt put it, "there is little point in schools producing pupils who cannot respond to these changes."49

We know that change is as much an aspect of education as education is an aspect of society; since the school is an agency for educating children (socializing them as a matter of fact), then it must inevitably reflect in its curriculum and organization the patterns of social and economic change in the society it exists to serve. Curriculum therefore involves much more than instruction; it is a purpose of education and "the
purpose of education lies not only in the present, but in the future; that it must be for living, rather than earning a living."

Britain, for example has seen a gradual shift from the 'sixties pattern of subject-based curriculum to a more modern one; a curriculum that accommodates and takes cognizance of modern technology and micro-processors, one that prepares the individual to identify with the changing faces of the manufacturing industry and expanding economy.' This much can be said of the developed countries of the East and West. They predicted that the labour force which would be needed to cope with automation for instance would be different from that of the 'sixties and so they started grooming the children at school by introducing computer-oriented courses in the curriculum of the schools. This emphasises, once again, that educational experiences are developed to serve the interests of the society and its people.

In the developing countries, change often faces a lot of resistance for its impact to be felt and, very often, the perpetrators of the change come from outside the society (developed world) which does not often correspond with the needs of the people. Western-type education comes as one such change.

But of all the aspects of this education, the most widely criticised aspect is the curriculum. This aspect alone metamorphosed so much and took so many forms to suit the ideologies or policies of the organisation promoting it. A lot has been written about this by foreign as well as African writers. It would not be possible to attempt an extensive review of all the works on this subject; rather a few would be reviewed to show how important a place curriculum occupies in promoting
national development.

As stated above, different organizations that found themselves operating in Africa at the turn of the 19th century had different aims and objectives. These aims and objectives were reflected in the type of education they provided. Initially, educational provision remained in the hands of a wide variety of American and European missionary organizations whose main aim of entering Africa was to proselytize the natives, and "envisioned themselves as bringing a higher view of life to benighted savages." The early missionaries therefore did not hope to educate the Africans, but rather to convert them. Religion as a result pervaded the whole curriculum in the mission schools. Apart from playing the role of providing the most effective means of achieving religious instruction, the school also served as an incentive and prospect of social advantage in terms of employment in the newly arrived cash economy. Foster argues that "If...... there had been an attempt to offer Western education in vacuo and if it had not been associated with significant change in the economy or the system of political control, it is likely that educational demand would have remained minimal." The education provided however served all the parties involved (the Missionaries, Colonial administrators and the traders). In other words, it represented a set of specific structural conditions where the interests of the colonial government, the traders and the Missions appeared to coincide and give rise to a relatively well coordinated schooling system. The only group in this instance
which did not find its needs and interests being served were the Africans themselves; in the sense that the values which were taught and practised by the 'foreigners' were not only different from what the Africans believed in but also displaced them (i.e. the African values).

From the curriculum point of view, however, this was criticised to be of a bookish nature. It taught no skills or trade, the graduates were discontented and bitter. When the Phelps-Stokes Report was released, it criticized schools for their failure to make any differentiation between "the education of the masses and the development and training of Native leaders." The Report urged the need for education to be planned in relation to such a differentiation. The political service hoped that, by limiting access to post primary education and the literary/academic curriculum, they would be able to reproduce and control a neo-traditional elite and avoid the creation of an unemployable educated group. The Report also advised "the adaptation of education to the needs of the people ... and ... to African conditions," to include agricultural education and the simpler elements of trades required in native villages.

When most African countries became independent, the main concern of their governments was to expand the school system. Nothing was done to change the much criticised bookish curriculum. Although the tradition changed from a religion-centred education (as was the case in Nigeria), it still remained basically bookish. This was partly due to the fact that there was no new initiative to discard what the colonial administrators left behind. In this discussion of curriculum
development therefore it would be necessary to take a look at a few curriculum innovations in Nigeria taking into consideration the planning and how much change had taken place.

**1.6.2.1 Curriculum Development and Planning in Nigeria**

As stated above, the education planners and the public saw much to criticize in the curriculum left behind by the colonial administrators, but the urge to introduce changes was absent. This fact was reflected in the summary of educational progress in Northern Nigeria between 1962-1973, as quoted by S.B. Pakata (1980): "... The need for an integrated and expanding education system is generally recognized. There were however doubts as to the most effective rate of expansion of primary provision and the value of the present syllabus...." The need for curriculum development and the need to relate primary education curriculum to the Nigerian situation and the needs of the Nigerian child in the rapidly changing Nigerian society was most urgent. It was the anxiety arising from this need that forced the Nigerian government to seek assistance from UNICEF for funding Primary Education Improvement Project (PEIP) – a project that took a new approach to the Nigerian curriculum and how to put it right. Interest in rectifying the curriculum continued to grow. Around the same time the spade work on PEIP was being carried out, the Nigeria Educational Research Council (NERC) also held a national workshop on suitable curriculum for the primary schools, to be used by States throughout the country as a basis for designing primary school syllabi in preparation for UPE. The report on the Workshop enumerated the national aims and objectives of primary education, among other things, as:-

- "To acquire permanent literary and numeracy;..."
- To acquire scientific and reflective thinking; ....
- To develop vocational skills; ....
- To appreciate the dignity of labour; ...."

The PEIP sought to satisfy some of these aims - by relating primary school instruction to the progressive ideology of the country. However, it is one thing to have a curriculum which is theoretically progressive and an entirely different thing to implement or adopt such progressivist education ideology in the practical classroom/school situation. The implementation or adoption of a national ideology in education takes far more than mere theoretical guidelines or even detailed syllabi or curriculum packages stating what to teach and how. The big problem is tension between the rapid expansion of the education system in this situation and control of quality of education being offered in the schools. Difficulties incurred in innovation and implementation of the curriculum will now be examined in relation to the first level of school. It is essential that this is done because the first level is the most crucial level in divulging the educational policy and/or ideology. It is what children receive at this level that is carried up to be used in their adult lives. The scope may widen as they grow but basically the initial 'grooming' still holds.

1.6.2.2 Model of Curriculum Change Adopted in The Present Official Syllabus

In centralised systems like in Nigeria, curriculum development is a matter for the central authority (this being the Ministry of Education) to decide upon in the light of the Federal
Government guidelines. Innovation in the school curriculum is designed at the centre in conformity with national guidelines, curriculum packages or syllabus are prepared and handed down to the schools for use and adoption at the local levels. In many cases it is a one way communication without an effective linkage system. In an attempt to breakaway from the colonial system, the new curriculum includes subjects like:

- Mathematics to replace Arithmetic;
- Primary science to replace Rural science;
- Physical and Health Education in place of Physical Training;
- English Language; Social Studies (in place of Geography, History);
- Cultural and Creative Arts and Religious Instruction.

The new syllabuses were sent to the schools without prior orientation courses for the teachers; thus many subjects included in the new syllabus like Mathematics, Social Studies, Primary Science, Creative Arts, were new to the teachers. Their initial training did not include such subjects and there was no in-service education through which the teachers could be effectively retrained. This fact was reflected in some subject panels introduction to their subject syllabus in the case of Kwara State:

"It is realised that the Grade Two teachers that are in the field now have been instructed in Arithmetical processes only. In view of this fact therefore, we strongly recommend that the teachers that are teaching arithmetic now are:

1. Retrained so that they can cope with the Mathematics syllabus that is drawn up ..... 
2. That the re-training is done at the divisional levels
so that teachers affected can be easily helped; 

Hitherto Science has been studied in our primary schools under various terms - Health Science, Rural Science and Agricultural Science .

Re-training (if done at all) is of a very short duration (one year) so it is doubtful as to whether the newly trained teachers are in any better position to use the new syllabuses effectively in the practical teaching and learning situation.

The one way communication model of the Research Development and Diffusion (R. D. & D) used in the syllabus change can be represented diagrammatically as follows:-

CHART I

One way communication from the syllabus developers to the schools through the Zonal Inspectorate and LSMB.

Gaps that existed between the developers of the syllabus and the institutions in the system whose participation was not solicited.

In the typical R. D & D model of curriculum change, the Research and Development stages usually involve testing of trial curriculum materials in some selected institutions, collecting
of feedback from the teachers who have tried the materials in their classrooms, and in the light of such feedback, adjustments, modifications, etc., are carried out before the final syllabus comes into operation. At the Diffusion stage, re-training of teachers, orientation for school inspectors, and provision of support systems and resources which facilitate adoption are indispensable. In the case of the syllabus/curriculum change (typical of most changes in Nigeria), there was nothing like the stages described above, hence, a big gap between the developers and the classroom teachers. The gap becomes more serious as gaps exist also between the major sub-systems of primary education at the local level and the developers of the syllabus:

"If an innovation is to have any hope of being anything more than a passing novelty, then the teachers concerned must be involved from the start. And their involvement must be genuine, not just a matter of their being told what to do and why, but a proper participation in the planning and decision "

1.6.2.3 Primary Education Improvement Project

The aims and objectives on which the design of the PEIP curriculum packages were based are those published by the Nigeria Educational Research Council (NERC) and stated in sub-section 1.6.2 above. At the initial stage of the project, however, the general aims of the curriculum change were stated as:

1. "To develop a curriculum that is more modern in its approach;

2. To create a curriculum that is for Nigerians in Nigeria, suitable for life in town and rural areas;
3. To develop children as individuals, imparting self-discipline, basic skills and strengthening literacy;
4. To encourage utilization of the environment;
5. .... to establish an education that will see to our children's development as useful citizens in town or country."

Both the initial PEIP aims and objectives and the Nigeria Educational Research Council's guidelines on primary education curriculum in Nigeria have progressivist ideology background; this being child-centred education, or in instructional methods, include team-teaching, mixed ability grouping, basing children's activities on the children's interest and choices (within the curriculum limits); continuous assessment.

The model of curriculum change adopted in the PEIP is the typical Research Development and Diffusion (R. D. & D), a model evolved first by Brickell (1961) and later by Clark and Gruba (1965) and called R. D. & D. by Ronald Havelock (1971):

"Models which are included in the R. D. & D. schools depict the process of change as an orderly sequence which begins with the identification of a problem, proceeds through activities which are directed towards finding or producing a solution to this problem, and ends with diffusion of this solution to a target group ...."
the basic idea of the lessons. These, to my mind are just 'bogus' plans on paper; the teachers cannot make substantial contributions to a change of this kind in view of their limited academic background and type of initial teacher education which they received. In an investigation into the "Strategies for Curriculum Change with Special Reference to PEIP in Kwara State, Nigeria", S. B. Pakata found that 100% of the teachers involved in teaching (in a sample of 120 teachers to represent 1,200 teachers in all) had their initial teacher education in the traditional subject teaching approach - an approach which is subject centre - and 0% in the Activity Methods or child-centre approach. As a result, about 75% of the teachers expressed doubts in teaching such subjects as Primary Science because they did not feel competent enough to teach them and also they are unsure of the sort of activities in which they can involve the children.

In another study, "An Evaluation of the Nigerian Integrated Science Project (NISP) After A Decade of Use in the Classroom" by O. J. Jegede, the results showed that most of the teachers of Integrated Science are not favourably disposed towards part of the project because of their lack of appropriate training. In other words, in a sample of 560 teachers of Integrated Science, it was found that 100% were not qualified or trained to teach Integrated Science and they did not feel very comfortable teaching the aspects of the course that they did not know. These results again bring us back to the question of teacher quality in relation to the curriculum. This 'teacher factor' is without doubt an indispensable determinant in the successful implementation of any curriculum innovation. As
succinctly stated by Stake et. al., (1978):

"What science education will be for any one child for any one year, is most dependent on what that child's teacher believes, knows and does - and does not believe, does not know and does not do. For essentially all of the science learned in school, the teacher is the enabler, the inspiration and the constraint."

The Nigerian situation appears to be a case in which the teachers of Integrated Science are being asked to teach what essentially they have not learnt. NISP seems to expect too much of teachers who learned science in separate specializations and by means of methods alien to the basic concept implied by Integrated Science.

From these few examples, it is observed that a lot of homework needs to be done before projects like the PEIP and NISP are implemented; the most important of which should be preparing the teachers for the task that lies ahead. These results show just a fraction of examples of the many instances of poorly planned educational changes. In a blind imitation of practices elsewhere, our planners advocate changes that often flop because they are not adequately implemented. This writer feels that educational innovations should not be rushed in an apparent desire to 'catch up' with the practices in the developed countries. Every educational innovation should be regarded as a long-range effort to treat the problems of an educational system. It is only when every member of the school personnel are involved that any innovation will become meaningful and its implementation relatively easy. It is no road to development if our teachers use old methods to teach new subjects, or if no attempt is made to disengage the system from the reins.
of traditional approach. Changes should start from the training of teachers. It is only when teachers are adequately trained in new methods, and taught how to concentrate on building the personality of the child that school curriculum could be drawn-up with progressivist or child-centred ideology as the focal point.

It is not wrong to want to adopt new changes in the school curriculum. As the case is in more developed education systems, (or child-centred teaching), there is a lot of evidence to support the fact that this method is the best in encouraging critical thinking. Any child taught by involving him in finding out things or discovering solutions for himself is likely to have this confidence in himself. However, the effectiveness of the activity and discovery methods in achieving desired educational objectives largely depends on the quality of the teachers' guidance, intervention and the ways in which he encourages critical thinking through the sort of guidance he offers (as has been emphasized earlier). Equally important is whether the teacher himself thinks critically. As W.D. Wall (1975) put it:

"In addition to the manifest curriculum of subjects and content, there is the latent curriculum of values implicit in what is put into or left out of the programme, in the methods by which children are taught."

What one gathers from this brief look at curriculum issues from developed and developing countries is that while in the developed countries, attention is much more concentrated on how the introduction of new materials in the curriculum would
affect both people and society in the long run, (e.g. the problems of unemployment which would arise in future from the introduction of a computer-based curriculum), the developing countries in general and Nigeria's curriculum development in particular is bedecked with problems of good and competent teachers to cope with what is (still) a 'bookish' curriculum.

However, as with education and development, a very wide range of literature exists on curriculum development and planning; so much so that an attempt to review it in a study of this size, would be too space-consuming. On these topics and other related ones like UPE, teacher training and supply, and so on, written by both Nigerian and foreign authors, this writer read extensively. And in the course of writing out this thesis, made references to most of the vast literature. This writer however hopes that the ground covered so far would give a very clear picture of the Nigerian education system as it exists today, and also bring out the problems (e.g. population, vastness of the country, etc.) inherent in the realisation of such development.

1.6.3 **Primary Sources**

After this broad and general review, it is important to consider some of the publications which also helped tremendously and formed the basis of the written part of this study - these are the primary sources.

Such international organizations as the United Nations and its agencies; UNESCO., and the Commonwealth Secretariat, have
made outstanding contributions, inter alia, in the field of education and national development. Some of their publications, researches, conference reports, etc., which appear in various sources, proved particularly important to this study. Also available are the Africa Report and Africa Contemporary Record edited by Colin Legum.

On Nigeria, particularly, the plans provided a lot of material. So far, Nigeria has launched four development plans namely: First National Development Plan 1962-1968; Second National Development Plan 1970-1974; Third National Development Plan 1975-1980; and the Fourth National Development Plan 1981-1985. The focal point of these plans is to improve and develop all sectors of the economy, especially the agricultural and educational sectors. They therefore form the nucelic source for this study. Official Reports of Commissions and Committees on Education e.g. 'Investment in Education: Report of the Commission on Post-School Certificate and Higher Education in Nigeria' (otherwise known as the Ashby Report), 'A Philosophy for Nigerian Education: Report of the National Curriculum Conference (Adaralegbe Report); The Dike Commission ('Review of the Educational System in Eastern Nigeria') and its counterpart in Western Nigeria, i.e. The Banjo Report and many others have helped to overhaul the pre-independence educational pattern and to adapt the education of Nigerians to the post-independence needs of the country. These reports also contributed a lot to the written part of this thesis.

1.44
1.6.4 **Periodicals/Journals**

As stated above, this study breaks the frontiers of education and introduces such disciplines as development studies. As such the journals which were mostly consulted reflect the variability of the disciplines. These are (among others):

- Comparative Education
- Compare
- *International Review of Education*
- *West African Journal of Education*
- *Comparative Education Review*
- *British Journal of Sociology of Education*
- *Journal of Educational Administration and History*

1.6.5 **Abstracts**

Bibliographies from text-books as well as compiled bibliographies on Nigerian education in particular and developing countries in general gave direction to a wealth of relevant material. However, Indexing and Abstracting Services are the most helpful and most rewarding in that they don't only provide lists of journals, but they also give all the up-to-date lists of journal articles and this makes tracking all the relevant related articles very easy indeed. The abstracts mostly consulted are:

- *Current Index to Journals in Education (CIJE)*
- CIRF Abstracts
- *British Education Index.*

1.7 **Methodology**

In surveys of a descriptive research such as this...
observation techniques, are tools of research which often present themselves as options to be used, to convert into data the information directly given by other persons. By providing access to what is 'inside a person's head', as it were, these approaches make it possible to measure what a person knows, likes or thinks. Therefore, one would categorize questionnaires and interviews as ways of getting data about persons by asking them rather than watching them behave.

These techniques have advantages which "range from wide coverage at minimum expense in both money and effort" in the case of the questionnaire to flexibility and appropriate for gathering information from illiterates and children (in the case of the interview). Both techniques also have disadvantage - which it will not be very necessary to go into.

Despite the relative advantages of these techniques, some studies of this nature are undertaken without using any of these tools of research. Where none is employed, the secondary material on the research-subject are gathered, analysed and criticised to achieve the aimed-for result. In the prevailing circumstances of this study (for instance working on a subject based on Nigeria from far-away Britain, the financial problems faced by the writer), it has not been possible to use any of the techniques described above to collect data because this would have involved going back to Nigeria which is too costly. Instead, the study is mostly a descriptive analysis of historical trends in the development of Nigerian education and it attempts to isolate and conduct, an interpretative survey of various components of the
Nigerian education system. However, problems of reliability and validity apply to most official statistical data used in this thesis. Because of delicate political problems and administrative difficulties, as pointed out earlier, certain statistical information had been incomplete. Consequently, the majority of official statistics presented here and the calculations based on them should be taken as broad indicators rather than precise estimates.
REFERENCES: CHAPTER I


4. Lewis, L.J., op. cit., p.viii


See also Williamson, B. op. cit., p.7.


20. Stonier, T. *op. cit.*, p.34


27. See Ngonyani, *op. cit.*, p.16.


50. Ibid., p.15


55. Primary Mathematics Panel (1972) 'Kwara State Official Primary School Mathematics Syllabus'.


59. Pakata, S.B., op. cit.,


62. Wall, W.D. (1975), 
Constructive Education for Children

63. Mouly, G.J. (1978), 
Educational Research: The Art and Science of Investigation, 
(Boston Massachusetts: Allyn & Bacon Inc.,) p.189
SECTION ONE: ENVIRONMENTAL AND THEORETICAL CONTEXTS

INTRODUCTION

Both population growth and socio-economic change have become increasingly rapid in the developing countries in the course of the present century. Each affects the other, sometimes in obvious ways and sometimes in more subtle ways.

Developing countries' economic backwardness, the current difficulties of many countries in reaching economic growth targets and the apparent timelessness of most of their subsistence rural sectors often obscure the rapidity of their social and economic changes.

In this section, the compounding social, economic and political problems encountered by developing countries is treated. The first part of the section (i.e. Chapter 2) however, has a special bias for Nigeria whereby the problems caused by its large population, numerous ethnic groups, dependence on oil as its single foreign exchange earner and, many other such problems contribute in dwarfing its efforts to attain economic growth as it is known in the developed world.

The second part of the section looks at development in general and how the developing countries are trying to achieve this. It is also asserted that although it is risky to generalised about the diverse nations of the Third World, yet there are certain common characteristic economic features of developing countries which permit one to view them in broadly similar contexts.

After discussing the 'pains' of underdevelopment as experienced by the developing countries and the role and limitation of public economic policy, this section also analyses the world economy and the place of less developed
countries in an increasingly interdependent but highly unequal global economic system. The impact of the recent energy, food and debt crises on the economies of developing countries is examined, and growing Third World anxiety and hopes for a better chance in participating in world trade are reviewed and analysed.

A theoretical framework is used to analyse the efforts of the developing countries to achieve economic growth and independence. Such theories as the Modernisation Theory, Dependency Theory as well as Conflict and Consensus Models provide the theoretical basis for the review of these possibilities and prospects of Third World development.
CHAPTER 2

NIGERIA

2.0 POSITION

The territory called Nigeria is the largest single geographical unit along the West Coast of Africa. It lies between latitude 4° and 14° north of the Equator and between longitude 2° and 15° east of the Greenwich Meridian. The size of the country and the diversity of its factor endowments give it a potential for development. In order for one to appreciate the scale of educational operations as well as political and economic growth, it is worth mentioning the fact that Nigeria is approximately four times the size of the UK, with an area of 923,768.64 (i.e. 356,660 sq. miles)\(^1\) square kilometres.

The longest distance from east to west is more than 1,120 kilometres and it stretches to 1,040 kilometres from north to south.

Nigeria's neighbours to the north are the Republics of Tchad and Niger; this northern border stretches out towards the Sahara desert. It lies between the Republics of Benin and Cameroon towards the west and east respectively. The Atlantic Ocean mainly washes the sandy coast-line of Nigeria for some 800 kilometres. (See Map I).

2.1
Source: Nigeria In Maps, P5
2.1 VEGETATION AND CLIMATE

Nigeria has two broad types of vegetation: forest and savanna. Each of these has many variants which affect the structural appearance of the plants and therefore the agricultural economy of the country. In Map II these variations are represented; however, even these cannot fully explain the diversity of conditions which one can observe.

The sandy beaches (described above) that stretch along the Nigerian coast-line are almost unbroken. The mouths of those rivers (flowing from the hinterland) which don't break-through are masked by mangrove. Beyond this seeming barrier, calm lagoons extend from the western border into the Niger Delta where they break-up into a network of creeks and estuaries and waterways which provide important means of communication in this part of the country. The vegetation is dominated by varieties of the same tree species, the red mangrove. The area is very swampy and the Ijaw people who live here are good fishermen and women. Scattered among the swamps are settlements on outcrop of firm lands such as Burutu, Opobo, Abonnema, Bonny, Akassa, and Forcados. These settlements have been very important for trade with the outside world especially in the early days of European trade with Nigeria whereby the European traders remained in their ships and employed coastal chiefs as middlemen.

2.3
Inland from the mangrove swamps, the tropical rain forests take over to a depth of circa 80-160 km. Some cities in this belt include Abeokuta, Offa, Owo, Onitsha, Ogoja, Oyo and Ibadan districts. Palm trees grow wild here but large plantations of these are owned by individual farmers and government agricultural departments. Timber, rubber, cocoa, kolanuts are some of the agricultural products of this area. The area is remarkably low lying; there are no hills until the northern limit of the forest area is reached and the vegetation takes on the character of the Guinea Savannah with high forests in the river valleys. In the rain forest region may be found a wide range of ethnic groups e.g. Ibo, Yoruba and other minority groups like the Obudu and Ogoja people.

Bordering the rain forest belt lies the Guinea type savannah belt - a form of tropical grassland with lower rainfall than in the forests but resulting in part from deforestation. The Savannah region is also sub-divided according to the volume of annual rainfall (See Maps II and III). The derived or forest savannah belt is the area which immediately borders the forest belt and is represented around Ilorin, Kabba (in Kwara State) and Oturkpo (in Benue State). The products of this vegetational belt are similar to those of the rain forest belt - the difference would be quantitative and qualitative in so far as the rainfall is less and the soil conditions generally poorer than in the rain forest belt.

2.5
The Guinea type savannah has its northern border near Bussa in Kwara State, and also north of Jalingo and south of Yola in Gongola State. A wide range of ethnic groups are represented in this very large but sparsely populated region (see reasons in 2.2.1): these include the Fulani, Birom, Jukun, Nupe, Tiv, Igala and several smaller ones. The products are soya beans, groundnut (peanut), sheanut and cotton for export; and grains, root-crops like cassava, and legumes for internal trade to the Southern States where farmers mainly concentrate on permanent plantation crops like oil palms, cocoa, etc.

The Jos plateau also lies in this region and it is a very conspicuous feature of the area. It rises as a steep escarpment from the riverain plains of the rivers Niger and Benue to an average height of 606 metres with ranges of hills between 1,515 and 2,000 metres in the Shere Hills around Jos. To the north, the plateau descends gently in the direction of Lake Chad in the north-east, and more sharply to Zaria in Kaduna State. The plateau is famous for its high quality tin ore.

Although Nigeria lies wholly within the tropics, its geographical characteristics are varied and distinctive. The few scattered uplands for instance, act as a barrier dividing the country and produce great climatic differences. However, because the country lies wholly north of the equator, its vegetational patterns assume a roughly parallel graduation. Thus vegetatively, Nigeria has often been described (and sometimes wrongly so) as a "land of vast primaeval dense and eerie tropical rain forest". This indeed is a gross mis-representation of the vegetation because the vegetation
combines high forest in one area, savannah in another and yet mangrove or swamp and rain forest vegetation.

Nigeria (as stated above), enjoys a tropical climate. There are two well-marked seasons: rainy season and dry season. The length of the rainy season varies substantially in Nigeria, from barely three months in the extreme north to more than ten months in the extreme south. As Map III shows, rainfall decreases from the coast to the interior both in amount and in duration. In the delta area, along the coast, the annual total ranges from 4295 mm at Bonny in the east to only 1775 mm at Lagos (Ikeja) in the west. Northwards, the mean annual rainfall decreases inland to about 625 mm in Maiduguri in the Lake Chad Basin area. Temperatures in the south are between 70°F and 100°F. The north, being drier, has extremes of temperatures of up to 120°F during the day, but this falls to as low as 50°F during the night especially around Maiduguri in Borno State. An important consequence of the above climatic characteristics is that the country has never been regarded as suitable for permanent white settlement, even right from the time of British rule.
2.2 POPULATION: HOW MANY NIGERIANS?

Nigeria has very inaccurate population data; probably the most inaccurate in Black Africa. All the same, it is the most populous state in Africa. The available census figures put the population at:

- 1953... ... ... 30.4 million
- 1963... ... ... 55.6 million
- 1973... ... ... 79.7 million

The 1953 census attracted suspicion and controversy. Of the recorded total of 30.4 million, 16.8 million were in the North. This figure was contested mainly by Southern Nigerian politicians, particularly when it came to be used as an argument for giving Northern Nigeria 50% representation in the federal legislature. Southern politicians alleged that the British administrators had inflated the Northern population figures to ensure that political power in the country remained with the Northern politicians, who were regarded as being more favourably disposed towards them. On the whole however, this census was claimed to have been grossly underestimated.

The most recent census in 1973, was not accepted on the grounds that the figures were over-scored and therefore was declared null and void by the Murtala Mohammed administration in 1979. A look at the 1973 figures in relation to those of 1963 (See Table) shows that the 1973 figures were at best unreliable and at worst concocted. One notices a high population pressure in almost every part of the North as against the South, particularly Lagos, Rivers, the former Western and East-Central states. Lagos,
### POPULATION CENSUS OF NIGERIA BY STATES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>States</th>
<th>1963</th>
<th>1973</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Benue Plateau (Benue, Plateau)</td>
<td>4,453,674</td>
<td>5,165,696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Central (Anambra, Imo)</td>
<td>7,269,276</td>
<td>8,064,235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kano</td>
<td>5,774,840</td>
<td>10,896,964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwara</td>
<td>1,714,485</td>
<td>4,636,316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagos</td>
<td>1,443,568</td>
<td>2,470,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-West (Bendel)</td>
<td>2,460,962</td>
<td>3,235,993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North-Central (Kaduna)</td>
<td>5,292,814</td>
<td>6,789,532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North-East (Bauchi, Borno, Gongola)</td>
<td>8,034,057</td>
<td>15,382,533</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North-West (Sokoto, Niger)</td>
<td>4,538,787</td>
<td>8,498,886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rivers</td>
<td>1,719,925</td>
<td>2,230,363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-East (Cross River)</td>
<td>3,478,131</td>
<td>3,464,413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western (Ogun, Ondo, Oyo)</td>
<td>9,489,540</td>
<td>8,923,138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>55,670,055</td>
<td>79,758,969</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

for example which has the highest population pressure relative to its size, is not ranked among states with a high rate of population increase.

From these uncertainties so far it can be noted that matters relating to population are very complicated as they are sensitive in Nigeria. Nigerian political loyalties, it should be pointed out, are largely those of family and tribal grouping and, since political power goes with numbers, the census automatically becomes an instrument of politics and not as one of statistical record to assist in general administration and planning. Furthermore, not only does the size of each state's population determine the amount of revenue it receives from central funds, it is also likely to govern the proportion of its representation in the Central Assembly or legislature when a return to civilian role takes place. As a result, when they had the opportunity in 1973, most states tried to inflate their statistics.

Another problem in population data is the lack of essential machinery necessary for getting accurate as well as objective head counts.

Due to these problems, and the past history of census taking, rejecting the 1953 figures and voiding the 1973 results, the results of the 1963 census (i.e. 55.6 million) are still officially used as the baseline for current national and state estimates. (This is also the figure that is quoted in all government publications).

Since census has become such a controversial issue and it has become almost impossible to undertake another in the near future, economists, planners, etc. have resorted to assuming, that the annual rate of population growth of
FIGURE 2.1 NIGERIAN POPULATION PROJECTIONS 1963-2000

POPULATION GROWTH RATE = 3.73%

250
200
150
100
50

YEARS.

2.12
Nigeria is between 2.5% - 3.00%. For the purpose of this study, the 1963 census figure which is used as the official population of Nigeria will be used. However, the United Nation's estimate of 3.73% as the annual rate of population growth will be used in order to project the country's population - these assumptions will be verified and established only when it becomes politically possible to conduct an objective census in the country.

Thus, the projections of Nigeria's population based on an assumed rate of growth of 3.73% (and using 1963 as the baseline) would be as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>55.6 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>66.8 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>80.2 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>96.2 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>115.5 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>138.7 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>166.6 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>200.0 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>215.2 million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Note: These projections are also graphically represented in Figure 2.1 to give a clearer picture of the size of the population). According to this rate of growth, Nigeria's population at the end of the present century will be approximately 215 million on the basis of the 1963 census population of 55.6 million. This therefore means that the development race will be one against the rate of human increase. Even with a 2% per annum growth, the population will double itself at the end of the century. However, with a 3.73% growth (as assumed by the U.N.), the population will...
more than double itself about 17 years before the end of the century - i.e. between 1978 and 1983. In fact by the end of the first year of the next century, this 3.73% growth would have resulted in a population almost four times the 1963 figure. With the continued fall in the death rate as a result of improved medical and health care, the only thing that will indicate a spontaneous decline in this population growth for many years to come is a probable decline in the birth rate.

Furthermore, the projections reveal an interesting fact about the population census and estimates for the year 1973. From the above discussion it was noted that the 1973 census figure of 79.7 million was rejected as being over-scored and so declared null and void. However, this writer's projection for the same year (based on an assumed rate of growth of 3.75%) reveals that the population for 1973 was 80.2 million - showing a difference of only .5 million from the census figure. Supposing the figures for states such as Lagos, Ogun, Ondo and Oyo were under-scored as suggested earlier it is probable that the correct figure for that census was even higher than the rejected 79.7 million (if it had been objectively done).

Despite the controversy surrounding the census issue and the improbability of another one, it is, in this writer's considered opinion that the use of 1963 as the baseline for planning in the 1980's can no longer be justified.
2.2.1 POPULATION DISTRIBUTION AND DENSITY

The distribution of human population means or relates to the fact that, in any territory, and for a variety of reasons, human beings are unevenly dispersed - with concentrations in settlements or regions which we refer to as urban - while other areas (rural) contain many fewer inhabitants. Density on the other hand is a method of measuring distribution by relating population numbers to the area that they occupy - this could range from as many as one million per square kilometre to less than one person per $km^2$.

The geographical distribution of the population of Nigeria, however, is uncertain for the same reason as its total (population) is doubtful; but some features are outstanding and therefore well established. The features include the low densities of the so-called Middle Belt (a Savannah area) which includes the present States of Kwara, Benue, Plateau and some parts of Gongola and Niger), where population is sparse due to natural reasons - related to soil fertility, rainfall reliability, and a higher degree of infestation of tsetse-fly,

2.14
which severely limits the possibilities of pastoral economy, - and also human reasons - related to the effects of slave raiding from the coastal areas in the south and of the Hausa/Fulani conquests (The Jihads) from the north. Also, Borno in the north-east and Sokoto in the north-west are areas of relative low density because water is most scarce in these places. In this low density area therefore, (and as Maps IV a and b show), there are about 50 persons in a square kilometre.

The areas of heavy population concentration are chiefly to be found in the Southern Nigeria; particularly in the Igbo (Imo and Anambra), Ibibio (Cross River) and more easterly of the Yoruba areas; where there are between 250-400 persons per Km$^2$. (See Maps IV a and b). There is thus a densely populated stretch across the south-eastern provinces from Onitsha almost to Calabar, falling away both to the north-east and to the south-west, except where the urban node of Port Harcourt is surrounded by a belt of very high density. Similarly, west of the Niger, all of Bendel State is very thinly populated, while in the Yoruba-speaking areas there is a high density belt that stretches from Ado Ekiti to Ibadan and the federal capital of Lagos. In the central and northern Nigeria, as the map shows, there are no whole divisions which fall within this category of high density, though on a district level, there are many such areas.

Areas of medium concentration are those surrounding the high density areas of the south. They also occur in Kano, Jos and Katsina and along the region between Borno in the north-east and the Hausa provinces of Kano and Bauchi. Here
there could be as many as 100-150 persons per Km$^2$. The remainder of Northern Nigeria falls in the area of low concentration. Thus, generally, the North is less populated whereas the South has high population distribution and density.

2.2.2 **URBAN POPULATIONS**

The structure, size and status of urban population is not universally determined. Each country adopts its own characteristic guidelines. In Nigeria (since 1963), the characteristics of an urban settlement are varied; settlements are regarded as urban if: they are closely built; inhabited by a predominantly non-agricultural population of not less than 20,000; they functionally perform central place roles like commercial institutions (e.g. banks), daily markets, post-primary educational institutions, post and telegraph offices, State Ministry hospitals.

It has to be pointed out (with caution) that since the 1963 census figure of 55.6 million is the official population of Nigeria, (as against an estimated 119.84 million by this writer), and since the dynamic urban component of the country's population cannot (otherwise) be more accurately determined than the overall (official) total, this discussion of Nigeria's urban population will be based on the 1963 census.

The rate of growth of Nigeria's urban population has been/is extremely high; this growth rate is estimated at six per cent. The high rates vividly tell the story of the ever-increasing rural-urban migration. Moreover, with
government policies of development and provision of social amenities and infrastructure being concentrated in the urban areas, the urban population growth trend is more alarming than ever before. For example, Lagos, in its capacity as an industrialised city has attracted a large population; so has Warri seen a tremendous growth in population as a result of the new development in the oil industry.

Yet, apart from this migration (or pursuit of 'fortune' and 'luxury') from the largely neglected rural areas to the urban ones, some considerable growth has occurred in the urban areas as a result of reduced infant-mortality rate and also, as a result of absorption of population from smaller urban centres by larger ones.

In recent years, with the creation of new States, some rural service centres of township status have been upgraded into large urban centres. The main objective is to enable them to cope with their newly imposed administrative and economic functions as State capitals (e.g. Yola, Owerri, Bauchi, Minna) and local government headquarters.

Also, satellite towns, like the one in the outskirts of Lagos are being created to lessen the burden of heavily congested cities like Lagos. The idea behind the development of the Federal Capital Territory at Abuja is to spread urban population as well as make access to the federal capital easier from all parts of the country.
The principal towns and cities and their estimated populations therefore are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lagos</td>
<td>1,060,848 officially, but probably nearer 5 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibadan</td>
<td>847,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benin</td>
<td>136,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onitsha</td>
<td>220,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Harcourt</td>
<td>242,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kano</td>
<td>399,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaduna</td>
<td>202,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maiduguri</td>
<td>189,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaria</td>
<td>224,000⁹</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3 **ETHNIC DIVERSITY**

Nigeria is inhabited by various ethnic groups whose languages number between 250 and 395¹⁰, with each group speaking an entirely different language from the other. Map V and the key summarise knowledge about the present location of the languages. The vast majority of Nigerian languages belong to four groups (as classified by J.H. Greenberg): Benue-Congo, Kwa and the Adamawa groups of the Niger-Congo family and the Chadic group of the Afroasiatic family.¹¹ Six other language groups are represented within the country: the Mande, Gur and the West Atlantic groups of the Niger-Congo family, the Saharan and Songhai groups of the Nilo-Saharan family and the Semitic group of the Afroasiatic family. However, the three major languages of Nigeria are the Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. Obviously, this ethnic diversity creates and/or encourages political diversity
(political loyalties, as mentioned above are largely those of ethnic and tribal grouping). These diversities, in addition to regional or State differences in resource endowments create numerous political and economic problems. They also have educational implications (as shall be seen later in the study) in the sense that those ethnic groups that embraced Western education earlier often want to lord it over those who are educationally backward.

This ethnic diversity is naturally aided: the two major rivers; River Niger and River Benue which flow from the south-west and north-east, respectively, form a confluence at Lokoja (at about the centre of the country), thereby forming a big letter 'Y'. This natural phenomenon trisects the country into the three regions of the North, East and West; with the three major ethnic groups of Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba falling within the regions respectively. Sketchily represented, each of the 19 States falls within a section of the 'Y', thus:

Major ethnic groups - Hausa and Fulani

(1) **NORTH**

Sokoto State, Kano State, Borno State, Kaduna State, Congola State, Bauchi State, Plateau State, Benue State, Kwara State

(2) **WEST**

Ondo State
Ogun State
Oyo State
Bendel State
Lagos State

Major Ethnic Group = Yoruba

(3) **EAST**

Cross River State
Imo State
Anambra State
Rivers State

Major Ethnic Group = Igbo

(See also Map V. for States).
The North is the largest both in area and population; but with the area being very dry sub-Saharan country, it is the poorest and least developed. The Hausa and Fulani are the predominant ethnic groups. The Hausa are excellent farmers inspite of the harsh conditions under which they have to work. The main cash crops grown by the Hausa are groundnuts (peanut), Beni-seed and cotton. This is, however, supplemented by livestock raising by the Fulani who are pastoral. Generally, the North is "a Region ruled by persons of considerable political acumen who understand power and who know the urgency of change."

The dense forest region of the East is inhabited mainly by the Igbo (sometimes written as Ibo), the second major ethnic group in Nigeria. They are the most geographically mobile of the major groups of Nigerian peoples. This is because the Igbo, in their homeland, are faced with the problems of poor agricultural soils, overcrowding and limited opportunities for economic advancement. They are more susceptible to foreign influences (they accepted the Christian faith and Western education more easily, as compared to the Yoruba and Hausa) probably due to these environmental shortcomings. They received Western education much later than their neighbours, the Yorubas, but when they did, they became the most thoroughly Westernized of the larger ethnic groups in the country.

The fact that the Igbo people managed to cope with poor soils, and large population in a very small area is testimony
to the Igbo people's industry and resourcefulness. The major Igbo towns include: Owerri, Onitsha, Enugu, Nsukka, Aba, Abakaliki and Umuahia. (See Map II).

The Yoruba are the next major ethnic group in Nigeria. They occupy the present Lagos, Ondo, Ogun, Oyo and some parts of Bendel States. Traditionally, their economy combines farming and craftsmanship. They have a special respect for their gods who are represented on earth by their 'Obas' (Chiefs). Thus, we find that religion is embedded in all aspects of Yoruba life. Compared to the more easy-going, outward and formal Hausa, the Yoruba are zealously ambitious. They also control the economic power of the country.

Ugly rivalries developed between the Igbo and Yoruba - this became more evident in the launching of the Universal Primary Education (UPE) Schemes of the 1950s. The Igbo strove to equalize their political development and educational provision with the Yoruba. The nasty relationship that grew between the two groups slowly paved the way, among other things, for the coup d'etat of January 1966 which later developed into the Nigerian Civil War.

These ethnic groups are particularly important especially to this study because, since they dominate the politics of the regions, they therefore determine the extent and quality of educational provision and development which affects the country as a whole.
For instance, the political parties of the 1950s were in no sense national in outlook. They developed along ethnic and religious lines. We have witnessed the bitter consequence of this strong ethnic loyalty in the Civil War. However, putting rivalries and extreme ethnic loyalties aside, and putting hands together to forge national unity and understanding, will go a long way in promoting and strengthening the objectives of the Universal Primary Education (UPE) Scheme. This is the task with which the present military government is faced. Nigerians are also trying (painstakingly) to acquire nationalistic rather than tribal feelings - this is the only means of creating a cohesive society.

2.4 POST-INDEPENDENCE POLITICAL HISTORY

As pointed out earlier, Nigeria's social and political existence is sustained by ethnic identity and loyalties. The trisection of the country by the two main Rivers Niger and Benue therefore also meant that the three main ethnic groups are "properly" distributed in the three former regions. However, in 1963, this picture slightly changed when the peoples of the mid-West, fearing domination by the Yorubas, campaigned for, and got, their own Region - the mid-Western Region (Maps V.a - d). Consequently, this move spurred other events to start happening as well. Resulting therefore from a combination of factors, both remote and immediate, among which were the large-scale corruption (which is still instituted in Nigeria's social life), the controversy surrounding the 1963 census figures, the cloudy political overtones which surrounded the trial of the leader of Action Group, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, and some of his political associates,
and some complex upheavals arising from tribal differences, the Nigerian Army started a successful coup d'eta on 15th January 1966, in which the Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, some regional heads and some top-ranking army officers were killed. In the same year, the federal structure was replaced by a more unitary form of government. This state of affairs continued until July 29, 1966, when a second coup was carried out. Prior to this second coup d'etat, some civil disturbances had broken out in May in the North in which many people were killed. A chain of developments ensued which eventually culminated into a Civil War following the declaration in 1967 that Eastern Nigeria was seceding from the rest of the country.

In April 1967, Nigeria was divided into twelve States: with six out of the Northern Region (North Central State, North Eastern State, North Western State, Kwara State, Kano State and Benue-Plateau State); three out of the Western Region (Western State, Mid West State and Lagos State); and three out of the Eastern Region (East Central State, South Eastern State and Rivers State). (See Map V. c). This division was to serve a dual purpose of bringing the government nearer to the people as well as eliminating political dominance of the smaller tribes by the main ethnic groups.

The war to 'Keep Nigeria One' began in earnest in mid-1967 between the Federal government's armed forces and the self-styled government of 'Biafra'. After over 30 months of fighting, the rebel forces surrendered in January 1970. From this time, the country rediscovered itself as a nation.
determined to forge a sense of national identity among her citizens. The reconstruction of war torn areas was also made paramount, and everybody was encouraged to work tirelessly towards rebuilding the country. In 1973, in order to forge a feeling of trust among the citizens, The National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) was introduced whereby University graduates are sent to States other than their own on a one year voluntary service.

On July 29, 1975, Nigeria witnessed yet another Military coup d'état in which General Yakubu Gowon was ousted. The new government of General Mohammed Murtala pledged to eradicate corruption, abuse of office and other social ills from the annals of the Nigerian society. True to its word, the new government undertook massive dismissal of allegedly corrupt officers from government employment. The government also endeavoured to solve once and for all the issue of the creation of more States. The new States created on February 3, 1976 were unlike other previous divisions of Nigeria, for the people were fully consulted. From the recommendations of the committee set-up to look into State issues/demands, it was decided to create seven more States. The basic aim was to bring government nearer to the people, while at the same time sharing resources, particularly oil revenues, more evenly within a federal system. As Map V. d shows, seven out of the former twelve States were not affected but for minor boundary adjustments. These were Kano, Rivers, Mid-Western, North-Central, South-Eastern, Lagos, and Kwara. The other five States were divided: the East-Central State into two - Imo and Anambra; Benue-Plateau into Benue and Plateau; Western State into Ogun, Ondo and Oyo,
North-Eastern State into Gongola, Bauchi and Borno and North-Western State into Sokoto and Niger States.

On February 13, 1976, the government of General Murtala was brought to an end by his assassination in an abortive coup. Lieutenant-General Obasanjo, who was next in command to the late General, took over the leadership of the government. In September 1976, he launched the UPE - that would change the education standard of the country - from being divergent to a more unified system. For example, the length of primary education in the North was seven years whereas in the South it varies from six in the West to seven in the East. Uniformity was achieved when the UPE scheme maintained a six year duration. (This scheme and education in general will be treated in more detail in Chapters 5 and 6).

In 1979, after an organised election, General Obasanjo saw the country back to democracy and civilian rule (after thirteen years of military rule); and Alhaji Shehu Shagari (armed with a constitution that resembles that of the USA), became the first executive president in Nigeria. Each State also had an executive governor and a House of Assembly. On the federal level, there was a House of Senate and House of Representatives. The political parties made a break-through in bending tribalism in the sense that many tribes associated with others to form the parties unlike during the first republic when political parties were formed on tribal loyalties.

The promise of a corruption-free society and the belief that this could be found in a democratic structure did not last long. It was found that in its four years in office, the Shagari government plunged the country into a hopeless economic...
situation. Party membership became a passport to instant wealth; bribery and corruption became the order of the day as the country's external debts continued to mount. There was a lot of uneasiness in the country especially when Civil Servants went for months without pay. In the midst of hunger and frustration, political officers were acquiring such luxuries as owning personal jets, flashy cars, etc. The climax came when the ruling party rigged itself into winning a second term of office. There was a sigh of relief when, on the 31st December 1983, there was yet another coup d'etat led by Lt. General Buhari, thereby ending Nigeria's worst test of time. In the words of the Head of State, Lt. General Buhari, in a television broadcast justifying the coup, there was a need to quash, "squander­mania, corruption, self-aggrandisement and the abuse of public office" (which is what the Shagari government tended to signify during its term of office).

It is too early to say whether the Buhari government is succeeding in its task of cleansing the society of its ills and putting it back onto a strong economic footing. However, they are working hard and it is interesting to see how much support they are getting from the public. Their task is not an easy one considering how much havoc the previous government had caused, but all Nigerians are hoping that in this process of cleansing, Nigeria will re-discover itself and therefore decide on the type of government it wants.
Agriculture.

Nigeria is a country blessed with fertile soil and a wide range of agricultural resources. Agriculture, therefore, was the most important sector of the Nigerian economy, engaging over 80% of the country's workforce; but during the 1960s the central motivation of growth in the Nigerian economy began to shift. Since the Civil War, agriculture has been completely overtaken by the petroleum industry, as the main engine of growth.

With the Industrial Revolution in Europe and an increased demand of raw materials to feed their industries, farmers were encouraged to grow, in excess, crops such as cocoa, cotton, palm products, groundnut and beniseed; which were then exported to earn foreign exchange: these therefore became Nigeria's cash crops. In 1960, for instance, (as Chart 2.1 shows) these cash crops constituted 70% of Nigeria's exports. By the turn of the decade, in 1970, their value had dropped to 42% of total export earnings, and in 1982, they accounted for less than 2% of the total. (See Table 2.1). This decline as a proportion of total value of exports is not due only to the spectacular growth of crude oil exports. The rapid development of food-processing industries locally, which make increasing use of agricultural products as raw materials constitutes one reason. But the most obvious reason is the poor performance of the sector resulting from drought and apparent neglect as competition for skills and labour from other sectors of the economy increased. Among the cash-crops, cocoa is the only agricultural export of any significance now.
During the first half of the 1960s and up to the early 1970s, the cocoa harvest had been very good indeed: output averaged between 218,000 to 232,000 metric tonnes. Until 1973, Nigeria was second only to Ghana in world ranking as a producer of cocoa, but it now produces only about 11% of the world total. The harvest increased from 165,000 metric tonnes in 1976/77 to 202,000 metric tonnes in 1977/78 representing an increase of about 23%. Production fluctuated in the years which followed. In 1981/82 cocoa production was about 175,000 metric tonnes. This represented a 13% increase on the previous year. It dropped by 5% in 1982/83 to an estimated 166,500 metric tonnes.

Groundnut which is grown in the North, on peasant holdings, had reached annual yields of almost 2 million tons in the early 1970s. Production has, however, been extremely low so much so that no groundnuts have been exported since 1975. There was a promise of revival when output reached an estimated 621,000 tons but this was short-lived as the production plummeted to 377,000 tons, or a drop of about 40% in 1980. The picture is not any different as regards cotton. Production has been so poor that the country has to import this to augment the demand of the domestic textile industry. For instance, in 1980, the industry needed 384,000 bales (each of 216.8 kg) compared with the 1979-80 crop of only 172,000 bales.

In the case of palm oil and kernels, local consumption has outstripped production with the result that Nigeria has become an importer of palm oil. In the 1982 budget N4.6 million was allocated to oil palm rehabilitation, with the singular aim of reversing this situation.
Nigeria's food crops include maize, sorghum, yams, cassava, rice and millet. Instances of drought and diversion of attention to the production of cash-crops has seen a decline in food production. The increase in food imports has been dramatic. In 1960, Nigeria's food import bill stood at N60 million while in 1977 it totalled more than N1,700 million. This represents an enormous increase of 2733% over a period of less than two decades. It could be argued that this increase was due to the Festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC) which was held in Nigeria in 1977. However, in 1980, the food import bill (even though it had fallen on the 1977 figure) still remained high at N950 million. Cereal imports account for the largest share of the import bill. In 1981 rice and wheat imports totalled 3 million tons.

Generally, agriculture grew at an average annual rate of 7.8% between 1970 and 1974. By 1976 this growth had declined to only 1% and, although it recovered slightly to 4.2% in 1978/79 (against an overall growth of 5.5%), the sector is seriously ailing, with a dramatic decline in some export crops and the food import bill soaring, as stated above. The decline further continued to under 3% in 1981 and 1982. The situation as it is, is hopeless and the government recognizes that there is an urgent need to modernize techniques and increase yields, if only to save the country from relying mainly on imported food. In an attempt to make the nation self-sufficient in food production, the government committed itself to a policy of diversifying the economy. A number of large-scale agricultural development projects (ADPs) have been started. Among these are the schemes
established under the Sokoto-Rima Valley Development Authority in Sokoto State and the Chad Basin Authority in Borno State which are aimed at producing much needed food crops such as wheat and rice. Nine river basin authorities were also established in 1976 to supervise ADPs and other schemes and above all to improve productivity. Improved credit facilities are also available to farmers through the agricultural banks.

In 1976, a laudable programme called 'Operation Feed the Nation' (OFN) was launched, aimed at increasing domestic food production. The OFN, sadly, did not achieve its aim and so in 1980, it was abolished and a 'National Council on the Green Revolution' was established. In the 1981 budget, agriculture and water resources were allocated a fantastic N1.62 billion in the hope of reviving the agricultural sector again.

2.5.1 OIL SECTOR AND ITS IMPACT ON THE ECONOMY

The discovery of oil and its exploitation has contributed tremendously to the overall growth of Nigeria’s economy. The country witnessed a great transformation - from a poor, agriculturally-oriented country to an oil rich one - a transformation which happened all too suddenly. Although the discovery gave rise to emotions of pride and joy in terms of what it (the discovery) meant to the health and development of the economy, it also "led the country into false expectations, uncoordinated planning, staggering projects, false expenditure and miscalculation. The boom has turned into doom especially in the 1980s." Or as Guy Arnold sarcastically described the situation:

"The country's problems of growth, however, are formidable. As a result of the oil boom, Nigeria
has some similarity with a pools winner unsure of what to do with his winnings. The country's infrastructure is groaning under the strains it has so suddenly had to meet, while generally the society is attempting to change at too great speed, for at least some institutions and people to be able to cope adequately ...."17

However, looking at the positive effects of the oil industry, it currently contributes over 90% of Nigeria's foreign exchange and over 85%18 of Federal Government revenue. It may not be readily appreciated what impact oil exports have on Nigeria's balance of payments and reserve position until the contributions of oil and non-oil exports are analysed. Nigeria's external reserves have also grown over the years although there was a substantial fall starting from 1981 because of the low production quota assigned to Nigeria by OPEC following the world oil glut. This writer will therefore endeavour to look at the income effects of oil and how it has affected the balance of payments.

2.5.1.1 INCOME EFFECTS

Before 1958 when the first oil exports were made totalling 1.8 million barrels (which is about the current daily production), oil had no impact on the Nigerian economy. Since the oil industry has become established, Nigeria has come to rely more on it for its foreign exchange earnings. At the same time, the agricultural sector which had been the mainstay of the economy has been declining. This sector now contributes a meagre 4% of Nigeria's national income. Table 2.1 shows Nigeria's export statistics (both oil and non-oil) from 1960-1982. In 1960, oil constituted only 2.7% of the

2.33
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>TOTAL OF EXPORT OF OIL (MM)</th>
<th>GROWTH RATE OVER PREVIOUS YEAR %</th>
<th>TOTAL EXPORT OF NON-OIL COMMODITIES (MM)</th>
<th>GROWTH RATE OVER PREVIOUS YEAR %</th>
<th>TOTAL EXPORT OF DOMESTIC COMMODITIES (MM)</th>
<th>GROWTH RATE OVER PREVIOUS YEAR %</th>
<th>PROPORTION OF CRUDE OIL EXPORT TO TOTAL DOMESTIC EXPORT %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>321.2</td>
<td></td>
<td>330.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>136.2</td>
<td>1447.7</td>
<td>400.6</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>536.8</td>
<td>62.7</td>
<td>25.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>509.8</td>
<td>274.3</td>
<td>375.6</td>
<td>-6.2</td>
<td>885.4</td>
<td>64.9</td>
<td>57.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>4,562.1</td>
<td>794.8</td>
<td>361.6</td>
<td>-3.7</td>
<td>4,923.7</td>
<td>456.1</td>
<td>92.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980*</td>
<td>13,633.4</td>
<td>198.8</td>
<td>553.3</td>
<td>53.0</td>
<td>14,186.7</td>
<td>192.0</td>
<td>96.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981*</td>
<td>10,680.5</td>
<td>-21.6</td>
<td>217.6</td>
<td>-60.6</td>
<td>10,898.1</td>
<td>-23.2</td>
<td>98.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982++</td>
<td>8,600.2</td>
<td>-19.4</td>
<td>104.5</td>
<td>-51.9</td>
<td>8,704.7</td>
<td>-20.1</td>
<td>98.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Estimates


* Source: Federal Office of Statistics and CBN, Lagos In
FIGURE 2.2 POSITION OF OIL AND DOMESTIC COMMODITY EXPORT, (1960-1980), %
total exports while non-oil products dominated the economy with contributions of 97.3%. However, as oil started to take over the economy, the non-oil sector, sadly, started to move on a downward trend. The greatest increase was in 1965 when oil contributed 25.4% as against about 3% in 1960. This was more than doubled in 1970. The increase from 1975 to 1982 does not look very impressive; this is because of the oil glut which was experienced the world over. Figure 2.2 (which is drawn using statistics from Table 2.1) illustrates the point more clearly. Bing Adotey, in his publication 'Challenges of Economic Development' summarizes the situation thus:

"In 1963-64 oil comprised only 1.04% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) measured at current factor cost. In those days, oil brought in what now seems to be a miserly 28.8 million Naira. By 1970-71 this had increased to 944 million Naira representing 14.19% of GDP. When the revolution in oil prices began to take-off in 1973-74, Nigeria was then producing oil worth 1,899.2 million Naira which was 21% of the GDP. Oil now represents, at current factor cost, about a quarter of GDP and last year (1980) it contributed 84% of the revenue of the Federal Government."19

In other words, Nigeria's initial break-through did not come until 1971 when it moved into ninth place as a world oil producer with her oil production posted at 1.6 million barrels per day (bpd). By this time, Nigeria had come to rely heavily on oil as its foreign exchange earner and had expanded its markets whereby it was selling oil to countries like Western Germany, France, USA,
Canada, Argentina and some African countries. Nigeria's oil was widely sought after because of its low sulphur content. Oil revenue doubled and a 1.8 million barrels per day production was reached in 1972. The following year saw the production up by over 124,000 bpd to 1.9 million bpd. 1974 did not only see an increase in the production of oil to 2.4 million bpd but also the four-fold price rise revolutionised the oil scene. (Oil was priced at about $3 by the middle of 1973). Table 2.2 shows the production and utilization activity of the oil industry. In the second half of the 1960s, crude oil production became intensified. The statistics as shown on the table are quite impressive. There has been, however, a dramatic decline in Nigeria's daily average production rate of crude oil since 1980. Instead of an average 2.2 million barrels a day, Nigeria's average production rate declined by more than half; thus the drop also in the total production in 1981. By 1982, the daily average production of Nigeria's crude oil stood at about 950,000 pbd, although the annual total improved on the previous year by about 24%. This dramatic decline (from 1980) has been attributed to the world oil glut. The slump in production also reduced revenue which stood at $4,598 m. in 1983 as against $10,030 m. in 1980.

The boom years caught Nigeria unawares - there was an obvious absence of industries in the country to refine the crude oil locally or exploit the by-products. This, is therefore, the other 'story' told by Table 2.2. Because of the lack of refineries initially, Nigeria exports most of its crude oil which means that there is always a severe shortage of refined products.
### TABLE 2.2: PRODUCTION AND UTILIZATION OF NIGERIAN CRUDE OIL, 1958-1982

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>PRODUCTION (BARRELS)</th>
<th>EXPORT (BARRELS)</th>
<th>PROCESSING IN DOMESTIC REFINERY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>1,876,062</td>
<td>1,820,305</td>
<td>55,757</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>6,367,187</td>
<td>6,243,527</td>
<td>123,660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>99,353,794</td>
<td>96,984,957</td>
<td>2,368,837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>395,835,689</td>
<td>383,455,353</td>
<td>12,380,336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>651,506,761</td>
<td>627,638,983</td>
<td>23,867,778</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>754,620,497</td>
<td>N.A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>381,394,806</td>
<td>N.A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>474,500,000</td>
<td>N.A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Port Harcourt Refinery which was completed in 1965 had a processing capacity of 38,000 barrels a day. But even when it attained its optimum capacity, this was barely enough to meet the demand for petroleum locally. As a result, Nigeria still had to import over 10% of processed petroleum to augment the local production of the refinery. During the Civil War, this refinery was badly damaged and was only resuscitated in the latter part of 1970. However, as the demand for petroleum products such as gasoline, fuel and motor spirit and aviation turbine increased (by about 25% annually), it became necessary to plan for more refineries. The two new refineries set-up at Warri and Kaduna are expected to meet Nigeria's growing demands for petroleum products and to satisfy new demands occasioned by Nigeria's rapid infrastructural and industrial development. However, as Table 2.2 shows, the quantity of crude oil reserved for refining in Nigeria is still very small (this is the difference between the total annual production and total annual exports). To date, this constitutes only about 16%. In 1983- domestic petroleum consumption was estimated at 1.95 million metric tonnes, and in 1985 this is expected to rise to 2.42 million metric tonnes. If these refineries are able to produce to capacity, it is hoped that Nigeria will not only be self-sufficient in petroleum (motor gasoline) but also in petroleum derivatives such as petroleum jelly, waxes, bitumen and asphalt, aviation spirit, greases, lubricating oil, etc., all of which are important for the economy's infrastructural development.
As with any growing/developing economy, Nigeria's is not free of problems. In fact in recent years, it has been hit by more problems than it can cope with - it is going through an economic crisis.

2.5.1.2 THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE OIL CRISIS ON THE ECONOMY

From all the tables above and the prestige of being a world oil producer, a prima facie judgment of the oil revenue in Nigeria tends to project its economy and economic growth as healthy and strong (as mentioned earlier). Perhaps this is true of the years after the Civil War, i.e. between 1970 and 1974. Inspite of the reconstruction of war-torn areas, the economy was not in too bad a shape. However, the story changed from 1975 when the world witnessed a recession; this meant that demands for Nigeria's crude oil were reduced; the plans for a N30 billion expenditure and an expected oil production level of 3 million barrels per day (bpd) to sustain the Third National Development Plan for 1975-80 were thwarted. Oil production was reduced to 1.5 million bpd and austerity measures were declared to save the situation.

Consequently, Nigeria experienced the first shock of an oil glut during the 1977/8 financial year. By August, 1981, oil production had dropped from an average of 2.2 million bpd to 708,000 bpd; a drop of about 68%. This, again affected the Plan at hand. The Fourth National Development Plan (which is a very ambitious plan indeed) was expected to cost over N80 billion and a monthly import of about N1.3 billion was based on a projected crude oil output of 2.3 million bpd, and
at a price of about $35 per barrel. The drop in oil production and a fall in oil price ($31 to be in line with the North Sea oil, which is of the same quality as that of Nigeria) due to an excess supply of crude oil by both Saudi Arabia and non-OPEC oil producing countries, forced down Nigeria's OPEC production quota to a meagre 650,000 barrels a day. This represents a massive 72% deficit on a projected daily output of 2.3 million. With just $4.5 billion foreign reserves in April 1982, which again went down to $3 billion which was only enough for two months' imports, the situation for Nigeria became critical. It became necessary for Nigeria to recalculate its economic policies and to impose once again, austerity measures to prevent a further decline in the economic situation. The country is pulling through, even though it bears the scars of this apparent set-back in its economy - scars which will take a very long time to heal in view of the fact that most development projects either had to be suspended or cancelled completely. However, it is hoped that this would have taught the economic planners a very good lesson.

Inspite of this very optimistic view of the country's economy, one cannot still shy-away from the fact that the situation is serious indeed, considering, for instance, the size of Nigeria's population. There has been growing concern among some observers that the more ambitious the expenditure programme adopted, the larger the volume of oil that must be produced and sold to finance it. This in effect does not help the 'oil glut situation as well as the oil pricing 'war' that
is likely to evolve as a result of trying to sell more. There is also the danger of an increasing dependence on the oil sector to the detriment of traditional cash-crop exports. In fact, an International Labour Organisation (ILO) report prepared for the Federal Government noted the 'distortions and the equalities in the development process', and concluded:

"Nigeria has an economy less capable of surviving the eventual decline in oil revenues than it had in the 1960s ...... in certain respects its physical infrastructure has deteriorated. Vested interests have been created that would oppose any fundamental change of direction." 21

May be the ILO's conclusion is too 'harsh', and may be inflation will drop from its present level of 20% and, may be, Nigeria's OPEC quota would improve, but one thing is certain - and that is, even with a steady increase in the demand for and production of petroleum, it will take several years for the economy to recover from the slump of 1981-1983.

2.5.2 BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

The figures in Table 2.3 are a summary of the balance of payments estimates from 1970-1982. The country's balance of payments which showed an overall surplus of N3103 million in 1974 and N157 million in 1975, went into deficit in 1976, 1977 and 1978 for which year the deficit on overall balance was N1382. Greatly increased earnings from petroleum contributed
### TABLE 2.3 BALANCE OF PAYMENTS, 1970-1982 (N M).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exports f.o.b.</td>
<td>891</td>
<td>6,106</td>
<td>6,633</td>
<td>25,741</td>
<td>17,711</td>
<td>12,845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imports c.i.f.</td>
<td>-217</td>
<td>-1,666</td>
<td>-7,982</td>
<td>-14,636</td>
<td>-18,136</td>
<td>-16,753</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade Balance</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>4,440</td>
<td>-1,349</td>
<td>11,105</td>
<td>-425</td>
<td>-3,908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services &amp; Unrequited Transfers (net)</td>
<td>-223</td>
<td>-1,377</td>
<td>-1,030</td>
<td>-6,858</td>
<td>-5,348</td>
<td>-3,413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current Balance</td>
<td>-50</td>
<td>3,060</td>
<td>-2,380</td>
<td>4,247</td>
<td>-5,773</td>
<td>-7,321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Capital Transac- tions (Net)</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>-734</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Long-term Capital (Net)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>651</td>
<td>790</td>
<td>753</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Official Capital Transac- tions (Net)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-65</td>
<td>885</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net Errors &amp; Omissions</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>-18</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>-152</td>
<td>-288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OVERALL BALANCE</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>3,103</td>
<td>-1,382</td>
<td>4,342</td>
<td>-4,751</td>
<td>-6,064</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTE:** * in $M; Source (1980-1982) Federal Office of Statistics.

to a current surplus of $4,380 million in 1979, 1980 was also a good year but in 1981, there was a current deficit of $5,773 million. As the economic crisis continued, Nigeria's overall balance continued to be in deficit as well throughout 1982 to 1984. In 1984 for instance, the value of imports dropped by 11.4% to N8.6 billion, while exports increased by 25.3% to N8.9 billion. The overall balance of payments on current account for that year improved to a deficit of N126 million, which is 96% improvement compared with 1983's deficit of N3,400 million.22

Nigeria's foreign exchange reserves rapidly increased reaching US $6.4 billion in 1975, compared with only $292 million in 1972. The huge increase was undoubtedly due, almost entirely, to the rise in revenues from oil. A reduction in the output of oil led to a fall in foreign exchange reserves and in 1978 they stood at only $960 million. Reserves recovered during 1979 but when the oil glut set in in the early 1980s, Nigeria had to fall back on its reserves which were virtually depleted. In 1981, for example, reserves were down to $3,098 million compared with $9,766 million the previous year. This represents a drop of 68%. In 1982, reserves further plunged to $814 million during the first half of the year but recovered to $1,568 million in December. During 1982 and 1983, there were long delays in authorizing payments abroad, owing to the acute shortage of foreign exchange. The economic life of the country reached its lowest ebb as the balance of payments continued to deteriorate and the possibility of negotiating a loan from the Euro-Market looked bleak because
of the fact that the international banking world no
longer regarded Nigeria as a first-class borrower.

Conclusively, it can be said that oil brought
wealth and vast possibilities of breaking out of an
old poverty and bringing development to Nigeria; it also brought
with it many problems - high costs of living, corruption,
equal distribution of resources. But the opportunities
that oil brought are infinitely greater than the problems.
However, if the country continues to rely on oil resources
alone, with poor planning and lack of development of other
avenues to boost the economy, the future will be very bleak
for Nigeria. The warning has been sounded and Nigeria
cannot afford to wait on it any longer:

"Nigeria needs also to give careful thought
to the future of the industry (oil) in the
sense that planned dependence upon it ..... could turn out to be a dangerous miscalculation.
The energy crisis of 1974-75 has highlighted
other world possibilities: policies of
conservation; new sources of energy;
policies of self-sufficiency by major consumers
like USA. Moreover, new developments occur
all the time and not necessarily to the advantage
of a producer like Nigeria ...." 23
CHAPTER 2

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CHAPTER 3
THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL ISSUES CONCERNING EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE THIRD WORLD.

3.0 THE MEANING OF DEVELOPMENT

It is very difficult today to define development, whether in theoretical or practical terms. Many people tend to think of it in terms of economic growth alone, using measurable things such as GNP, number of motor vehicles, etc. Actually, development, according to the resolutions of the United Nations in the 1970s, "was conceived largely in terms of the attainment of a 6% annual target growth rate of GNP." In this regard, increase in the manufacturing and service industries and rapid urban industrialization often at the expense of agriculture and rural development was an indication of development.

This definition was to lose its meaning when in the 1970s a large number of Third World countries experienced relatively high rates of growth per capita income but which simultaneously could not eliminate poverty, inequality and unemployment within the context of their growing economies. Among the criticisms levied against this definition was that of Hicks and Streeton when they said: "..... The measurement of development efforts in developing countries has generally focused on the growth of GNP per head and related concepts. Increasingly development economists have become aware that growth of output or income by themselves are not adequate indicators of development, and that the
reduction of poverty and the satisfaction of basic human needs are goals that should show up in a measure of development. There has been growing interest in designing better measures of development, including modifications of GNP, social indicators and associated systems of social accounts....A review of these approaches and concepts points to the conclusion that the use of social and human indicators is the most promising supplement to GNP ...

Perhaps the most vehement criticisms on this subject are those made by Professor Dudley Seers, who asserted:

"The questions to ask about a country's development are therefore: What has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality? If all three of these have declined from high levels, then beyond doubt this has been a period of development for the country concerned. If one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially if all three have, it would be strange to call the result "development" even if per capita income doubled."³

In other words, development has now reached a stage whereby it can no longer be looked upon as an economic venture only. Far from saying that economic progress is not essential to development; the stress is on the fact that it certainly is not the only component. It involves, in a more general sense the financial, material, political as well as social aspects of people's lives. In dealing with people,
it becomes increasingly difficult to divorce their economic well-being from their social lives. For example, the case of South Africa explains this very clearly. In terms of per capita income, it is a rich and developed country - in 1982, South Africa's GNP per capita income was R2,490. But because of legislation, over half of the population are deprived of the most basic of human rights - to be free citizens. Surely, if our discussion of development means anything, its definition must be broad enough to include at least the possibility of growth for everyone. In fact, many writers have proposed that development should be seen as a multi-dimensional phenomenon which demands the re-organisation of the economic and social systems as well as changes in the social structures, and in popular attitudes which will see to the acceleration of economic growth, reduction of inequality and eradication of absolute poverty. After all, people don't have to forego what they hold precious (in terms of social values) in order to make development possible; but they can create room within those values to accommodate change. The social and economic aspects of life are interdependent. This interdependence, however, makes it necessary to establish appropriate priorities for development. Figure 3.1 shows some of the factors for development. As the four circles illustrate, economic, social, educational and health patterns of people determine development and it is wrong to take just one of these and make it the focal point of the developmental process.
FIGURE 3.1 PRIORITIES IN DEVELOPMENT

KEY

1. Insufficient Savings
2. Low per capita Income
3. Hunger, health problems
4. Poverty
5. High birth rate
6. Need for manpower
7. Ignorance and lack of foresight
8. Unskilled labour
9. Inferior living conditions
10. Lack of dietary knowledge
11. Malnutrition
12. Low productivity
13. Lack of capital
14. Lack of Technical knowledge
15. Backward Agriculture
16. Insufficient food production
17. Lack of Agricultural diversification
18. Traditional foods of low nutrition value.

SOURCE: UNIVERSITY OF NOTTINGHAM SCHOOL OF EDUCATION.
F.H. Molyneux (ed.) Unpublished
In order to conform to this interdependence, in 1970 the General Assembly of the United Nations resolved that:

"... as the ultimate purpose of development is to provide increasing opportunities to all people for a better life, it is essential to expand and improve facilities for education, health, nutrition, housing and social welfare, and to safeguard the environment."

This broad re-definition is made in order to remove the enormous significance attached to material values by the more technologically advanced countries of East and Western Europe (as well as the United States of America).

Narrowed down to the countries of the Third World, most of the factors which make for development are absent; as such these countries are simply defined as underdeveloped.

As Denis Goulet forcefully portrayed it:

"Underdevelopment is shocking: the squalor, disease, unnecessary deaths, and hopelessness of it all! No man understands if underdevelopment remains for him a mere statistic reflecting low income, poor housing, premature mortality or underemployment. The most emphatic observer can speak objectively about underdevelopment only after undergoing personally or vicariously, the "shock of underdevelopment" .... The prevalent emotion of underdevelopment is a sense of personal and societal impotence in the fact of disease and death, of confusion and ignorance as one gropes to understand change, of servility toward men whose decisions govern the course of events, of hopelessness before hunger and natural catastrophe. Chronic poverty
is a cruel kind of hell; and one cannot understand how cruel that hell is merely by gazing upon poverty as an object."

To this class, most peoples and countries of the Third World belong. What constitutes this sheer poverty and general sense of hopelessness as described by Denis Goulet? Why are these countries underdeveloped? These and many more such questions will be the focus of the remaining part of this chapter.

3.1 WHY DEVELOPING?

"Developing", "Less developed", and "Third World", are some of the terms often used to describe or refer to the very poor, mostly ex-colonial countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. These are countries characterised by predominantly agrarian subsistence economy, low productivity level resulting in low per capita income and a high surge of migration from rural to urban areas because of the imbalance in development between rural and urban areas. In fact, as D'Aeth put it, they are "the nations that have not developed industrial, urbanised societies with their massive educational institutions, though they often appear to be developing the latter more rapidly than their economic growth requires or can support." 

Obviously, with such common features as these and even more (e.g. poor diet, poor health facilities, poor housing, etc.) any person involved in this subject faces the danger of generalisations. Particularly, the term 'developing' has no strict definitive standard insofar as the criterion often
employed in this classification is a matter of debate. Surely, all the 141 countries of the so-called Third World would not be at the same stagnant level. For example, collectively, the countries of Latin America, although they have widespread poverty which culminates in low per capita income, nevertheless, they have a large well-educated and prosperous middle-class. The set-back here is not so much a shortage of trained personnel as it is of the political and economic structure whereby the political framework is resistant to democratic development. Singularity, however, Brazil provides a different example. In 1982, with a population of 126.8 m and GNP of £1,60,900 m., its GNP per head stood at £1,269 (sterling). It also has a very well developed educational system to a point which closely approximates those of developed countries; "with about the highest economic growth rate in the world, under an authoritarian military regime, with an ambitious economic development policy ...." 8

In contrast to the large, well educated middle-class in Latin American countries is the obvious shortage of educated people at all levels in African countries. And yet, a different situation obtains in some countries of Asia. According to D'Aeth, "from India to the Philippines; .... there is a chronic surplus of graduates far beyond the absorptive capacity of the economy, which is shackled by heavy and increasing over-population in relation to resources." 9 Yet, India has a developed technology that compares (almost) favourably with the developed or technologically advanced countries. (India owns nuclear weapons and, recently, the first Indian satellite was launched in space).
From these examples, it is therefore often difficult to
draw a definite line between countries so-called developed
and developing on the grounds of income per capita (GNP)
or even a well developed educational system without
erroneously categorising developing countries into
developed and vice-versa.

In the late 1970's, there was a dramatic change
in the economic status of some Third World countries as a
result of the sudden large increase in the price of oil.
In 1970, the posted price of crude oil per barrel was US $2.42.
In January 1974, the price was raised to US $14.69, this
represents an increase of 507%. This increase therefore
turned out to be economically beneficial to countries like
Nigeria, Gabon, Venezuela (which are oil producing), and it
also meant that they could start developing their societies
and institutions in a manner which was almost impossible before
then. The oil wealth gave the "lucky" countries economic
power. Inevitably, however, this new found wealth divided the
countries of the Third World into two - on the one hand, the
oil producers, who could now aim at developing advanced
industrial projects; and on the other hand, those countries
who no find the new increase in oil price as extra expense aimed
at further crippling their economies. This means they will
have to face even greater difficulties and the strains of slower
development.

From this outlook, it can be seen that while the Organisation
of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) have found cause to develop
(and one can rightly say they are developing) the same cannot be
said of those Third World countries that still depend on the proceeds
from the agricultural raw materials which they export to the
developed countries. Some of them are either stagnant or regressing. For instance, countries like Bangladesh, Chad, Tanzania, Benin, Niger, etc., are, according to the UN, some "of the countries that are most seriously affected by adverse economic conditions, and thus the least developed." (Some economists suggested that these countries and others in the same category should form and be termed the "Fourth World").

In the context of the above examples, therefore, it is hazardous to try to generalize too much about the nations that constitute the Third World. It would be agreed that they differ in the degree or extent of development which they have achieved (both economically and socially); there are also wide variations in the problems confronting each and everyone of them: where in one case the political structure may be the factor that stands in the way of development, in another, like India, it is the population problem. For example, it is quite obvious the disparity between India whose population is over the 650 million mark and Gambia (in West Africa) which has less than 600,000 people. The problem which India faces in trying to maintain a strong, national unit of her various States and peoples may not be experienced by The Gambia. As such, although they have certain common features, the criteria for their classification and eventual 'push' towards development differ to a considerable extent.

In view of this argument, it has become common practice among economic analysts to further break-down these "developing" countries into three major groups viz. the thirteen oil rich OPEC countries, the eighty-six non-oil exporting developing
countries and the forty-two poorest nations, designated by the UN as least developed (LLDC). This categorisation may not remove the stigma of such terms as "less developed", "underdeveloped", etc., but it certainly clarifies the issue at stake: which countries are actually developing in terms as seen in their governments' efforts to eliminate hunger, illiteracy, poverty and to provide facilities within its economic capabilities that ease the strains of life and, those countries which cannot afford it at all.

3.2 THE DIVERSE STRUCTURE OF THIRD WORLD ECONOMIES

As speculated above, it is sad to note that trying to achieve does not often mean actually achieving the desired goal. Most Third World countries, be they oil producers or not, have tried to develop their societies but because the resources are often in very short supply, this often means that something (in this case people) has to give room to infrastructure. Development of the type these countries experience has meant, for very large numbers of people, increased impoverishment - the majority of people are thus below the poverty line and live in the rural areas of these countries. However, familiar as this single example may look, the proportion experienced by each country is very different. Faced with varied problems therefore it means that they require altogether different approaches to the problems that bear them down. Briefly, some of the structural differences of these countries include, among others:

3.2.1 Population and Income Levels: Size, population and income per capita are good and important determinants of a country's economic potential, as well as being major factors
of differentiating one developing country from another. Some countries like The Gambia (as pointed out earlier) have less than one million people, others like Nigeria have circa 100 million, while India has over 650 million people. Thus, large populated countries exist alongside small ones. Therefore, it would not be right to say all developing countries have large populations. What this means is that the distribution of incomes in these countries is largely determined by their population growth. With rapid population growth, there should be an expected worsening distribution of income and a decline in real income of the people.

It would be right, therefore, to say population has advantages as well as disadvantages. First of all, there is a positive correlation between population growth and production growth i.e. the more people there are, the bigger the total labour force and the market and therefore the more production. When this happens, then there is a likelihood that there would be lesser dependence on foreign sources of materials and products. This picture looks very attractive (if it actually works this way), but when it comes to distributing income, countries with very large populations incur more problems than those with smaller populations. For instance, India with an annual per capita income, in 1980, of $240, would incur more problems distributing this to reach its 650 million people than would Singapore, whose population is less than 2.4 million but whose annual GNP per capita is over $4,480.
Other problems that face large populated countries include regional imbalances (whereby some regions have more facilities than others as the case is in Nigeria and India); problems of maintaining national unity where some factions or groups feel a lot more deprived than others (e.g. India, Brazil). On the other hand, countries with small populations also have problems of their own; paramount among which are shortage of valuable manpower (which leaves them with no option but to import labour) and weak bargaining power. Because of their small size, they are prone to command less respect than large ones and therefore have to give in to certain deals that would not normally apply to large countries.

3.2.2 Colonial Heritage

Most countries of the Third World today had been under colonial rule in the past - i.e. colonies primarily of Western European countries: Britain, Germany, Holland, Spain, Portugal, France. This means that the economic, educational and social structures of these ex-colonies have been modeled on those of their former colonial rulers.

Some countries in Africa only gained their independence recently (e.g. Ghana, 1956; Nigeria, 1960; Senegal, 1960; Zimbabwe, 1980, etc.). These countries are therefore more likely to concentrate their efforts on consolidating and evolving their own national economic and political structure than to worry (at this stage) too seriously about achieving rapid economic development. Also, there are nations on the African continent that are still not 'free' and therefore are having to struggle for majority rule, e.g. apartheid South Africa.

Asian countries had also been under colonial rule but these
achieved independence much earlier than African countries e.g. India, 1947, Indonesia, 1949, etc. The problems created by colonial rule in Asia are that, although Asia like Africa, had different colonial heritages e.g. India (British), Laos (French), Indonesia (Dutch); the diverse cultural traditions of the peoples e.g. the caste system in India, numerous religions, have also combined to create different institutional and social patterns in these countries.

Latin American countries, on the other hand, had had a longer history of political independence. For instance, Brazil achieved political independence in 1825 - long before Africa was even colonized. Economically, most Latin American countries were involved in export production for a world market from the 16th century. They also had a more common colonial heritage (i.e. West Indies - British, Brazil - Portuguese; Argentina, Chile, Peru, Mexico - Spanish), which means that in spite of geographical and population differences, their economic, cultural and social patterns and institutions are more similar than those of African and Asian countries.

In view of their different colonial experiences, also, countries differ rather widely in the extent of the public provisions that were made for, say, education, economic development, political development and so on. In this regard and in view of the other aspects discussed above, the countries had been in various stages of development. As such, care should be taken when one talks of Third World countries, in order to avoid generalisation.
Most Third World countries are agrarian in economic and cultural outlook. A large percentage of the population (i.e. the rural population) is employed in agriculture. The methods of production are traditional - the wooden plough, planting seeds by hand, threshing by walking oxen around over the heads of grain - are symbolic of the methods in use. According to Hagen, "Some 60% or more of the aggregate output of the very lowest income economies is in agriculture, forestry and fishing."  

The reason for this concentration of employment in primary production is the economy's low productivity. As in any economy, the first priorities of demand are for food; thus the agricultural sector is larger than it would otherwise be because some of the demands for non-agricultural products are met by importing them and paying for them with agricultural exports. Thus, although some commercial agriculture is in force, to a larger extent, agriculture in Third World countries is mainly a subsistence one; and in one way or the other, therefore, it contributes to the Gross National Product (GNP) of the country.

Nevertheless, the structure of agrarian systems and patterns of land ownership show great differences between the countries under discussion. For instance, Asian agrarian systems are somewhat closer to those of Latin America in terms of patterns of land ownership. However, substantial cultural differences modify these similarities between Asia and Latin America, e.g. the caste system mentioned above.

Perhaps the most distinct and widest variation among developing nations is the manufacturing sector. As observed
above (in sub-section 3.2.2), the fact that the countries of Latin America have had a longer history of independence and therefore one could say they have been very much on their own longer than the other countries of Asia and Africa, means that in general, they have higher levels of national income and more developed industrial sectors. But in the last two decades, countries like Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore and South Korea "greatly accelerated the growth of their manufacturing outputs and are rapidly becoming industrialized states."¹⁵ In size, India's manufacturing sector is the largest in the whole of the Third World, but, again, because of its enormous population (especially rural population), the sector is small, relatively. An attempt has been made in Table 3.1 to show the contrast between a number of Third World countries and the United States as well as the United Kingdom. This Table enables one to appreciate the striking differences between these countries, especially in terms of the relative importance of agriculture.

The Table shows that a majority of the labour force on the African continent is involved in agriculture than Asia and Latin America. Compared to the USA and UK, however, the picture changes drastically. Taking Tanzania, for example, compared to USA and UK., the table shows that there is one farmer in these countries for every 28 or 42 (respectively) in Tanzania. The level of productivity in these cases and the method of production is another story. (See also sub-section 3.3.2). Whilst the economies of the African countries depend almost entirely on agriculture, (and also some countries of Asia), in the USA and UK., agriculture contributes only 3% (in each case) to the GNP.

3.15
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>% OF LABOUR FORCE IN</th>
<th>% OF GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFRICA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaire</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASIA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Korea</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LATIN AMERICA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venezuela</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some countries of Asia and those of Latin America are moving out of this confinement. While in Mexico, only 34% of the labour force is involved in agriculture, and agriculture contributes only 10% of the GNP, in Venezuela these figures are 21% and 6% respectively.

3.2.4 POLITICAL STRUCTURE

In this final analysis, it would be true to say that it is not often the economic well-being and policies that determine how well development problems are tackled or approached. More often than not, the political structure and the "faithfulness" of the ruling class to, for example, landowners, bankers, foreign manufacturers and investors, determines the strategies that are possible. Thus, economic growth, the distribution of services and the development of the agricultural and manufacturing sectors depend largely on the political structure. Most countries of the Third World have varied political structures. Latin American countries have military dictators, most African countries are either ruled militarily or have one party systems (which closely resembles dictatorship - a mockery of democracy), and some Asian countries like India have had long experimentation of democracy. More often than not, (like in Africa), the political culture is very passive. Due to these differences therefore, it means that the Third World Countries' governments have different patterns of approach to their problems - where some need the ballot box, others need arms and ammunition; where some enlist the support of the groups through persuasion, others do it by coercion.
3.3 COMMON CHARACTERISTICS OF THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES (OUTSIDE EDUCATION).

The Third World countries, as we have asserted so far in this chapter, are such diverse countries and very often people face the risk of generalising too much about them. Some of these diversities, we have attempted to show, though but briefly, (See 3.2 - 3.2.4) in order to explain how and why those differences exist. However, these differences notwithstanding, these countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America have common characteristic economic features that make them look alike (in perspective) and allows for treatment in a broadly similar framework. In this context, the following characteristics will be treated in relation to the said countries with a view to identifying the similarities, as well as providing illustrative material, although the characteristics will not be treated in any order of importance.

3.3.1 LOW LEVELS OF LIVING:

A majority of people in the Third World live in abject poverty - this is noticeable in the low income, poor and inadequate housing, poor or sometimes absent health services, inadequate educational opportunities and facilities, (often accompanied by inappropriate curricula) and a general sense of a hopeless future. In order to appreciate the appalling situation in these countries, it is essential to compare certain aspects of life here with that of the more advanced countries. In 1980, for example, the overall production of the world stood or was valued at $7,900 billion; $6,500 billion of which originated from the developed nations while less than $1,400 billion was generated in the 141 countries of the Third World. In comparison to the distribution of world population, therefore, this means that over two-thirds of the
world's population produces only 18% of the world's total output. It also means that the collective per capita incomes of the underdeveloped countries amounts to less than one-fourteenth of the per capita incomes of developed countries.

Illustratively, looking at Figure 3.2, one notices that Switzerland's per capita income in 1980 was one hundred and thirty-seven times the per capita income of Bangladesh (one of the world's poorest nations), and also sixty-nine times that of India (one of the world's largest nations).

3.3.2 **SUBSTANTIAL DEPENDENCE ON AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION**

It is a typical feature of underdeveloped nations (of economic backwardness), if not synonymous with it, that the majority of the population is dependent on agriculture, and that agriculture accounts for a large share of the countries' total output (See Table 3.1). Although the ratio differs from country to country (especially as some countries now have oil in addition to agricultural products), almost everywhere a considerable proportion of agricultural output is produced by subsistence peasants, who constitute over 80% of the Third World countries. These rural dwellers' holdings are very small and their productivity extremely low, as a result of disease, hunger and squalor. Compared to the developed countries, once again, the truth remains that even though more people are involved in agricultural activities in the Third World, than in developed countries, the level of total output is more in the latter.
FIGURE 3.2. PER CAPITA GNP IN SELECTED COUNTRIES (U.S. $), 1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Per Capita GNP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>16,440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>13,520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>11,360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>7,920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.S.R</td>
<td>4,110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>2,160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>2,130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>2,050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>1,180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>1,010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The basic reason for the concentration of the population in agricultural activities in the Third World is because, in a situation where the distribution of income is uneven, people tend first of all to think of food. And the reason the level of productivity of even this is low is explained by the fact that agriculture is often characterized by primitive technologies, poor organization, and limited physical and human capital inputs. Thus, technological backwardness arises because Third World agriculture is predominantly non-commercial peasant farming. Primitive techniques and the use of hand ploughs, drag-harrows, and animal (oxen, buffalo, donkeys), or raw human power necessitate that typical family holdings be not more than 5 to 8 hectares (12 to 20 acres).

3.3.3 DEPENDENCE ON EXPORTS AND DEVELOPED NATIONS

Except for the few countries of the Third World who are blessed with oil and other mineral resources, (countries like Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Venezuela, Nigeria, etc.), basic foodstuffs and raw materials account for about 90% of the total foreign exchange earnings of Third World countries' economies; earnings that are necessary for financing priority development projects. (See Figure 3.3). These raw materials are often exported to the developed countries. This means that the survival and the eventual development of these backward countries largely depends on how long the developed world continues to import the Third World's raw materials.

For many Third World countries therefore, their commonest and worst enemy, and the main factor that contributes to the ever-presence of low levels of living, underdevelopment and all that goes with it, is the ever-growing and unequal distribution of...
FIGURE 3.3 COMPOSITION OF WORLD EXPORTS; % OF MANUFACTURED AND RAW PRODUCTS - 1977.

SOURCE: WORLD DEVELOPMENT REPORT, 1978, ANNEX TABLE 7 (Quoted Michael P. Todaro, p.43).
economic and political power between rich and poor countries; as well as the exploitation of the poor by the rich countries. These rich countries do not only determine the pattern of trade they want with the poor ones; they also dictate the terms of foreign aid as well as technology (which is often inappropriate) that is transferred to the poor countries. This pattern is necessary if the developed, rich countries have to maintain their economic power and stance over the poor ones. More so, the aid they give the poor countries also ensures that these countries remain ready markets for their manufactured goods. This has been Michael Todaro's argument in his discussion of the problems of underdevelopment. Paul A. Baran argued on the same lines in his article: "A Morphology of Backwardness", in Introduction to The Sociology of Developing Societies. He argued that the developed countries were able to continue to exploit the poor countries with the help of a few wealthy and powerful monopolists (who themselves are from the Third World countries). He said, "It is the economic strangulation of the colonial and dependent countries by the imperialist powers that stymied the development of indigenous industrial capitalism..... It is the preservation of these subservient governments, stifling economic and social development .... that makes possible at the present time the continued foreign exploitation of underdeveloped countries and their domination by the imperialist powers."17

Another factor which contributes to this persistent underdevelopment has been (and still continues to be) the transfer of developed countries' institutions. These institutions include the transfer of inappropriate educational structures, curricula and
school systems, which are so bookish in nature that the poor countries could not but rely on the developed countries' manpower and expertise to effect any development in these countries. As Michael Todaro put it:

"The net effect of all these factors is to create a situation of "vulnerability" among Third World nations in which forces largely outside their control can have decisive and dominating influences on their overall economic and social well-being. Many countries (of the Third World) are small and their economies are dependent, with very little prospect for self-reliance. Their withdrawal from the world economy is virtually impossible ...."18

However, it is also true that without these underdeveloped countries, there would not be developed ones; each needs the other for survival.

3.3.4 CLIMATIC CONDITIONS

This is something particularly different from what we have been discussing about the countries of the Third World, but something which is particularly true about all of them. It might very well be an accident or coincidence but it is interesting to note that all the Third World countries are situated in tropical or subtropical regions of the globe. It would be appreciated that almost every successful example of modern economic development has occurred in a temperate zone country. Could this be a coincidence (as asserted above) or does it bear some relation to the particular difficulties caused by climatic conditions?
One obvious climatic factor that affects the production capacity of these poor countries in general is the extreme of heat and humidity which aid in the deterioration of soil quality and the rapid depreciation of natural goods, certain crops and the poor health of animals. Most importantly is the effect of these conditions on the human beings. Apart from the obvious discomfort caused by heat and humidity, the health of the people is extremely weakened which therefore limits the amount of work they can put in to guarantee high levels of productivity and efficiency. In educational terms also, these conditions are less conducive to learning and this writer would like to believe that the condition of all the Third World countries would be different today had they had different climatic conditions to what they presently have.

Figure 3.4 is an attempt to summarize the points discussed so far. It portrays both the economic and non-economic aspects of underdevelopment which affects mostly the countries of the Third World. On the right-hand side of the chart (which is the demand side), what constitutes low levels of living includes insufficient or lack of education, low investment per capita which is also strengthened by the dependence on foreign manpower and technology. Ultimately, there is a resultant rural-urban migration due to the concentration of development projects in the urban areas. This influx means that there are very few jobs to share among many people.

Low labour force productivity can also result from a variety of factors as portrayed by the left-hand side of the chart - this is the supply side. These factors include poor health, malnutrition and high population growth. The combination
FIGURE 3.4 UNDERDEVELOPMENT: A MULTIDIMENSIONAL SCHEMATIC FRAMEWORK

Externally Introduced Mortality control

High Rates of Population Growth (Crude birth rates = high dependency rates)

High labour supply → High levels of unemployment and Underemployment

Low levels of productivity

Low Income

LOW LEVELS OF LIVING.
= Absolute Poverty, Poor Education + Inadequate Health Services, insecurity, etc.

Rural-Urban Migration

Low Investment per capital = concentration of development strategies in urban areas

Low levels of personal hygiene + Debilitating disease

Malnutrition + poor health Services

Dependence on Foreign Manpower

Low investment per capital = concentration of development strategies in urban areas

Inadequate skills

Underdeveloped education systems = poor education services + low literacy levels + inadequate and irrelevant curricula + significant school dropout

resulting from large labour supply, therefore, and the
low demand for it means that there is widespread under­
utilization of that labour (unemployment and underemployment). Also, because of low income which leads to low savings as portrayed on the right hand side, it means that the total amount of employment that can be afforded is restricted. Low incomes also encourage large family size and high fertility — this is because children provide economic and social security to poor families before and at old age. All these put together culminate in low levels of living (which means absolute poverty, poor education, inadequate health, insecurity, etc.)

From this, it becomes obvious that for development to take place at all, levels of living of people within any nation must first of all be improved.

3.4 STRATEGIES FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

So far in our discussion of the historical background, colonial experiences and heritages, economic growth and development of the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, this writer has tried to show the total dependence of these countries on exports of primary and agricultural products and how much these exports contribute to increase in Gross National Product (GNP). (The agricultural commodities include coffee, tea, sugar, cotton and cocoa). The writer also stressed that in the special circumstances of the oil-producing nations (i.e. countries of the OPEC); most of their national income is realised from the sale of oil.

In addition to this export dependence, many developing countries also rely very much on the import of raw materials, manufactured products and machinery in order to fuel industrial expansion. This export-import or bilateral trade
between underdeveloped countries and the developed countries has been greatly criticised by economists as unjust in the sense that while the developed countries needed so much of the agricultural products of the underdeveloped countries, they (the developed countries) also dictate the terms of trade and determine the price paid for the commodities. It has also been pointed out that in spite of their political independence, the poor countries of the Third World have not yet achieved economic independence; thus they continue to suffer wanton exploitation as a result of this trade domination by the developed countries. Apart from exploitation and trade domination, there is also the question of transfer of inappropriate technology to the underdeveloped countries by the developed countries. According to Everett E. Hagen, "economists often accuse multinational corporations of transferring to under-developed countries capital-intensive methods that are uneconomic in a country that is capital-poor and labour-rich relative to the high-income economy in which the methods were appropriate, and uneconomic also relative to more labour-intensive methods of making the same of efficiently substitutable products, if these methods exist or can be devised ...."¹⁹

Further to all these problems, the trade in primary products has continued to fall over the last two decades, at the disadvantage of the underdeveloped countries. And since these exports constitute their (the underdeveloped countries) principal source of foreign exchange earnings, it is important that we briefly examine the factors that affect the demand and supply of primary product exports. On the demand side, the developed nations play a very important role because they are
the major markets for the underdeveloped countries' primary products. Firstly, with developing trade in oil and minerals, the demand for primary products became comparatively low; especially in the last two decades as pointed out above. Secondly, the quantity of primary products imported by the developed countries depends, to a very large extent, on their populations. Since population growth rates in these countries have been steadied or almost stabilized over the years, there is little expansion in the demand for primary products from the underdeveloped countries. Other factors affecting the demand include price fluctuations, and especially the development of synthetic substitutes for commodities like skins, rubber, cotton, etc. There was also the growth of agricultural protection, (which takes the form of tariffs, and non-tariff barriers like Sanitary Laws) in order to restrict how much of these primary products are imported from the underdeveloped countries.

We have already pointed out a number of factors which militate against the expansion of primary product export earnings, or the supply side. These factors include poor climatic conditions, poor soil fertility, non-productive patterns of land tenure, etc. These factors, alone, offset any expansion in exports. Thus, the supply side is always stronger in enforcing restrictions on exports of primary commodities than even all the demand problems put together.

There have been a lot of arguments as regards the position of underdeveloped countries in world trade as well as in connection with their economic development. Most of these
arguments have been based on production and methods of production of export goods; and thus emphasizing whether a country should try to improve its agriculture or expand the industrial sector. There is also a general consensus among economists that rising per capita income is associated with movement from primary production (agriculture) to the secondary and tertiary sectors (manufacturing and commercial). And also from our discussion above, it does not take arguments to conclude that within the world as a whole, the countries with lower income are those that depend on the primary sector, and the higher income countries, the industrial sector.

The appeals and shortcomings of industrialization have been put forward, and are quite diverse. The appeals include, firstly, the fact that industry has a capacity of employing more workers whose individual or combined output is higher than in the agricultural sector. Secondly, industry has external economies like an out-turn of trained workers, an inducement to other industries to develop, (which in turn would increase the rate of growth of GNP) which agriculture does not have. Also, industry has some modernization effects on agriculture. An expansion of total output in agriculture would only be attainable through the development of industry. Agricultural machinery, fertilisers to nourish the poor soil and electric power would only be possible through industrial productivity; and also the growth of industrial production would absorb in productive employment the agricultural labour that was displaced by the machine. All these factors work together to raise the income of the country as a whole.
On the other hand, industrial growth has been criticised. Firstly, in countries where cultivable land and capital are scarce and where the labour force grows rapidly, development, for it to be meaningful, must aim at raising the yield of the land. Thus, the emphasis should rather be on developing the rural areas (by way of improving the agricultural activities), re-distributing income and so on. Secondly, industrial growth has adverse effects on the environment: it pollutes the environment, uses up certain natural resources etc. This, apart from creating health problems, also robs the society of essential resources that would have been better used otherwise. Thirdly, it is more important for people to have jobs (on their farms using modest instruments) "than a rise in some abstract index number to which industrial growth contributes substantially." 21 There are more arguments for and against industrial growth, but for the purpose of showing whether industry or agriculture should form the basis of economic growth, the few that have been outlined above are considered sufficient.

3.4.1 INDUSTRY VERSUS AGRICULTURE

In the light of all the advantages and disadvantages of industrial growth, and the factors that work for or against agriculture, it would not be right or proper for one to take a stance as to whether either of these two is most important. Industrialization, like agriculture, has a special role to play in economic development. If a country is poor (as most underdeveloped countries are), a large proportion of its population engages itself in food production. For such a country to rise above poverty, and raise output and consumption per head to desired levels, the application of power to production and

3.31
transport (or industrialization) becomes absolutely necessary. For the main objective of development is to raise the level of living of the people and to provide them with the opportunity to develop their own potential. This implies that such needs as safe water, adequate nutrition, good shelter and an increase in the level of income would be met. The objective also includes the provision of non-material needs such as the ability to create an atmosphere of political freedom and security, participation in the decision-making process and so on.

One very practical facet of industrialization is the expansion of Third World manufactured exports especially in the case of Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea and Hong Kong. These countries greatly accelerated the growth of their manufacturing outputs and the income from these is providing some (if not all) of the needs of the population e.g. health facilities, water, etc.

In view of all these, it would be right to say a country has no choice to make between (or give priority to) industry or agriculture. The answer to the question is not either/or but both because agriculture needs industry to really flourish and vice versa. For example, we are able to say the developed countries have achieved industrial growth because this has been reflected in their agricultural productivity. In the same light, we see that agriculture in the under-developed countries is a slow moving sector because we tend to compare it largely with the agricultural sector of the developed countries. The under-developed countries therefore need continuing advances
in industry to provide agriculture with the input and with the markets; and also they need progress in agriculture to provide industry with 'food', raw materials and markets (exports). If these sectors complement each other so well, then it makes no sense to talk about priority or choice.

Instead, the emphasis should be on how and what strategies the underdeveloped countries ought to employ in order to attain economic growth. Rather, in their bid to develop, to do so rapidly, the underdeveloped countries overlooked certain important issues. They want to copy all the development strategies used by the now developed societies without analysing their applicability or suitability. They also tend to forget that the circumstances that existed in the developed countries (while they were "developing") which were favourable to economic growth in those countries don't necessarily exist in the underdeveloped countries. In fact, one would say (and rightly so) that neither the past nor the present of the underdeveloped countries resembles in any important respect the past of the now developed countries. Or, as Andre Gunder Frank put it "The now developed countries were never underdeveloped, though they may have been undeveloped".22

Therefore, for these poor and backward countries to realise economic development, they must think seriously in terms of developing both agriculture and industry. With the nature of their rural populations, they cannot afford to break-away from the agricultural sector. Adverse effects like starvation and the consequential need to import food would result if agriculture were deserted for industry. By the same token,
the agricultural sector would not grow and be productive if they adhere to their old methods of production, and fail to introduce industrial methods of production. Thus, while the underdeveloped countries look outward, they must also look inward in order to stabilise their economies and promote economic growth.

The political framework of the underdeveloped countries also has to be revamped. What France, Britain and Japan have accomplished through their own industrial revolutions, for example, has to be attained in the underdeveloped countries through a combination of all the things mentioned above, an enlightened government and above all, a sound and appropriate education based on a curriculum suitable to both the cultural background of the people, and also to national needs.

3.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND ISSUES OF EDUCATION AS A STRATEGY FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

So far, an attempt has been made to show what makes the underdeveloped countries backward, and the strategies they could use to better their situations. Emphasis has been placed on the ability of these countries to engage in both agricultural and industrial processes in order to try and 'catch-up' with the developed nations. But, what we have stressed mostly is that an improvement in capital or material resources would immediately improve the lot of the human resources of a nation; what has not been pointed out, however, is that it would be necessary to develop the "human resources" of a nation in order to achieve development in capital. In other words, education is absolutely necessary in the developmental processes of the underdeveloped countries. Education would help these nations to overcome ignorance,
improve the levels of living and therefore improve the general life-style of the people. In addition, education civilizes backward peoples, and provides them generally with the means of progressing. In economic terms, also, education contains the means whereby poor nations can become self-sufficient, intellectually, which in turn guarantees economic independence.

If education has all these qualities, then it is the only way through which the Third World countries can assert themselves. Thus, most Third World countries believed that the expansion of educational opportunities, rapidly and quantitatively, holds the basic key to their envisaged national development. With this conviction therefore, all underdeveloped countries committed themselves to the provision of schooling for all children.\textsuperscript{23} - i.e. universal primary education. Before long, the cost of these expansion programmes was beyond what most governments could afford. The cost apart, the education systems were thought to be unsuitable to the underdeveloped countries' needs: it was too bookish in nature, unsuited to agricultural societies, etc. It also produced too few skilled workers, and yet, in some countries, produced too many secondary school leavers which further aggravates the unemployment situation. Thus, after almost three decades of rapidly expanding enrolments and a gigantic educational expenditure, the plight of the average citizen of Africa, Asia, and Latin America seemed little improved.
Essentially, what was wrong with the education systems in these countries is not the fact that the systems had no use to the countries; but mainly because the underdeveloped countries felt it was easier and faster to copy the advanced countries. However, while they copied, they forgot to use only the aspects that could be applied locally. Also, instead of reaching for education which is now increasingly on comprehensive lines, the underdeveloped countries felt more comfortable with their colonial inheritance of an education which is "infused with a foreign culture, ....... and in all these respects divorced from modern needs."  

3.5.1 PRIMARY VERSUS HIGHER EDUCATION

That education has benefits and potential for economic development cannot be disputed, and that education can improve every institution of human organisation and survival is also a fact. For instance, a literate farmer with just primary education is more likely to produce more and would be more responsive to new agricultural techniques than an illiterate one. In the administrative sector, secondary graduates with just enough arithmetic and clerical efficiency will perform their functions more accurately and efficiently. University graduates, on the other hand, with advanced training, would provide necessary professional and managerial skills to cater for both the private and public sectors. As a result of these advantages the question that is being asked now is which aspect and what level of education should the underdeveloped countries emphasize or give priority to? Should it
be primary and secondary or higher education? In view of the number of young people in developing countries, some people are of the opinion that comprehensive primary education with a vocational base should be the main focus of the underdeveloped countries in the area of education provision. The cost of training primary and/or university pupils and students is another factor that favours the promotion of primary education. Table 3.2 compares the ratio of total costs per student year by educational levels for a few developed and developing countries. This reveals that while the ratio of total cost of secondary to primary education in the developed countries shown is 6.6 to 1, and that of higher to primary education is 17.6 to 1, in the developing countries shown, the relative costs are 11.9 to 1 and 87.9 to 1 respectively. In other words, 88 primary school children could receive a year of school for the equivalent cost of educating one university student for a year in the developing countries. In fact, according to Todaro, in some African countries like Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Malawi, Kenya, this cost ratio per year between higher and primary education is as high as 283 to 1. Since the situation is like this, it definitely means that a large proportion of the underdeveloped countries' educational budgets are being spent on a very small proportion of their students enrolled in universities and professional schools.

In a related statistics, in Table 3.3 which shows the relative average earnings of individuals by educational level, one sees that the earnings of a university graduate do not justify
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GROUPS OF COUNTRIES</th>
<th>RELATIVE COST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>USA., GREAT BRITAIN, NEW ZEALAND</td>
<td>6.6 17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MALAYSIA, GHANA, SOUTH KOREA, KENYA, UGANDA, NIGERIA, INDIA</td>
<td>11.9 87.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: M.P. TODARO: ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE THIRD WORLD
(1981; LONGMAN, LONDON) p.294 TABLE 11.2
TABLE 3.3 RATIOS OF AVERAGE ANNUAL EARNINGS OF LABOUR BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GROUPS OF COUNTRIES</th>
<th>RELATIVE EARNINGS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Secondary/Primary</td>
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<td>USA., CANADA, GREAT BRITAIN</td>
<td>1.4</td>
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<td>MALAYSIA, CHINA, SOUTH KOREA, KENYA, UGANDA, NIGERIA, INDIA</td>
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the very high cost of educating him. Because while an underdeveloped country university student costs 87.9 times as much as a primary pupil to educate for a year, the average earnings of a university student are a mere 6.4 times as much as that of a primary pupil. This wide disparity between relative earnings and relative costs of higher versus primary education suggests that priorities have been misplaced as regards the provision of education as a whole in the underdeveloped countries. However, one should be quick to point out that productivity and relative employment prospects do not necessarily favour the primary school pupil.

Both levels of education have their particular problems. On primary and secondary education, for instance, a former deputy director-general of UNESCO stated:

"The learning techniques .... remain the same: the rote method, the technique of cramming, and once the examination menace is passed, of forgetting all these useless impediments. The examination system is not an evaluation of a student's personality and intellectual equipment, his powers of thinking for himself, reflection, and reasoning. It is a challenge to resourceful deception and display of superficial cleverness.... The teaching methods and the learning techniques .... are rusty, cranky and antiquated."

The deficiencies in curricula that account for the above situation recur in more aggravated form in universities. Moreover, Third World universities have been modelled in structure and function on institutions in the industrialized societies.
However, as the case was regarding agriculture and industry, the question here is not one of choice between primary or higher education. Both are relatively important in order for the less developed countries to achieve the primary tasks of eradicating ignorance, squalor and disease and also of achieving economic development. A university graduate has to pass through primary and secondary in order to reach the university where he pursues a course and qualifies in his chosen field. In other words, basic training should and always precedes higher level training. Therefore regarding the various levels of education, the developing countries can do either of two things: they can continue on their present strategies to expand formal education systems quantitatively with little or no modifications or changes in curricula, teaching methods, etc., or, they can attempt to reform the whole education system by modifying the conditions for demand and supply of educational opportunities and by reorienting curricula in order to meet or satisfy real needs of the nations.

There have been a lot of arguments as to the role which education plays in effecting change in any given society. Some theories have been postulated to demonstrate this role: while on the one hand one group of theorists believe that modernisation through education is absolutely necessary, another group of theorists on the other hand maintain that education is another way by which the developed countries exploit the developing ones (other ways being foreign aid and international trade). These are the views of the Modernisation and Dependency theorists respectively. In order to find out how positive or true
these assumptions are, it is important to relate the theories to education as it obtains in the Third World. It could be, both are true of the Third World: an ex-colony can only modernize through dependence on another country (a developed country); however, the choice is left to the reader to decide.

3.5.2 THE MODERNISATION THEORY

This theory, more than being a theory, is also a prescription. It sets "modernity" as the target and how that target could be reached: and the way how is very largely based on achieving economic growth; and economic growth is boosted most significantly by education. Development cannot take place in a vacuum - people have to make it work; and also modernization cannot start-off a traditional society. Therefore a developed country's technology has to be transferred. In other words, the theory postulates that for a society to achieve all round development, it first of all has to invest in human beings by way of educating them. It is the educated human beings who can see the society through all the evolutionary processes necessary for change from a primitive to a modern, and developed society. In order to get a very clear picture of the theory, it will be necessary to state briefly its major tenets that have particular associations with education. It involves conceptualizing post-colonial backwardness not as it presents itself to the "periphery" (those experiencing it i.e. the backward countries) but as it presents itself to the "centre" (the developed countries). I have pointed this out earlier on but the problem goes even further in prominently dominating the text books so much so that the peripheral societies are made to feel lost without the centre.
As Renato Constantino puts it, writing about the Philippines, "We never thought that we too could industrialize because in school we were taught that we were primarily an agricultural country by geographical location and by the innate potentiality of our people." 27

At the same time as this theory was being propagated, the technical-functional theory of education (which is, as it were closely related to the former) became very popular. This theory re-emphasises the importance of education to economic growth. This theory was designed to explain the correlation between economic growth (as measured by per capita GNP) and level of education (as measured by literacy level). It contained also the importance of technological development to economic growth: technological development demands new skills, which schools are expected to provide. If there is an increase in this demand for skills, then there would be need for the expansion of the schooling system. One thing determines and is aided by another. From this it would be said that those countries that have the most technologically advanced economies would obviously have the highest demand for skills and therefore the highest level of education (it is a vicious circle). It would therefore be said that education is a pre-condition and may be a cause for economic growth; which confirms the logic of the investment in education argument as emphasized in this study.

Education, apart from its potential for economic growth also provides an atmosphere of equal opportunities 28 where this never existed before, by shifting the values of ascription, for
instance, to achievement. It also gears people from too much dependence on tradition to giving room to the advantages of technical rationality. An individual in this frame of mind is more susceptible to welcoming change and in having a broader concept of the world in which he lives. Tradition, on the other hand, (which sets man back) ceases to be an obstacle once he becomes educated. In this way, modernity is easily effected.

3.5.3 THE DEPENDENCY THEORY

Given the gross poverty and backwardness of the less developed countries, whereby even the most basic thing - food cannot always be guaranteed for everybody (coupled with other appalling conditions of health, population, etc., as we have seen), one is tempted to ask: How are these nations expected to finance and support their education systems to satisfactory proportions necessary for economic growth? The number of those Third World countries that either have advanced their education systems to satisfactory standards or have resources like oil to develop the education systems are just a handful. What would the remaining countries fall back on? Or, will economic growth continue to be an impossible dream? The answer, judging from what we have seen so far in this analysis, is not far fetched: the poor countries heavily depend on external aid in order to expand their educational systems beyond rudimentary levels. This alone gives international organisations like the World Bank (which are institutions funded mostly by the developed world) a great deal of influence over the so-called backward nations. This is the basis of the dependency theory.
This dependency theory, is perhaps the most widely canvassed alternative to modernisation theory, and also the dominant explanation of underdevelopment. This theory emphasises the point that because the 'centre', (i.e. the developed world) came up with education to entice the 'periphery', (i.e. the poor nations) is not any different from all the other methods they have employed before as a means of exploitation. In other words, this analysis stressed that, education, far from being a key component in development, modernization, self-sufficiency and so on; it is yet another instrument of "enslavement", a way of tightening the dependency bond of the periphery on the centre. This assertion is further strengthened by the fact that institutions and companies which represent the developed world are at the helm of affairs in the poor countries and what this means is that whatever development is necessary is determined by them. For example, foreign companies dominate the publishing business in these backward countries; whatever they publish therefore is a perpetration of "Western" content, structure and forms in their education systems. This, in turn, means that students are left with no option but to follow subjects designed to suit the interests and needs of Western capitalism, irrespective of their local irrelevance. This reinforces a psychological and academic dependence on the developed world. (As a matter of fact a lot has been said on the dissatisfaction expressed about the irrelevance of most of the education material, curricula systems and the general inappropriateness of most of the technology that is being transferred to the poor countries by the developed ones; and this theme has been re-echoed again and again through-
out this study.) But the situation is so hopeless that peoples and governments of these poor countries who know that they are not receiving anything near the best to suit their situations and problems, find themselves at a loss: they cannot stop depending on foreign countries for their well-being and yet to continue depending means economic growth for them is still a long way away.

However, the protagonists of the dependency theory are convinced that education of the sort which is propagated and given to these poor countries more than anything contributes to the development of underdevelopment. Whatever change these less developed countries decide to initiate stands only if they have the financial strength to back it up which is extremely difficult because finances are realised mostly from the sale of agricultural products to the developed world; whose discretion means a lot and who, at the same time determine the price at which they are prepared to pay for the products. In other worlds, the "producers" have no bargaining power (in fact they are not given the chance to), not even for their own products. And at the same time, the terms of whatever they get from the developed countries are largely determined by them (the developed countries). So, whether they have all their people as educated elites and yet depend on agriculture for foreign exchange earnings because their education systems provided them with no "living technology", will still mean that they would continue to depend on the developed countries for everything.

The case is clearly explained by Tanzania's position. The country attempted a breakaway from dependence on the developed countries. It attempted to use its own education system to
weaken the bonds of dependency and to open up the possibility of independent development (self-reliance). This attempt has not been clearly successful due to the internal and external pressures suffered as a result of trying to maintain an education system more directly. Moreover, Tanzania still earns her foreign exchange through trade with the developed countries; and it also (like other less developed countries) depends on the developed countries for aid.

3.5.4 THE FUNCTIONALIST PERSPECTIVE

Further to the aforementioned theories, is the structural-functionalist model which has contributed also to the debate on the relationship between education and economic growth. Basically, this model emphasizes the consensus of values held by members of the society. The roles of the individual are formulated in accord with these values, and role expectations therefore tend to be complementary. It is upheld that the society is always in a state of equilibrium - meaning either that the pattern of relationships is static, unchanging, or that any change is followed by a return to the former position.

On education, many functionalists have argued that there is a functional relationship between education and the economic system. They point to the fact that mass formal education began in industrial society and is an established part of all industrial societies. They noted that the expansion of the economies of industrial societies is accompanied by a corresponding expansion of their educational systems. This correspondence is explained in terms of the needs of industry for skilled and trained manpower, needs which are met by the educational system. Thus the provision of mass elementary
education in Britain in 1870, for example, can be seen as a response to the needs of industry for a literate and numerate workforce at a time when industrial processes were becoming more complex and the demand for technical skills was steadily growing. They further pointed out that the rapid expansion of the tertiary sector had produced an increasing demand for clerical, technical, professional and managerial skills and that education reflects these changes in the economy. They therefore concluded that the economies of advanced industrial societies are dependent to an unprecedented extent on the supply of skilled and responsible manpower, and consequently on the efficiency of the educational system.

The implication of this model for Third World countries is that since education forms an integral part of the social structure, there is a need for them to develop their education systems beyond rudimentary levels if they are to achieve any real growth in their economic systems. In other words, the various parts of the social system must have some degree of fit or compatibility if it (the system) is to survive.

Though the above arguments are persuasive, there is considerable doubt about the application of this perspective to developing countries. The point that the development of their education systems would transform their societies appears to be over-emphasized. There can be value consensus and its maintenance only if there is equilibrium. In the case of the developing countries, their varied problems (which do not necessarily complement each other) include large populations, poor agricultural traditions, many languages and religions, and so on.
3.5.5 THE CONFLICT MODEL

The basic premise of the conflict model is the incompatibility of individual interests, stemming from the unequal distribution of wealth, power or security in society. In striving for the common ends men may or may not agree over the means to be pursued. The stress, in this model is upon power - the ability of each party to realize its aim in the face of opposition from others. This element is largely absent from the functional model. The conflict model postulates that each party to a conflict will formulate its own system of values, appropriate to its interests, and that it will endeavour to win acceptance for these among the members of the opposing party.

In the light of the above one expects conflict also in the area of education. For example, when new changes are effected in the organisation, curriculum, functions and so on of the school system, it is not certain that every individual or group would accept these changes 'wholesale' because they may not all benefit from the innovation process. For example, when the present military government of Nigeria abolished the provision of boarding facilities in the post-primary institutions, quite a number of groups raised objections to the change because it worsened the plight of many students who have to travel long distances to attend school; and parents who either have to provide transport or transport fares for their children to and from school daily. Teachers too have to cope with lateness or absenteeism.

Or, the introduction of technical/vocational education in the post-primary schools in most developing countries is an innovation that attracted a lot of disagreement from many quarters. Although many people realise the full potential of
this aspect of education both for the individual and the society, not many are prepared to send their children to such schools. (see Chapter 7 for reasons).

Change, like conflict is inevitable; but then people have to be convinced of the need for change because it is easier to implement change than to influence individual or group behavioural change.

These two models, almost diametrically opposed in their premises, are means to the interpretation of society; their use depends on the type of social change which is being discussed. For example, the functional model can account for social change to a substantial degree. In the conflict model, it is possible that rival groups reconcile their interests. In other words, opposition to, say, educational change does not (often) mean that such a change will not be implemented; it only means that people view and react to changes differently depending on the wisdom and the beneficial consequences of such changes.

3.5.6 MODELS OF EDUCATIONAL CHANGE:

Per Dalin’s treatise on educational change gives one an academic insight into the dialectical relationship between schools and the society. It is a commendable exploration in the sea of sociology of education. In this book, Dalin discusses the problems in educational change, the process of educational change and how society is affected by schools and vice versa.

The crucial issue raised in the preliminary stage of the book, is whether change in educational system is a product of change in the immediate environment/society. Does the change in educational systems arise as a result of the demand of the society or not? If so, has the change in educational system
been able to produce the desired result in the society?

Dalin agrees that educational systems have produced more equal opportunities for individuals, but maintains at the same time that the overall result is nothing but "disappointment and frustration" for those within and outside the system, as the societal demands are not only always in flux as seen in terms of unpredictability of the changes in the society. One feels that Dalin's views need to be modified; for, even at this, education still remains a leveller.

Though, sceptics of innovations have seen the term "innovation" as either nothing but putting the old wine in a new skin-bag or nothing but "tinkering with the system," Dalin maintains that the process of educational change is being misunderstood. Thus the poor returns or failures that have been attending innovative programmes. This is so because the innovative programme is content based and without methodological processes. This is to suggest that the planners failed to ask themselves the questions "why" and for "whom" before embarking on the programme. That is, why was the programme set in motion (goals in view) and for who? For a successful implementation of an educational innovative programme therefore; Dalin is of the view that there should not be hiatus between the educational institutions and the outer world. Educational process is part of a complex social system and we must not forget the complex interplay among the various parts of the system. This has been buttressed by Ivan Reid in his review of Shipman's contribution of placing education very squarely in the whole set of social institutions that society comprises. Reid is of the strong view that there is an intimate relationship between education and society. This is, however, not to say that Reid buys Shipman's
Structural-functional model which is an implicit assumption that, since schools exhibit characteristics which meet social needs, and since modernisation is inevitable, so education inevitably moves towards certain characteristics. Reid agrees that the approach is very much that of a spectator and can be seen to underrate both the concerns of the practitioners and the effects of schooling on those that received it.

Dalin attempts to prove that one cannot design innovations that would be beneficial to all in the society. Innovations or change, to him, an overloaded, multifaceted and multidimensional concept means something better-off. Quoting Travers, Dalin feels it is hard to formulate innovations that every individual will benefit from. One is of the view that if other institutions in the society are harnessed towards helping the schools to achieve an all embracing innovative programme the task of having everybody benefited, though herculean, is not a mission impossible.

There is no denying the fact that there are obstacles to change or innovations. For changes to be purposeful and effective, planners of educational reform should take into account the role of teachers upon whom the change finally depends. Changes demand changes in the knowledge, skills and behaviour of teachers. After all, it is in the class that most educational innovations will finally be tested. It is however regrettable to note that teachers are only considered at the tail end of a long innovation history. The need for behavioural changes is not limited to teachers alone; students, parents, and communities also have to change. So, motivation of parents and students is an indispensable ingredient in educational change.
Dalin sees a classical problem in management of educational change. The groups that matter in educational change, namely, the beneficiaries, the planners, and those who have to change, are more often than not individuals and groups with different roles. They do not work together, neither do they live together and the result is alienation which does not favour implementation of educational change/innovations. However, if there are several shared points of identification, roles, responsibilities and norms among the mentioned groups, any innovation will likely reflect real needs, and energies for development and implementation would be easier to mobilise.

Dalin brushes aside the concept of "resistor". He sees Rogers' identification of the four dimensions in various stages of diffusion: "the innovators, early adoptors, early majority, late majority" and even the fifth by Havelock, labelled 'laggards' as not only unhelpful but have failed to come to grips with the complexity of the change process because innovations have been taken for granted by mere concentration on the psychological and sociological dimension of the change process. Research has shown the limitation of concentrating on the individual as the resistor. The use of the term "resistance" does not go down well with Dalin, thus he comes out with four types of Barriers:

1. Value Barriers - demonstration of different ideologies and basic beliefs which affects changes.
2. Power Barriers - resulting from power distribution in the system, which is often the result of significant innovations.
3. Practical Barriers - innovations may fail because of bad conception, and poor management of the innovation
process, resulting in unwanted practical problems for individuals and groups.

4. Psychological Barriers – individual resistance to change in spite of the fact that innovation does not seriously challenge their values or upset their power. These barriers or a number of barriers must be encountered in any significant educational change. And if the change is to succeed, strategies must indeed be developed to surmount them.

Dalin attempts to produce answers to two vital questions. They are: First, whether the existing theories and models of social change are relevant to the study of educational change. And second, whether the existing models of social change can help us in understanding critical processes in educational change, and thereby assist practitioners in selecting adequate strategies.

Having made a graphic reference to Chin and Benna, Paulston equilibrium theories (rational-empirical and normative re-educative strategies) and conflict theories respectively; he reviews the existing theories. The "evolutionary theories, characterised by the assumptions that developments occur stage by stage and that there is progress in society", see education "as playing a major role in the 'modernisation' of society, and the task of educational reform is mainly to upgrade the quality of the learning process to correspond with new stages of development in the society."39

Though Dalin agrees with Paulston's views that prescriptions of educational-change strategies developed from the perspective of evolutionary and neo-evolutionary theories have at best only marginal utility, and also with Rhodes that the theory is difficult to test, and that it explains little, and it is virtually
useless for predictions; he is of the view that the theories may provide a useful pedestal for the critical discussion of possibilities and limitations of social reform through educational change for the educational planners at the national level.

The conflict theories which believe that educational change can only be brought about, through social revolution since it will depend on basic changes in the economy and social structure have been seen to have minimal impact on educational change. Firstly, educational change is seldom understood as social change. Secondly, the theory has diagnostic power, but is seldom useful in the practical day-to-day management of education. And thirdly, educators probably by the nature of their profession, are consensus builders in that they search for acceptable solutions in an organisational setting and therefore consider the utility of neo-marxist theories as somewhat remote.

In the same vein Reid sees the conflict model based on Weber's thesis as nothing but an imposition of ideology by dominant group on other groups. Put in other words, education is being used by groups in a struggle for domination rather than as serving the needs of society.

Putting Havelock's work on various models of planned change under review - The problem-solving model, the Social interaction model, the Research, Development and diffusion model (RD & D) and the linkage models had not only an important impact on our thinking of educational change; they have moved general theories away from the abstract to concrete action programmes. Despite this, they do not have an in-built critical awareness of ideological differences and political conflicts. And this has been seen as the weakest aspect of these models in
practical use in education where one of the important considerations in change is political choice.

It is important to note that all the models of educational change raised and discussed by Dalin and Reid in their books are not contradictory but complimentary. They have not only given us the complex picture of the nature of the relationship between educational institution and the society; they can be seen as useful descriptive frameworks or spring board on which other findings on educational change can be launched.

3.5.7 CONCLUSION

However, as I have already pointed out, all these Third World countries are at various stages of development, and some, like India, have over-produced graduates than the system can absorb. While one can argue that these graduates might have qualified only in subjects which do not promote, directly, modernization (e.g. humanities and social sciences), and which means that the technical aspect is still not fully explored, one can also argue that there are not enough technical jobs to go round those who graduated in this aspect of education. Consequently, whatever arguments that may be offered, one thing clearly stands out in the handling of the subject of education by the theories: namely, the theories see education's chief function as an economic one. The social aspect of it did not receive as much elaborate treatment although one is left to draw one's own conclusions as to what this education does to the social life of the people from the dependency theory's point of view.

Inspite of its apparent non-functionality as far as the dependency theory is concerned and as far as general criticisms
against education in the Third World countries go, education undoubtedly remains extremely popular in less developed countries. It still has the potential for bringing about change both for the society and individual. For, much as the arguments of the dependency theory re-emphasize the position of these poor nations, they (the nations) still find it is better for them to depend with the hope that some time in the future, their "dependency" will pay-off.

It would be worth mentioning that when they achieved independence, ex-colonies were left with seriously under-developed economies and severe shortages of skilled and professional manpower. This is because only a very few "natives" were allowed into jobs meant for the Europeans and when the Europeans eventually left, they left behind them acute shortages of personnel to take-over their jobs. This could also be explained as a deliberate act on the part of the colonial masters who wanted to maintain a continuing presence in these former colonies. Whatever explanations that are afforded as regards this, it still was obvious the poor state of these ex-colonies and something had to be done to correct (to a certain degree) the situation.

At independence therefore, education ranked highest on the priority lists for a number of reasons. Firstly, the political leaders of these newly independent nations were being pressurised by the people to provide basic schooling for all children. Secondly, and more importantly, education was one of the human rights set-out in the United Nations Charter and the over-coming
of ignorance was a necessary means to improving the quality of life. Thirdly, education has economic connotations; it leads societies out of economic underdevelopment. The great surge at independence therefore was to provide schooling even if it meant only a few years of it in cheap buildings, with ill-paid teachers, often with curricula and textbooks based on education systems of former colonial powers.

The need and desire to provide this basic schooling was so overwhelming that most countries took the plunge without regarding the financial consequences. Soon after, some countries found they could not foot the bills and had to rely on external aid. Inspite of this hardship, education still maintained its top place. This was to become the age of Investment in Education (i.e. starting from the 1960's).

Economic opinion (in line with the Modernisation theory) more than anything else encourage the ambitious plans as mentioned above by the backward countries; because a causal relationship was thought to exist between high levels of schooling and economic growth. These nations expressed a particular likeness for the investment in education policy because they perceived a bright future in it, but have a tongue in-cheek reception for what now falls under the dependency theories. This is because the dependency theory failed to suggest alternative means of getting out of their dependency status, in which case they feel their people would perpetually remain drawers of water and hewers of wood. This picture is very unattractive more especially as it renders political independence a meaningless venture for those countries which have attained it and dampen the hopes of those still struggling for it.

One must be quick to say that even though the dependency
theory has been much criticised, attempts to modernize, by the less developed countries have not been free of problems and frustrations either. (The problems of launching and implementing Universal Primary Education in Nigeria as elaborately treated in Chapter 6 of this study give testimony to this). Efforts to modernize did not remove dictatorship from Latin America, neither did it remove inequality in India (the Caste System). It is, however, very important to note that because education does not do all the things it promises (or the theories promised), it does not mean that it is not effective or that its effects are negative. In the words of Roger Dale who stated:

"For while it is clear that education does not achieve all that liberal ideology claims for it, is is equally clear that development cannot take place without some sort of education system. Any solution to the problem of education in developing societies will have to start from the idea of transforming rather than eliminating it. This is particularly important when so many criticisms of the effects of education in developing societies come very close to throwing out the baby with the bath water." 29

What is being affirmed here is that rather than looking at the potential of education in developing societies from the point of view of either the Modernization or Dependency theories, we should concentrate on the problems it solves or creates. The form of this solution of the problems differ from one Third World country to another depending on its economic, political and historical situation, but the main focus should be on arriving at some solution. For any government to try to turn-off the demand for education would be digging its own grave. As long
as people see education as the route to wealth and power, the demand for it would continue to rise. This also means that the less developed countries are literally stuck in the position of being unable to do without education as well as being unable to control the demand for it.

Conclusively, we have seen that while there is a general acceptance of education as a means of economic growth, in some countries, like Brazil and Argentina (and in fact most of Latin America) an extension of education is also needed to help solve political as well as social problems. There is a general awareness here that a more relaxed political atmosphere will help in enhancing more positively, education and social well-being. In countries of Asia, it has been observed that with their highly developed educational systems (whereby there is greater production of trained personnel than the whole system can cope with), the limitation to their economic growth comes in two forms: populations far beyond the available land and capital, and continuing high rates of population increase. Here, therefore, the problem which education is expected to solve most urgently is that of rural underdevelopment, poverty and high fertility rates. In African countries on the other hand, apart from the obvious problems of population and poverty, there is a need for education to be extended to the development of agriculture on which the populations depend. In other worlds, in relation to all the cases outlined above, there appears to be an acute need for change: if there is to be any kind of transformation necessary for future development, then education has to undergo a profound change - varied and/or different forms of education
need to be introduced, viz: vocational, technical, and even informal education need to be encouraged in order that these countries of the Third World would start developing in the proper direction.
SUMMARY:

In this section, we took an in-depth look at the country Nigeria: its size, population, political and economic culture and we saw the problems caused by a multiplicity of languages and also the impact of a monocultural economy. These, in general terms are the problems faced by most developing countries. It was also noted that economic development strategies which seek to raise, say, agricultural output, create employment, provide good health and education systems and eradicate poverty have often failed because of a concerted neglect to view the economy as an inter-dependent social system where economic and non-economic variables are continually interacting.

Furthermore, it becomes clear that the phenomenon of under-development should be viewed in both a national and international context. Because of the interdependence mentioned above, economic and social forces both internal and external are responsible for the poverty, low productivity and inequality that characterise most developing nations. The successful pursuit of economic and social development will therefore require not only the formulation of appropriate strategies within the Third World but also a modification of the present international economic system to make it more responsive to the needs of developing countries. After all, the 141 nations of the Third World constitute many parts of the global organism. The nature and character of their future development, therefore, should be a major concern of the rest of the world. Otherwise, the gap between development aspirations and world realities will continue to widen with every passing year.
CHAPTER 3

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SECTION TWO: THE GROWTH OF EDUCATION IN NIGERIA.

INTRODUCTION:

An education system is a complex organisation of interactions between inter-dependent bodies, groups and individuals all aimed at achieving certain educational goals. These organisations include those between the government, religious groups, teachers, parents and the general public.

Education, however, is as old as man himself. In general, education fulfils the twin functions of social reproduction and innovation. It helps to ensure the transmission of the sum of knowledge, experience and values of each society while at the same time it inculcates the individual and collective aptitudes necessary to social progress. Thus its purpose is to encourage social renewal while respecting the unique features of each Society. This is true of both formal and informal education.

This section looks at the basic principles of informal education and the purpose it serves in Nigeria in particular and Africa in general. It also follows the gradual process through which the Nigerian education system was transformed from an informal to a formal one. This resulted from the activities of Christian Missionaries who came to spread their religious faith and make converts. (Almost all religions are based on sacred books. In order to understand the books, people must be able to read. Therefore Missionaries are concerned with teaching literacy). Through their educational work, the Missionaries awakened a widespread demand for knowledge and understanding.

Their work in Nigeria was very trying. They incurred quite a number of problems especially with hostile hosts in the North who already had a "foreign" religion and a stable education system to rely on. This section therefore explores the way
the Nigerian society underwent a transformation with the introduction of a formal education system which claimed to be more organized than the informal education which the society was used to. The section also examines the inter-relationship of the two education systems - how formal education builds on the informal.
CHAPTER 4

TRADITIONAL (INFORMAL) EDUCATION

4.0 OVERVIEW

In its definition of education, the UNESCO International Standard Classification of Education said it comprised organised and sustained communication designed to bring about learning. If we break down this definition, we will see that 'organised' implies a planned outline with established aims and objectives; 'sustained' means that the learning process has a duration (which also is planned) and 'communication' means that there is a relationship between persons which involves the transfer or exchange of information. In the context of this definition, education is thought of only (or nearly so) as what is learned by pupils in a school, college or any such institution of learning. In a way, this is quite true; but equally clearly education may be carried on outside formal schools. It must be admitted that all societies have, through diverse means, sought to spread the possession of knowledge, the learning of skills and so on among their members; and the process through which these are done approximates the characteristics of the UNESCO definition, even though the degree of organisation may be limited. To a sociologist, education incorporates both formal schooling and processes of learning through living in and with a group (otherwise known as or referred to as informal education).
In present day Africa, these two processes are now, somehow, distinctively separate, although each process compliments the other. However, before formal education was brought or introduced by the Missionaries, education was of an informal type and the people relied on it in order to transmit their culture to their young. The knowledge of the past was of paramount importance in the sense that it provides individuals with direction for their future, i.e. reflections on previous events and happenings assist in planning any future course of action.

To understand and thoroughly grasp the stages through which education passed in Nigeria, and indeed Africa, adequate knowledge of the traditional educational system which had existed before the advent of Islam and Christianity, becomes very important. Islamic education was formally established in Nigeria in the 14th century and Christian or Western-type education came in the first half of the 19th century; but the people of Nigeria had their own kind of education long before these two. In fact most homes - whether Islamic or Christian - still employ the methods of informal training to teach their children their traditional culture, while at the same time bringing them up to appreciate their parents' chosen faith.

Apart from this indigenous training whereby children learn basic skills and how to fit in or conform to the culture or traditions of their society, other types of training also exist. This is the training provided by secret societies such as the Poro, Bundo and Ogbonni cult of West Africa, to their initiates, which could be the equivalent of higher
education. Thus, the training from childhood continues until a child is old enough to be initiated as an adult; which gives him the status of 'teacher' because then he is capable of passing-on the traditions and expectations of the people - it is a never-ending process. Thus, education, defined by Emile Durkheim (a famous French Sociologist) as "the systematic socialization of the younger generation by which the latter learn religious and moral beliefs, feelings, of nationality and collective opinions of all kinds" serves to integrate the individual into the wider spectrum of the community into which he is born.

In spite of the great ethnic diversity of the populations of Africa and the different forms of social organisation, reflecting as such differences in the level of economic, political and social development reached by each society, one still finds that the educational achievements of these societies continue to demonstrate their cultural similarities. What characterises traditional education in the different clans, tribes and ethnic groups of Africa is the same principle - socialization. The purpose of education was centralised on the end result, (education is regarded as a means to an end), and this end result is adulthood. Social responsibilities, job-orientation, spiritual and moral values all come through the attainment of adulthood. Children learn by doing, engaging themselves in preparatory education by means of ceremonies, rituals, imitation, recitation and demonstration. They involve themselves in doing practical things like farming, cooking, fishing, weaving, etc. For recreation or sport, their activities include wrestling, drumming, dancing, acrobatic displays, and so on. Intellectual training is also part of
the learning process whereby children get to know their local history, learn poetry, riddles, proverbs, storytelling, etc. All these are introduced to the child systematically, and at the end of each stage, divided by age level or years of exposure, the child has to go through a practical test relevant to his experience and level of development. This 'continuous assessment' qualifies him to be initiated into adulthood when he is seen to be practically ready for it.

As stated earlier, for the more mature, secret cults serve as institutions of higher and, or, further education. At this stage, the secret of power, real or imaginary, religion, and science are made manifest. This type of education is functional because what is taught has immediate relevance to the needs of the society. Education is not rigidly compartmentalised as is the case in the contemporary system; age and physical readiness constitute the main deciding factors to 'promotion'; but the aims, the content and methods of transmission are intricately interwoven to guarantee that everybody receives proper and adequate training.

Traditional education has come under heavy criticism and it has been dubbed as primitive, savage or even barbaric because it fails to conform to the ways of the westernized system. For instance, in its new perspective, modern education does not limit itself to transmitting knowledge, but also stands as a means whereby new knowledge might be generated. In the traditional African system, the main concern of education is the former. Furthermore, modern education is concerned with freeing individuals from their cultural stringencies, enabling
them to think logically and independently, to identify and solve problems, and to take responsibility for initiating change and not just conform to out-dated modes of instruction that don't allow for change (which is what traditional education is). Although all these shortcomings of traditional education may now be evident, the contentions of people who criticise it are as a result of total misunderstanding of the inherent value of this form of education. However, if we agree that education is the aggregate of all the processes by which a child develops the abilities, attitudes and other forms of behaviour which are of positive value to the society in which he lives; then education has achieved its purpose in the traditional African society. Group training runs through all traditional educational processes - this is to prepare the individuals to play their full part in maintaining the cohesion, survival and stability and even the well-being of the group. There is little concern for developing the unique talents of an individual or encouraging qualities which would differentiate the individual from his peers because of the fear that individualism would put at risk the stability of the whole society.

Another main area of criticism of traditional education is that it is too conservative, and does not allow for change. It has to be pointed out that this is a generalisation of the issue because these societies were by no means static and unchanging. Surely, there had been changes, only that these are comparatively limited. However, change on a very large scale, in the social, economic, political and religious processes would have been limited due to the reasons outlined
above - people did not actively challenge the system and advocate for change because change might threaten the security and stability of the society; thus the educational processes were not concerned with preparing individuals to adapt to change but rather with reinforcing the existing social framework.

Seen in this context, the traditional education system provided what is best for the people. What the critics should have asked is this: did the education system meet the particular needs of the society it served? An evaluation in this respect should be 'prima facie' when dealing with systems like these, of any society - as such, traditional African education should not be judged by extraneous considerations because it actually served the purpose of guiding the recipients into being organised and integrated, which is what, as we agreed, education is all about.

We will leave the criticisms against traditional education aside (and may be return to these later) and at this point, look at some of the aspects through which traditional education and knowledge is disseminated in order to ensure social control or guarantee rational direction of the society.3

4.1 SOME ASPECTS OF TRADITIONAL AFRICAN EDUCATION

The aim of traditional African education as we have inferred above is to produce a very virile, skilled and respectable individual who conforms to the norms of the society. Here, we intend to look into some of the ways through which this is achieved, although this treatment would not be done in any order of importance because all the aspects are very important because they complement each other.
4.1.1 THE DEVELOPMENT OF PHYSICAL SKILLS

The development of a child's physical skills start from a few months after he has been born. This is seen in the way his 'many minders' play with him by throwing him up in the air. The simple act is alleged to help to remove fear and make the child acquire some sort of confidence as he grows. It is also at, or from this stage, that the parents start monitoring the activities of the child very closely. If he is seen to be less active than he should be, he is quickly rushed to the medicine-man for prepared concoctions which would help develop him physically. This physical growth or development is very essential to the child's future life as he grows to be an adult.

In traditional African society (as may be in other societies - European, Asiatic, etc.) a child does things intuitively - he jumps, climbs, dances because he sees some people around him do the same. As Fafunwa puts it,

"Every child discovers his limbs and in no time at all he also discovers their uses. It is a natural process of growth and the physical environment, no matter how limiting, challenges the child to try out new things. The African child, unlike the European child, has unlimited access to the stimulating world of African music and dance. He needs no teacher or specialist to teach him the first (dance) steps. He observes the adults and other children and naturally falls in step. The infinite variety of African dance movements offer the child one of the best media for physical exercise. The dance and the music also serve as cultural vehicles, encouraging team work, etc."
Activities like games, running, balancing, swimming, climbing and many others which combine different physical exercises not only develop the child’s body but also his agility, endurance, physical resistance and ability to use his body in different circumstances and for different purposes. In his *Childhood*, O.F. Raum classifies play activities under three headings:

"... first, the playful exercise of sensory and motor apparatus resulting in the adaptation of the organism to its physical environment; secondly, imitative play consisting of representation of adult life to fit the social needs of childhood; and thirdly, competitive games which test the physical, intellectual and social qualities of the individual."\(^5\)

Physical skills are essential for intellectual growth – in fact they are essential if the child is expected to take in the culture that would be passed down to him later. May be, it is this utmost importance of the subject that made many writers to stress it so much. It ought to be pointed out, however, that unlike in other societies where children partake in such activities freely (regardless of sex), in African societies, certain activities are strictly masculine and feminine. For example, climbing, wrestling, and archery are boys' activities because they are more strenuous and more befitting to a man than a woman. (This explains how sexual stratification or differentiation works in adult life – it is still very much inherent in present African societies inspite of the contemporary education system). Sex stratification also helps and quickens the imitative procedure.
Jomo Kenyatta explained it better when he wrote:

"The children do most things in imitation of their elders .... The little boys indulge in fighting like big boys. Running and wrestling are very common .... They play with small wooden spears, and shields made of banana tree bark, bows and arrows, slings and stones .... The girls plait baskets of grass and grind corn, like their mothers, and make little pots of the local clay and cook imaginary dishes ...." ⁶

Thus, through games the African child develops his physical potentials which will serve him when he grows older.

4.1.2 THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTELLECTUAL SKILLS

If intellect is the power to integrate experience, and if intellectualisation is the process of reasoning abstractly, then traditional African education can be said to encourage intellectual growth and development. With the unlimited natural resources the African child has at his disposal to explore, he gets down to learning (without formally being taught) those things that are of immediate importance and gradually, he gets himself acquainted with others that would be necessary to him as he grows. He learns, for instance, the geography of the area, familiarising himself with the hills, landscape, the fertile and non-fertile pieces of land, etc. He knows the season, (when they start), the time of the hunting and fishing festivals, etc. He listens to his elders as they unfold, through oral tradition the history of the community; and he remembers the gestures used by each narrator; these help to make the stories very hard to forget.
From the stories, he picks out the behaviour of animals and gets to know these for protective and rearing purposes.

As he grows into adulthood, the child is exposed to more advanced training. His readiness and suitability for secret societies' initiation are determined by his ability and memory, because:

"the secret societies have complex training programmes which must be mastered before the initiation ceremony; these serve as qualifying entrance examinations. As he (the child) matures, and becomes eager to learn more, the riddles, proverbs ... become more complicated.... As this constitutes the higher education level for the younger adults, admission is restricted to those who have demonstrated capacity for further growth and ability to keep secrets secret."\(^8\)

Another aspect of intellectual training is the poetic and prophetic aspect. African societies are very rich in these and therefore they become a necessary part of the 'curriculum'. For example, the ijala chant of the Yoruba people of Nigeria is one of the most important intellectual arts. Explaining this, A. Babalola, a prominent Nigerian linguist said:

"Ijala is the oral poetry of Yoruba hunters and it is one of the various genres of the spoken art of the Yoruba people. It is a type of speech utterance with rudimentary musical characteristics ..... It is uttered from memory in chanting style but it is essentially a type of verbal art."\(^9\)
Essentially therefore this level of education calls for a phenomenal memory since recitation may go on for hours with little or no repetition except for the chorus. That is why learning capabilities and level of understanding are stressed before anyone can be allowed into this stage.

In as much as the learning of culture, language and history of the society are important, so also is mathematics or what represents it. Children are taught how to count and make little sums involving money; this helps them to know how much they have saved in their 'esusu' (a sort of piggy bank). The ability to count is also indispensable in keeping check on the number of the herd of cattle or sheep which they take out for grazing. Once again, the Yoruba went a little further than this simple stage of counting. According to C.O. Taiwo,

"the Yoruba have developed a system of counting and have used a variety of human experiences to promote practice and dexterity in enumeration. The Yoruba child is introduced early in life to counting by means of concrete objects..... The use of cowrie as currency offered effective practice in enumeration..... In counting, the Yoruba have a name for every counting number, however large ... For example, two million, three hundred and forty-five thousand, six hundred and seventy-eight (2,345,678) in Yourba is OKE METADIN - LOGOFA LE EGBAATA - EJI - LE - LORIN - DINNIRINWO ...".\(^{10}\)

In Nupe, another outstanding ethnic group, in Nigeria, the numerical system is just as elaborate, practical and unlimited in scope as that of the Yoruba. "A figure like three million,
six hundred thousand (3,600,000) is expressed by this comparatively simple symbol: gba kpotwani (literally two thousand times eighteen hundred, or in more detail two thousand times two hundred times nine)."

All these things, whether in simple societies whose counting is not very well developed as to find meaning or expression for such large figures as the ones quoted above, or in complex societies, learning takes place by so many varied means - e.g. through entertainment, songs, chants, etc. Competition is also encouraged in order to facilitate intellectual growth. For instance, the ability to solve riddles, remember previous stories, and talk in proverbs help to quicken children's natural wit. In the same way as the study of written literature, in other cultures therefore, this education gave young people a heightened awareness of moral values, the comic and tragic sides/faces of human life.

4.1.3 CHARACTER DEVELOPMENT

A lot of emphasis is placed on character training in indigenous African education. It is considered by many educationists as the corner-stone of African education. J.A. Majasan identified in his study of Yoruba education character-training and religious education as the two most urgent objectives of Yoruba education and showed that other objectives were pursued by way of the latter.

The parents, siblings and other members of the community take active part in this aspect of education. The child is taught to be sociable, honest, humble but not cowardly. N.A. Fadipe observed that to the Yoruba, and indeed other ethnic groups in Nigeria, the education of the young in the codes of manners,
customs, morals, superstitions and laws of his society is achieved only when all members of the family and community participate. In other words, the full training is a cooperative effort in which members of the community must play a part. It is through this process that a child builds up or develops his code, whether of manners or of morals, item by item as they incidentally come into the field of his experience.

There are three principal ways involved in this process of character-training. The first is teaching by correction. When it is observed that the child has not been fully prepared for certain occasions, it is the duty of his seniors to teach him what to do or to correct him if he goes wrong. He sometimes is punished corporally if he fails to profit by the instruction. The second way is learning by observation. The child observes the way people of his age-group or his elders behave when faced with given situations, and behaves likewise. The negative variant is to observe how those who fail to conform to given norms are punished. The third way is the unconscious absorption of the lessons of morality and good manners inculcated in folktales, proverbs, songs, etc.

One outstanding factor of all these measures or ways is regarding the use of the right and left hands. Before the diffusion of the white man's culture, the use of cutlery for eating was not known, the use of the right hand (traditionally used for eating) for the handling of dirty objects is forbidden. As a corollary the left hand is forbidden to be used for eating. Any child seen mis-using the two hands is either corrected or punished when this action becomes recurrent.
Cleanliness is also part of the character-training a child receives. The performance of morning ablutions before eating is absolutely mandatory. Since the child is the 'responsibility' of the whole community, his parents' permission is not often sought before he is taught the right thing or punished for doing something wrong. Sexual intimacy of any kind is forbidden. Incest is taboo. Any two children found indulging in sexual acts may either be beaten on the spot or reported to the head of the compound for more severe punishment. This is because any shameful acts done by a child reflect on the whole community - if a child steals, indulges in sexual acts, or any such things, it means the whole community had failed in its duty to bring him up properly, and therefore every one shares the shame. Sometimes therefore, the training gets very severe because character-training constitutes the most crucial aspect of indigenous education.

4.1.4 RESPECT FOR ELDERS

Closely related to character-training is respect both for elders and people in authority especially the chief, priest, diviner, etc., and the most basic way to show this is through greeting. African societies place a great deal of emphasis on greeting. There are, for example, special greetings (especially in the wordings used) for parents, peers, elders and chiefs; there are different greetings for different times of the day as well as greetings for various occasions - fishing, farming, dancing, drumming, sitting, standing, etc. Verbal greetings always go with some kind of physical postures. The Yoruba man prostrates, the woman kneels in greeting. The Nupe man and woman crouches and kneels respectively. So do the Hausa. On the other hand, while
greeting a superior or chief, the Hausa man clenches and raises his right fist whereas a Yoruba man rolls himself on the ground.

Nigerian ethnic groups have more elaborate greeting systems than those already described. All these gestures and complicated verbal greetings must be learnt by every child. Another way of showing respect is to help elders to carry their luggage, shopping and even help them clean the compound when you find them doing this.

4.1.5 VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Another aim of indigenous education is job-orientation. A child is taught to appreciate every job or occupation, and not feel one job is inferior or superior to the other because they all serve the community in their own way and capacity. The vocations include agricultural activities like fishing, farming, animal rearing and so on. Trades and crafts like weaving, hunting, carving, smithing, hair-plaiting, wine-tapping, 'esusu' (banking), catering and many others are also taught. Professions like doctors, priests, shrine keepers are not for everybody - they are specially the occupations of particular families and their members and the secrets are zealously guarded so that no one infiltrates on this. As Archibald Callaway described it:

"... The skills "owned" by a family were highly valued; and in some lines such as native medicine, secrets were zealously guarded, as they are indeed today..."^14

Essentially, from what we have discussed so far, one can see that the child in the indigenous society has an all-round teaching and learning process. The child is educated and he also educates himself in the 'school' of the family
and in the social life with his age-group, and he is constantly in contact with the various aspects of adult life; with the weather, climate and vegetation as well as landscape giving an immeasurable help to this learning process. This education is a way of life with the political, social, religious and moral aspects of life all rolled into one.

The criticisms levied against this type of education have been referred to earlier on. The main focus of the criticisms being that this form of education has very limited goals, is conservative and therefore not susceptible to change and also that it is only geared to meeting the immediate basic needs of the child and does not, as such, make long-term provisions for progress. However, it would be appreciated that all these criticisms are made in comparison to modern educational systems. It would be agreed also that any set-up or institution, when compared to another, will always show some weaknesses or short-comings, somewhere. In this context, traditional African education has its own limitations. But it would be better and worthwhile if these weaknesses are judged by the relative happiness of the people who go through it - if it served the people's needs especially in those special circumstances that prevailed, then one would find little to condemn.

Consequently, with the changing times in the world over, and with the infiltration of new and foreign ways of life, education and religion into the traditional system, its education had been greatly influenced and it had witnessed a great deal of modification.
4.2 CONTEMPORARY ADJUSTMENTS IN INDIGENOUS OR TRADITIONAL EDUCATION

The introduction of a modern education system, and the recent expansion of the school system have limited the importance of indigenous education. As a result, the co-existence of formal schooling and informal education is now in disequilibrium. Also, as a result of demographic changes in Nigeria, (as indeed in many African countries), the communal living has been affected - there has been a lot of residential mobility from traditional compounds to newer suburban areas. This greatly affects vocational and character development of the traditional system. Most importantly, there has been a shift from ascription to achievement as the primary criterion for selection of role incumbents in the modern society and because this achievement is determined by school attainment, this has produced a decline in the authority and power of traditional roles.

Because of residential movements referred to above, nuclearization of the family has been made possible. What this means is that the traditional involvement of kin groups, grand-parents and other community members in the education of children has been minimized. Some form of traditional education (e.g. in character-training) are still evident but this is very limited because only the parents are in control. The role of parents in the general education of their children has been re-scheduled to a few hours in a day - before or after school hours, weekends and holidays. Even the participation of older siblings is greatly curtailed by the level of their school attainment. The higher up the ladder they go, the more they become dis-
associated with the educational content of early childhood training, traditionally.

The school has assumed responsibility for physical training and traditional age-grading (of two to five years) has been narrowed to the specific one year in the school. Pledge and allegiance to the tribe and community has been replaced by allegiances to state and nation. Oral traditions have been replaced by literacy and study of the community. Such aspects as vocational training, craft apprenticeship, and intellectual development have been assumed by the school system. Also sex differentiation has been overcome by the school because, increasingly, schools at all levels are co-educational, whereby boys and girls are given the same training.

Although traditional education is still evident in the rural areas, the effects are limited as more and more children move to the urban areas. The school has reshaped or adapted all the social contexts for learning, and traditional education has been forced to an inferior position. However, if the change is only going to be from traditional to modern education with the modern education providing all the basic needs of the people but with no motivation for change in the society as a whole, then modern education in Africa in general and Nigeria in particular stands accused of all the shortcomings of traditional education.
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CHAPTER 5

THE HISTORY OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE NIGERIAN EDUCATION SYSTEM 1842-1950

5.0 OVERVIEW

To place the present system in perspective and understand the nature of the problems encountered, it is necessary to examine the pattern of educational development over the last few decades. It will be observed that many of today's difficulties (policies, implementation, etc.) have arisen before. Various attempts by both the early Christian missionaries and the colonial government to develop the education system met with only partial success for which two main factors may be blamed: first, they were introducing a 'kind' of education that was completely alien to, particularly the societies of Southern Nigeria; and second, they failed to make use of the pre-existing Islamic education system in the North of Nigeria.

Education exists in so many different forms that some classification is necessary to facilitate understanding. The term 'Western education' is one which it would be preferable not to use. One would like to be able to say that, by the 1970s, Nigeria had sufficiently developed her own identity for reference to 'Nigerian education' to be possible. As will become clear, however, the Western-type schools, i.e. those organised into conventional classrooms with desks, blackboards, certificated teachers and examinations are still quite distinct from the Islamic schools and the traditional 'schools'.

5.1
Our main concern here is to trace the development of this 'Western type' education system in Nigeria. In view of the depth of the subject, it has become a usual practice to divide the work into phases:

Professor Lewis however advised that "... whilst this pattern (of phasing) is an attractive one, it needs to be examined carefully, since at no period did any one agency take full responsibility ...." One cannot, however, demarcate the said phases because, as Father Walsh put it, they are "more or less harnessed together by successive educational codes." This writer, however, believes that this phasing is very important because it has the merit of clarity, assisting both writer and reader only on the condition that it is accepted as a model - a simplification of reality.

A. Ade Adeyinka adopted a system of phasing whereby the subject was categorized into five viz:

a. The period of exclusive Missionary activities 1842-1882.

b. The beginning of Government participation and continued Missionary effort 1882-1925.

c. The period of active Government involvement 1925-1939

d. The period of accelerated local community efforts 1939-1960.

3. The period of rapid expansion 1960 - present day.

Although this system has a special appeal to this writer it still can be criticised because it fragments the subject into numerous portions and therefore gives the impression that one phase ends and another starts immediately after it. It did not portray the subject as a continuous process as such.

As a result, this writer wants to treat the subject as a system;
analysing the different components or sub-systems which interact together to guarantee that the system works smoothly. Thus, the writer will classify the phases as:

a. Beginning of the system: i.e. when and how it started, what it built on and how the people reacted to it.

b. Working out the system: i.e. the philosophy on which the system was based and how it was made to succeed (if it did).

c. Pre- and post-independence development of the system: how far did the self-determination of the country go when the people finally took over responsibility of the system?

In other words, the discussion which follows in each of the periods centres on the characteristics of that period as it relates to improving the life-style and development of the recipients. Of crucial importance is the curriculum employed in each period: how this suited the objective of education and how much of this objective had been achieved.

The political aspect cannot be easily divorced from the educational in the sense that they work hand-in-hand. Therefore, while the main aim is to treat education in its totality, there is also need to treat the political development of the country because this, more than anything else, affects and therefore shapes education in an attempt to satisfy national needs. In this regard, since the introduction of modern education in Nigeria, three major aspects are very significant and therefore need to be mentioned specially. The first is that relating to the lack
of interest of the colonial administration in the education of the natives which resulted in the transfer of educational responsibility to the Christian missions. The second clarifies the slow but gradual formation of government interest in the administration and control of the educational institutions which eventually brought about the dual control system of education with government and voluntary agencies as partners in this venture. The third aspect, however, deals with the joint agreement between the colonial administration and Muslim rulers of Northern Nigeria to prevent Christian Missions from establishing and operating in that part of the country - an agreement that resulted in the proverbial North-South disparity in the development of Western education in Nigeria. This outline therefore serves the purpose of presenting the development of the education system in Nigeria as it really happened and all the bottlenecks that contributed to its failure to meet a lot of individual and national needs.

5.1 THE BEGINNING OF THE SYSTEM

The territory we now know as Nigeria had its first taste of education as practised in Europe in the early 16th century, through some Portuguese merchants, who also regarded education as of fundamental importance to the spread of Christianity. Their attempts to introduce Western education were, however, limited to a few scattered trading centres such as Benin and Warri in the present Bendel State.

It was not until the early 1840s that Western education made any significant impact upon Nigeria. Along with the call for the abolition of the slave trade came a cry for
the salvation of souls in other lands. Out of this concern for the spiritual well-being of the people of Africa and Asia grew the Missionary movement. This growth or bursting out of Missionary endeavour coincided with the European interest in the commercial and political drive to penetrate the interior of the African continent. Whilst the evangelical purpose was to attack the slave trade at its source of supply, there was also concern for the material well-being of the people. In other words, a different form of trade which could guarantee security and provide opportunities for private capital had to replace the slave trade in which the people were engaged. At the same time, some form of law enforcement would be needed to ascertain that the social as well as the economic set-up ran smoothly. In consequence, missionaries, traders, and later government agents collaborated in opening up the continent and, in doing so, initiated the basis for the introduction of formal education in the country.

This collaboration became evident when in 1841 an expedition - the Niger Expedition - was started to put into perspective the initiative to replace the slave trade with a legitimate trade. The significance of this expedition was that apart from bringing these various agencies together, all parties had a lot to gain from this partnership. Apart from the monetary gain which the government would make from the new trade (which the expedition symbolised), they would, under the guise of the expedition, offer (or enforce) political leadership and protection. The Missionaries' interest on the other hand was to convert the heathens to a new religion and
better civilization, and support from their government by way of political leadership and/or administration was invaluable. The merchants, however, were more than willing to engage in a new trade now that the slave trade had been abolished. The natives would also be able to participate in a new cash economy. Thus, the agencies complement themselves.

The Christian Missionaries were the most interested in providing some form of education - they demonstrated that the establishment of schools was an important part of their Christian work. According to Thomas Bowen:

".... To establish the gospel among any people, they must have Bibles and therefore must have the art to make them or the money to buy them. They must read the Bible and this implies instruction."

The first school was established in 1843 at Badagry (in Lagos State, now) by the Wesleyan Methodist Mission. Their Missionary work also carried them inland to places like Abeokuta where they started a mission and a school. The Church Missionary Society (CMS) was the next mission to arrive in Nigeria. The interesting thing about this Mission was that they had among them, a Yoruba slave who had been rescued by a British naval vessel from a slave-trading ship; his name was Samuel Ajayi Crowther. He was very involved in the spreading of the gospel and imparting knowledge to his fellow Yoruba people. By 1849, the CMS Yoruba Mission had established four stations at Badagry, Ibadan, Lagos and Abeokuta. They also had 16 Schools with a total enrolment of 895 pupils.
Many other mission bodies arrived in Nigeria and established Mission Stations and built schools. Although they agreed on the importance of education, there was no consensus among the mission bodies on the nature of "instruction", i.e. whether the approach should be literary, vocational etc. Each mission therefore had its own curriculum to suit its own basic guidelines, but in essence what most of them did was to teach the 4Rs (i.e. Reading, Writing, Arithmetic and Religion). Some Missions, like the CMS had an extra to these 4Rs, as the following excerpt confirms:

"... I am teaching them to sew and knit for I want an occupation for them as the school only lasts from nine to twelve."\(^6\)

and the school timetable often consisted of:

".... first tell them a short simple Bible story, and let them tell it us again, to see that they remember it, and take it in. Then we teach them a text, or a verse of a hymn, and the last quarter of an hour is always given in all the classes to teaching by repetition some catechism, and sometimes for a change we have the whole school together to go over the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, to make sure they are not forgotten."\(^6\)

The picture presented here was repeated with minor changes in both content and method at all the Mission Stations. Whilst the educational effort was primarily directed to make the converts to be able to read and write, it also provided the initial education of those who later became schoolmasters
for the schools, pastors for the churches and clerical assistants for commerce and government. The bookishness of the instruction provided has often been the subject of criticism of missionary education. However, it ought to be pointed out that much as this was unpleasant, the bookishness was the direct consequence of the educational purpose pursued by the missionaries (their main aim was for their converts to be able to read and write); and also the demand from commerce and government for educated persons placed a premium on book learning rather than on practical skills.

It ought to be mentioned that a great proportion of this initial missionary effort was restricted to Western Nigeria. In later years, the work was spread to cover the Eastern part as well. And, but for a grant of £200 each to the three Missionary Societies carrying out educational work (i.e. the CMS, the RCM and the American Southern Baptist Convention) in 1877, the colonial administration had nothing to do with education in any way. Emphasis was placed on good organization and discipline, and on the numbers of pupils enrolled, and, the results of examinations, as conditions under which grants were made to schools. Another important contribution which the British government made was passing the West African Education Ordinance in 1882. Even though this Ordinance also applied equally to other West African colonies, it represented the first official statement concerning education in relation to Nigeria. In 1886, when Lagos and part of the interior country was made an independent colony and protectorate separate from the Gold Coast Colony, another Ordinance (one
that was purely Nigerian) was enacted. Among other things, this Ordinance defined more clearly the conditions under which grants were to be made to schools. It also provided scholarships of £10 a year for children of the poor to attend secondary schools. Apart from these provisions, education continued to be virtually the concern and monopoly of the Christian Missions. It was not until 1901 when the first Government school (for Moslem children) was built in Lagos. Although the Government criticised Mission education as 'unsatisfactory' (yet) when in 1960, Nigeria gained independence, the Missions were still responsible for over 70% of the schools in the East and Western Provinces and also in Lagos.

5.2 MISSIONARY AND GOVERNMENT COLLABORATION?

An attempt has been made to show that only the Missionaries were very much interested in providing education during this period. For the colonial administration education was not a priority. Their priorities according to a statement made by Governor Freeman of Lagos in 1883 were:

"... Roads must be made, swamps filled up, the river bank properly staked and supported to prevent its being washed away .... A good prison must be built ... to guard the prisoners escaping. A hospital must be erected .... and eventually we shall need some barracks for the police. Nothing has yet been undertaken by Government in the way of education owing to want of necessary funds." 7

The writer finds the excuse "want of necessary funds" to be really flimsy. If the government could find funds to undertake all the catalogue of things they had listed, even
for things such as a prison, a little money for very basic schools here and there would not have been that much to find. There is one logical explanation for this reluctance on the part of the Government to contribute to education - they were transplanting what had become an established policy and practice in Britain. In other words, by allowing the Christian Missions a free hand in the control of education, and by encouraging Missionary educational institutions even in recalcitrant areas;

"Britain was repeating in Nigeria a system that had taken her centuries to develop ... even when the colonial administration showed interest in the development of education, the approach used was again that adopted in Britain, that is the establishment of a 'Dual Control' of education with statutory and voluntary bodies sharing the responsibilities for the provision and maintenance of schools."  

Since the Missionaries' main aim was to save Nigerian (and in fact African) souls from damnation, they made little or no effort to understand African culture or use the local environment for pedagogical purposes. This reflects the Europeans' opinion that there was little of value to be learned from these. With this attitude, the Missionaries patterned their schools on the English Charity Schools of the early 19th century. (The initial phase of the Industrial Revolution in England witnessed the exploitation and
dehumanization of children by factory employers of labour. The children received very little wages for their hard labour. Consequently, wealthy merchants, mainly for humanitarian reasons, financed the charity schools to provide basic religious instructions for these poor children).

This explains the pattern of educational provision by the Missionaries. Wherein lies the Missionary and Government collaboration then, one may ask? The answer lies in the fact that the Missions started operating in Africa, and particularly Nigeria earlier than the advent of colonialism. When Africa was, however, partitioned between the British, French, Belgians, Spanish and Portuguese following the Berlin Conference of 1884, colonialism became established. This helped the Missions in the sense that where they used persuasion before to try and win converts, they now depended on the colonial administration for protection against any hostile reception (i.e. they no longer depended on the goodwill of their hosts). They could now follow the expansion of colonial power inland from the coast where they were operating.

As colonial rule expanded, the white man's religion and education came to be associated with it; and resistance to Western education dropped. There was thus a forced choice in the gradual acceptance of Western education by Africans. The consequence of Missionary work was therefore closely associated with colonization and with movements to secure new markets for Britain; as can be seen from this extract:

"The value of West Africa to a European nation
depends absolutely and entirely upon its trade. Destroy that and there is nothing left to make the territory worth retaining, because deeply interested as Great Britain is in religious and philanthropic work, it is hardly to be expected that she would maintain costly establishments overseas for the sole purpose of promoting education and proclaiming the gospel to an alien and hostile race."^9

From this extract, one would argue that while the colonial authorities did not make the above intention too obvious, the Missionaries seemed to have known it already; and they owe their progress to the support given to them by the colonial authorities.

Another aspect in which both the colonial authorities and the Missionaries were agreed was (as stated earlier) their belief in the superiority of European over African civilization; this belief was reflected in policy statements which justify colonialism and Western education. During the period of colonialism, few (if any), Europeans doubted their right to impose their civilization on the African people. It was in this regard that the British took it upon themselves to carry the white man's burden, i.e. the responsibility to lead backward people to a higher level of civilization and a better culture, albeit humiliating to the African culture and beliefs. In the light of these instances therefore, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the local needs which Western education was meant to serve were in fact local colonial rather than local African needs.
In condemning this 'conspiracy', Galloway said:

"Inspite of their pietistic theology, the early Missionaries came from a culture which kept only one eye fixed on heaven, while the other was focussed quite firmly on the earth...

Therefore in the first human relations between Britain and Nigeria, the sharp distinction between Mission and Trade was not strictly observed."\textsuperscript{10}

If one accepts Galloway's analysis of the Missionaries' primary intention, then the conclusion would be that behind their proclamation of the gospel, they were consciously paving the path for the colonial authorities to penetrate deep into the land - while the people opened their hearts to the new religion, they also woke up to a new Government. In other words, missionary activities were regarded as concomitant of British Imperialism as can be seen from the statement made by Chief Dennis Osadebe that:

"The Missionary has made the African soil fertile for the growth of imperialism."\textsuperscript{11}

In another instance of how Nigerians felt, upon realising the motive of the Missionaries; the correlation between this new religion and government was made thus:

"The word 'Christ' has always been identified with the British Empire.... the general feelings are that the Missionaries have been the front troops of the government to soften the hearts of the people and while the people look at the cross, white men gather the riches of the land."\textsuperscript{12}
It is probable that some of these accusations are too outrageous but there is no escaping the basic truth in them, which is the feeling of a sell-out to colonial rule by the Missionaries. To take the subject of curriculum again, this more than anything else, showed the strong relationship which existed between mission and government: the emphasis of the school programme ranged from religious knowledge to the greatness of Britain; there was nothing African in it. Ogunsola summarised it thus:

".... The curriculum was over-weighted with religious knowledge - recitation of the catechism, reading passages from the Bible and singing hymns. When the songs were not religious, they had to be in praise of Britain or of British scenery or of an episode in British history - 'Rule Britannia', 'D' ye ken John Peel', 'Bonnie Charlie', 'Ye Banks An Braes', etc ...."13

One can say, in addition, that much that seems wrong with present-day school curriculum in the country is attributed to the narrow-minded and European-based ideas of colonial government and Missionaries. From the arguments above, it is suggested that the imposition of this 'bookish' curriculum on African schools did not only ignore local practical needs and cultural differences; but also another aim was that, according to Abernethy, the Africans "should not be so highly trained that they threatened to take over the responsibilities of British Officials or native authorities".14
This line of thinking is a different subject altogether. Mission education that is being criticized lasted for about 50 years. Nigeria had seen a great deal of changes both politically and educationally. There existed also, a great deal of potential for change from the 'bookish' curriculum to a more suitable one. If up until 1969 (when Abernethy's book was published) there was still reason to criticize the curriculum with reference to Missionary education and curriculum, then, this writer suggests that there is a lot more wrong with the Nigerian school curriculum. If it took the Missionaries 50 years to establish a bookish curriculum, worthy enough to be criticized, then Nigerian education and curriculum planners have got more time (than did the Missionaries) to design a curriculum that does not only surpass that of the Missionaries, but one that has more content, character and potential for national as well as individual development.

5.3 EDUCATION OF THE NORTH

At this point, it should be mentioned that the above discussion of Missionary education is based only on Southern Nigeria. Western education did not reach the North until about half a century after its introduction in the South. However, education (Islamic) had existed in this region since the ninth century, many hundreds of years before the coming of Christian Missionaries. The Holy War led by Usman dan Fodio brought about a literary influx; and so the Muslim North had an established educational system based on the Koran. Northern cities such as Katsina, Sokoto and Kano had, by then,
become well-known centres for Islamic studies. As with Christian education, the Koranic schools offered an overwhelmingly religious curriculum which combined a thorough study of the Koran and Islamic religious practice with, ability to read and write in Arabic. The schools were basic in nature and structure: a class might simply consist of a few boys and girls. Pupils are admitted whenever they report so that there is no stipulated admission period for all new entrants. For this reason instruction is individualized, in that a pupil starts to memorise the Koran from Chapter I and can only proceed to Chapter II when he has mastered Chapter I (and so on). The pupils can only 'graduate' when the mallam (teacher) is satisfied with their mastery of the whole Koran; as such the school duration could last 10 years or even more. When the protectorate of Northern Nigeria was proclaimed by Britain in the early twentieth century, (1899) Lord Lugard, the first High Commissioner, estimated that there were well over 20,000 Koranic schools in the North, attended by about 250,000 pupils.  

With the establishment of British administration in the North, the Christian Missions followed in their footsteps to expand their mission. Where there was an established religion and culture, the coming of the Christian Missions meant that a confrontation between these two religions was inevitable. It was also natural that the two non-indigenous religions should recognise each other as opponents and react to one another with suspicion verging on hostility. A number
of reasons meant that the Christian Missions would not be warmly welcomed:-

1. Christianity (apart from being a different religion) was associated with the colonising race, the British;
2. The Christians, as mentioned earlier, believed in the superiority not only of their religion but also of their civilisation; and
3. Being late-comers to the country as a whole, and Northern Protectorate in particular, the Christians were in a haste to win as many souls as possible.

In view of the vastness of this region, the British Administration had not the resources or the personnel to provide effective government, and since a form of government already existed in the North (emirs), the Administration preferred to retain it and govern the region instead through the emirs - thus the beginning of Indirect Rule. In agreeing to this, the British Administration, broke the cord that bound it and the Christian Missionaries (the relationship that initiated the allegation of a possible collaboration).

Following the agreement or arrangement for the acceptance of Indirect Rule policy, the Sultan of Sokoto made a condition in a note sent to Lord Lugard in 1902, thus:

"I do not consent that anyone from you should ever dwell with us. I will never agree with you. I will have nothing ever to do with you. Between us and you there are no dwellings except as between Muslims and Unbelievers - WAR, as God Almighty has enjoined us....."16

In order to protect the interests of the Crown, Lord Lugard pledged to keep the Missionaries away from Muslim areas. The freedom which the Missionaries enjoyed in spreading their gospel and western education in the South was not extended to the North.
Instead, they were free to operate only in the so-called pagan areas (the Middle-belt area) while the Muslim North was preserved. The consequence of this restrictionist policy was that not only was there an educational imbalance between the North and South, but that within the North itself, an educational gap existed between the predominantly Muslim areas and the pagan areas.

However, in view of the promise he made to the Muslim emirs, Lord Lugard had no intention of antagonising the Muslim rulers by allowing Christian Missionary activities in the Muslim areas; yet he recognised the advantages of missionary education and civilising efforts and so was prepared to allow some to carry out missionary work in Muslim areas. The CMS was the first Mission in Northern Nigeria. Its first school was opened at Lokoja in 1865, long before the North was made a Protectorate. The emphasis of the school had been first, the scriptures and then English, British History and vernacular language. When this go-ahead was given by Lugard, the CMS intensified its work in this area (the present Niger State), expanding its work to Bida in 1903. Also, a school was opened at Bida, in 1904 for reading and writing Nupe (the local language) in Roman script. Through the cooperation of the British administration some Mallams were sent to the school where they studied reading and writing in the vernacular, singing, English and the scriptures were extensively used as a text-book despite the fact that Lugard favoured an entirely secular curriculum. When they understood the implication of the use of the gospels, to teach secular subjects, most of the Mallams stopped attending.
The interest of the administration in the Bida project showed the extent of the administration's need for local people who could read and write in Roman script and thereby facilitate communication between the emirs and the British. It also guaranteed the supply of clerks to help the administration with clerical duties and therefore save the expense of recruiting officers from far-away Britain for such duties.

Other Missions also allowed to work in Muslim areas included the Sudan Interior Mission (S.I.M) and the Sudan United Mission (S.U.M). The S.I.M., whose educational aim was industrial, acquired a site and started a farm at Pategi in 1903. The S.U.M on the other hand started work in Wase in 1904 (in the present Gongola State). Its educational aims were agricultural and industrial: the use of new agricultural tools, food cultivation and brick-making. It also wanted to teach the people to speak a little English. Restrictions imposed by the Muslim chief seriously limited the work of the Missions.

5.3.1 THE ZARIA EXPERIMENT AND ITS FAILURE

Lugard's hope for improved local administration and full cooperation by Muslim rulers lay in the provision of education. His reluctance to fully employ the services of the Christian Missions and the antagonism of some Muslim rulers towards the Missions, emphasized the need for the establishment of government schools. While this was practicable and could have solved the problem of manpower supply for the government, the lack of necessary funds made this impossible. The CMS, led by Miller, was allowed to undertake the provision of education on behalf of the government in the Muslim area of
the north. To do this, an educational plan was devised (to provide two schools, one for selected Mallams from all the emirates and one for the sons of chiefs from the different Muslim areas); the aims of the plan were:-

1. To give primary education to the sons of the chiefs aimed at making them honest, patriotic and loyal to the British, especially when they take-over native offices from their parents.

2. To teach the Mallams to write Hausa in Roman script (as was the case in the Bida project), and to study English, geography and arithmetic.

Lugard could not see to the effective implementation of his plan as his term of office ended and he had to leave Nigeria in 1906. Sir Percy Girouard who replaced Lugard was less sympathetic to this plan in particular and to the Missionaries' activities in the North in general. The Residents and the Colonial office in London also rejected the plan; and even though Miller went ahead with the implementation of his plan, he knew it had failed.

One has the feeling that apart from preserving the culture and the people of the North, and other than the fear of antagonising the rulers and jeopardising the peaceful occupation and exploitation of the North, the British administrators had other reasons for preferring to keep the Christian Missions from working in the Muslim North. The uncontrolled expansion of mission education in India, Southern Nigeria and other Crown colonies had produced people averse to manual work, and interested in 'pen-pushing' jobs.
These mission-educated groups had become conscious of their rights and had started to demand a share of political, economic and administrative power from their British rulers. Many of the British disliked intensely the civilised airs which the educated subjects assumed as they generally did not exhibit the same type of fear, reverence and obedience towards the white man as their illiterate brothers and sisters.

The fear of challenge of colonial rule and authority once again was responsible for the slow development of Western education in Northern Nigeria. With the restriction of Missionaries in Muslim areas, and with the realisation that the establishment of Western political and economic culture demanded a Western educational system, the administration was left with no alternative but to establish a government system of education for the Muslims of Northern Nigeria. Hanns Vischer, who was then serving as a resident in the territory was recommended for the work of planning a government system of education. The plan, which resembled Miller's in every detail, provided for a class system of education in which the sons of chiefs and emirs would receive a liberal type of education in primary and secondary schools, while the sons of common people would receive an inferior education in elementary and craft schools and would not be allowed to go on to secondary school.

The first government school in Northern Nigeria was therefore opened in 1909 in Nassarawa, Kano. The secondary school was not opened until 1912 with Arithmetic, hygiene, geography, law and Hausa forming the subjects on the curriculum. English was not taught in the primary school,
and was optional in the secondary school. The concept of this form of education was to provide what was suited to the culture of the people. People should acquire education and yet respect manual labour, as well as respect the indigenous way of life. As such, the pupils retained their traditional dress, were taught in their local language, and as much as possible, school life was not so different from home life. Fridays and Sundays were free days to allow for worship and prayers at the Mosque and Church (for the few who were Christian) and the annual two months’ holiday was arranged to coincide with the Ramadan fast. But even this insistence by Vischer that the education given and received should approximate as closely as possible to traditional education and way of life led eventually to failure. This principle and policy had to be replaced by the conventional system prevalent in Southern Nigeria; because, as mentioned earlier, the traditional system could not cope with the Western political and economic system that demanded not only a good knowledge of English but also a knowledge of Western administration.

Also, Vischer did not believe (or so it seemed) that an educational system should emphasise vocational preparation or be essentially geared towards producing people for employment in government or with commercial firms. His ideal was a liberal education which was aimed at the overall development of the individual. He failed to realise that individualism is not a universal concept, but a restricted view of man limited to the Western culture, or that the idea of a liberal education is a European concept which is completely alien.
to the Muslim culture which he thought he was protecting.

In the view of this writer, the strategy adopted by the colonial administration to keep the Christian Missions out of Muslim areas, and thereby giving that part of the country a late start in terms of education actually started the country's problems. As a matter of fact, the separate educational policy which was used in the North was one of the indirect causes of the Civil War of 1967-70, in that it ensured that the people of the South, (who were in terms of population fewer than the people in the North) dominated the political, economic and administrative life of the country. This created a gap which is still taking a disproportionate percentage of the country's resources to bridge. (This educational imbalance will be dealt with in Chapter 6). If the government had, from the onset, set about uniting the people instead of pursuing a separatist policy and the complete segregation of the peoples of Nigeria, there would have been easier communication and more understanding among the people.

The full implication of the restrictionist policy adopted in the North (i.e. keeping the Christian Missions out of Muslim areas) was that the government started providing some form of education, more directly than ever before. This stage therefore marked government involvement in the provision of education.
5.4 THE EDUCATIONAL POLICIES OF THE MISSIONS

Before moving on to discussing the next stage, it is relevant at this point to discuss the Missionaries' educational policies in Nigeria during the period when they were in total, undisputed control of education. Although the different mission bodies had no common 'modus operandi' (as pointed out earlier), they were agreed on the provision of education because education gave the converts not only the ability to read and write but it also helped to produce local teachers and preachers who made further extension of mission work possible. Above all, education afforded the Missions the opportunity of bringing up children as confirmed Christians. As such, the approach to education which they pursued was based upon the certainty of the Christian message. Essentially, therefore, it was the perpetuation of this message and the salvation of more souls that was their most important aim and not necessarily preparing Africans for the economic growth of their countries. This policy is reflected in their 'curriculum' which consists of Bible reading, catechism, singing hymns, prayers, etc., which in effect limited education to classroom instruction in books.

It must be mentioned that vocational training institutions were established in places like Lagos, Abeokuta, Onitsha and Calabar (one such institution was the Hope Waddell Institute established at Calabar in 1895 by the Church of Scotland Mission Society). In such institutions, Mission Stations make themselves self-sufficient by cultivating their own farms, training carpenters and masons, and having trade sections to dispose of their surplus produce. But one of the reasons why more of this
kind of work was not done was the cost. Missions depend on the goodwill of their friends and churches in the home countries; plus the meagre hand-outs which they received from the government. And, since teacher-training colleges and secondary grammar schools were cheaper to provide and run than were industrial schools, it was evidently wiser to stick to what they could afford. Another reason was that the economic expansion of the country was still based on commerce which itself was based on the export of farm crops. Any development of any sort depended on the expansion of the commercial area. Therefore to provide industrial training would be a waste of resources; the most urgent need was for clerks and for these the ability to read and write was enough.

Another important aspect of Mission education was based on the assumption that Western civilization was superior and the African customs, beliefs and practices, family ties, etc., were evil and uncivilized and therefore should be shunned. The work of salvation was to go hand in hand with the 'remaking' of the native Nigerian in the image which the Missionaries brought with them. Nigerians were taught to respect those things in which the Europeans excelled, for example, the way they dressed, their eating habits, their language and their religion, among other things.

In the South, the Missions started 'schools' in the Mission Stations. Initially, these could not be referred to as school as such; they were more like catechism classes. Of course, as time went on, they provided primary schools, secondary grammar schools,
industrial and teacher training institutions. Their policy for the North was, however, different in view of the fact that Northern Nigeria was quite different from the South; and because the code drawn up for Igbo and Yoruba schools was not suitable for the Muslim and non-Muslim schools in the North (e.g. language and religious instruction code), there was need to draw up a new code that best suited this area. Primary education was to have four standards, on the successful completion of which a pupil of sufficient maturity became eligible for the three year pupil-teacher course.

In the South, after an initial opposition, parents allowed their children to go to schools especially where boarding facilities were provided. The parents had come to realize the economic potential of education and they were therefore eager for their children to achieve such qualities that would make for better living. In the North, the Missions were faced with stiffer opposition. When eventually they realised that one of the reasons why many children were not allowed to attend school was that they were needed to help their parents on the farm, the Missions started a system of night schools. This was yet another example of adapting to local conditions.

Generally, the Missions had the policy of recruiting teachers and Missionaries from abroad (notably Europe and the West African country of Sierra Leone); but later on, they recognised the necessity of training Nigerians who could learn the local languages more quickly and more easily than foreigners. Also, all the Missions had a very progressive language policy. They felt a need to provide instruction in
the vernacular before introducing English. Books were therefore written for each language group. The CMS., for example, had Nupe, Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa language boards which determined the policies, examinations and methods connected with each of these languages and also did translation work. This is one very good aspect of Mission education, and one which is worthy of praise. There is a lot of evidence to support the fact that one learns more quickly if instruction is given in one's own language. There is a suggestion also that if the study and teaching of Nigerian languages had continued with the same interest and vigour shown by the Missionaries, no doubt some of these languages would have developed enough to replace English as the language of instruction in Nigerian schools today.

In 1911, the SUM appointed one Dr. Paul Krusius to investigate the position and needs of education in Northern Nigeria in particular. After his study of both Mission and Government education systems, he made a number of proposals which helped this Mission in particular and many others in general, in their policy-making processes. The proposals emphasized, among other things: the need for manual work to augment mental agility in order to provide a balanced curriculum; the payment of tuition fees (in money, or labour) as there is a tendency for people not to value what they receive free; the need for instruction to be given in the vernacular and also that any European Missionary coming to work in Northern Nigeria, and indeed any where in Nigeria, should undertake appropriate theoretical and practical studies in order to acquaint himself with the language and way of life.
of the people among whom he is coming to work. Nigerians and especially the planners, have a lot to learn from a study of the Krusius proposals. The language policy is of special significance and the proposal that instruction in the vernacular should not stop at the primary school but be carried over into the secondary level is even now ahead of its time. Also, the recommendation regarding foreigners coming to work in Nigeria is very important because it is common knowledge that today, foreign teachers e.g. Polish and Russian are indiscriminately recruited to teach in our educational institutions, and some of these teachers are barely literate in English, the language of instruction let alone a vernacular language.

Much as there is so much to praise in the Missions' education policies, there have been quite a number of criticisms as well. The strongest area of criticism had been the bookishness of the curriculum (as pointed out earlier). Also, their presentation of their religion and culture as being the best is another 'black spot' which had adverse effects in the Muslim North for instance. But then, on the whole, too much criticism cannot be brought down to bear on them in view of the fact that when even the colonial administration was not so much concerned about providing education, the missionaries regarded it as their responsibility to teach their converts to read their Bibles — in other words, provide education. Whatever fault one finds with such education, one thing stands out and that is that their good intentions outweighed their shortcomings.

In the course of their work, motivated only by Christian charity, they made sacrifices, suffered privations, faced health hazards and many lost their lives.
In doing what they did, they employed methods and curricula based on their own national experiences.

It was to this policy that Dr. Aṣikiwe (the first Nigerian President), even at the height of his philippics against the Missionaries, said:

"We submit that whatever progress we may have made today in Africa, is due directly to the efforts of Missionaries. Forget their shortcomings. Overlook their errors. Discard the crimes committed by some of them. Still, these could not over-shadow the great emancipation of Africans, mentally and physically, through the efforts of the Missionaries .... It is too evident that Missionaries are a necessity and not a luxury in the growth of African society from a simple to a more complex civilization."18

5.5. WORKING OUT THE SYSTEM

The involvement of the government in the provision of education in Nigérià took a number of forms: in the Northern Protectorate it attempted to provide schools directly whereas in the South, it did so by giving necessary funds and equipment to selected schools, paid teachers' salaries and provided for supervisory personnel in order to rebuild the educational system into what the government claimed to be a functionally efficient one. The absence of a co-ordinated system of education between the North and South, coupled with the fact that the Missionary efforts, though quite praiseworthy, failed to emphasize a more secular education (which the government was more interested in), made it even more obligatory for the government to step in.
This involvement, however, did not mean the withdrawal of Missionaries, but a sort of joint effort by both to ensure expansion. Indeed, expansion it was because apart from this, there was no change in the content, methodology and the general curriculum being provided, as observed by FAFUNWA

"... It is worth noting that the government backing of Mission education, late though it was, had the effect of confirming and perpetuating the curriculum in its bookish concentration on the three R's; because reflecting a practice in England, Mission schools were supported by a kind of cheese-paring system of direct results..." 19

Another important consequence of government intervention was seen in the area of administration. An Education Department was created for the Southern Provinces and a Director of Education was appointed to head it. In 1908, as a result of some boundary adjustments, an Education Ordinance was passed which gave enough power to Provincial Education Boards to make regulations relating to their individual local areas. This marked the beginning of the decentralization of education that was to create a number of problems which were to threaten the whole fabric of the country's social life. (See Chapter 6).

In 1912, a very important conference, the Imperial Conference, was held in London to review the position of education in the Colonial Empire. This conference provided the gate-way to detailed statistical information on education. As Table 5.1 shows, the primary educational facilities that
## TABLE 5.1

### NUMBER OF GOVERNMENT AND ASSISTED PRIMARY SCHOOLS AND ENROLMENT FIGURES IN SOUTHERN NIGERIA: 1912

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>TYPE OF SCHOOL</th>
<th>NO. OF SCHOOLS</th>
<th>% GROWTH OVER PREVIOUS YEAR</th>
<th>TOTAL NO. OF PUPILS</th>
<th>% INCREASE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4,473</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Assisted</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15,120</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>3.38</td>
<td>5,637</td>
<td>26.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Assisted</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>8.49</td>
<td>14,216</td>
<td>-5.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>-3.27</td>
<td>5,682</td>
<td>0.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Assisted</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>-20.86</td>
<td>15,426</td>
<td>8.51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:** IMPERIAL EDUCATION CONFERENCE PAPERS, SOUTHERN NIGERIA, p.12
were available in Southern Nigeria consisted of 59 government schools with a total enrolment of 5,682 pupils. (There was a noticeable drop of 3.27% in the number of schools and a mere increase of less than 1% on the total enrolment figures of the previous year). On the other hand, the number of Mission schools in receipt of government grants dropped by over 20% from 115 in 1911 to 91 with an enrolment of 15,426, 8.5% higher than the figure of the previous year. In addition (although this is not represented on the table), there were about 20,000 pupils in Mission primary schools which received no grants from the government. During this period, secondary education was still in its infancy. The government was finding it difficult to cope with primary education due to lack of funds to worry so much about the next level. Out of a total of 9 schools, one was owned by the government, 4 were assisted and 4 were unassisted. They all had a total enrolment of 902 in 1912. The government, however, left entirely to the Missions the responsibility for the training of teachers. There were in all 5 teacher training institutions in the Southern Protectorate (2 in the West and 3 in the Eastern Province).

In the North, there were a total of 5 government schools (compared to 150 in the South) with a total enrolment of 350 pupils. There were also 29 unassisted schools whose enrolments totalled 600 pupils. There was one secondary school which was later discontinued in 1914.

In January 1914, Northern and Southern Nigeria became one country, with Sir Lugard as the Governor-General.
When the first World War broke out in the same year, this put an end to any prospect of expanding the provision of education. However, government responsibility for education was given clear recognition when in a Memorandum on Education, in 1919, Lugard declared:

"I regard it as an essential feature of a right policy in Education that it should enlist in hearty cooperation all educational agencies in the country which are conducted (as Mission schools are) with the sole object of benefiting the people .... Unassisted Schools are independent of Government control, but I hope that they will be induced to conform to the principles and policy laid down by Government ..." 

Between this time and 1945 (the end of World War II), educational policy in Nigeria was based on the Memorandum, in which it was recognized that although the material and economic well-being of the colony depended on and, therefore demanded an advance in the expenditure on education, it was still necessary to maintain the two systems - government and voluntary. The Memorandum also visualized the establishment of systems of education providing elementary through to higher education and adult education. The importance of the latter being that a newly educated generation of young people would identify more with their parents if they themselves are educated. The educational policy therefore was based on the principles entailed in this and many more memoranda which increasingly related education to the social and economic development of the country.
During this period the demand for education greatly outstripped the funds available to meet that demand. Nigerians had come to accept that their place in the changing world would be determined by the rate of "educational advance and of the application of modern knowledge to their daily affairs." In the South, especially, it was seen as a means of gaining independence from the colonial government, whereas in the North, it was realized that without education, the people of this region could not reasonably be expected to play any meaningful role in the affairs of an independent Nigeria.

Constitutional developments, successive policy statements and eventually the regionalisation of education had seen a gradual drive towards the next stage in this development. Regionalisation meant that more and more educational decisions in the country were being made by the Nigerians. From this date the pace of educational development was accelerated. For example, as Table 5.2 shows, in 1947, the number of primary schools in the North had risen from 34 in 1912 to 1,110, representing an increase of 3,165%, compared to the South's 4,984 schools. Enrolment in the North went up 75 times the 1912 figure and in the South, this only increased fifteen times from 35,720 in 1912 to 538,390 in 1947. Development in the next decades emphasized educational provision more than other aspects of development, and education remained a spending service until 1960 (in the next stage of development) when this outlook was changed with the declaration of the investment policy.
### Table 5.2 Comparative Educational Development, Northern and Southern Nigeria

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>PRIMARY SCHOOLS</th>
<th>PRIMARY ENROLMENTS</th>
<th>SECONDARY SCHOOLS</th>
<th>SECONDARY ENROLMENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NORTH</td>
<td>SOUTH</td>
<td>NORTH</td>
<td>SOUTH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>1,110</td>
<td>4,984</td>
<td>70,962</td>
<td>538,391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>1,080</td>
<td>13,473</td>
<td>185,484</td>
<td>2,343,317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>2,743</td>
<td>12,234</td>
<td>492,829</td>
<td>2,419,913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>4,225</td>
<td>10,313</td>
<td>854,466</td>
<td>3,536,731</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** BRAY, M. (1981), Table 1.1, p.17
SUMMARY:

In this section, our discussion started-off by recognising the fact that every society, whether simple or complex has its own system of training and educating its youth and traditional Africa is no exception. We maintained that traditional education was very effective although complex in nature. One of the main aims of this education was towards producing good and useful members of the community. In other words, functionalism was the main guiding principle. It also emphasized social responsibility, job orientation, political participation and spiritual and moral values.

Another striking feature of it was its continuity. It began at birth and continued throughout the life of the individual. It was not rigidly compartmentalized as is the case in the contemporary system, but given anywhere and anytime. This then was the situation just before the middle of the 19th century when European education was introduced by Missionaries. Its introduction marked the end of a chapter and the beginning of a new one in the growth of education in Nigeria.

Our discussion in the second part of the section went on to trace the history of Western education in Nigeria, highlighting some relevant historical antecedents that have helped to shape its development at different stages. In our treatment of the subject, the mode of introduction of Western education into the country, its content and method, major landmarks, problems and progress all served as essential signposts in the historical terrain of Western education in Nigeria from 1842—the year of its introduction.

We also looked at the provision of Western education in the separate regions of the country then—Southern and Northern—and ascertained the causes of the now familiar imbalance in educational provision in the country.
CHAPTER 5

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SECTION THREE: THE APPLICATION OF THE INVESTMENT MODEL AND ITS RELATED PROBLEMS.

INTRODUCTION:

The slow development that characterised education in colonial territories before World War II has been revolutionized by the winds of change that began to blow across Africa and other continents in the post-war period. This resulted from the realization of nationhood and self-government.

With self-government achieved, such nations have turned their attention to nation building and are looking to education as the tool to this end in the hope that what it has done for the 'great powers' it can also do for them. Such countries are therefore bravely facing educational programmes of staggering proportions in the conviction that investment in the training of their people holds the key to the effective control of their natural resources and to national development.

Furthermore, these new nations realize that education has to respond to one of the major developments of present time: the universal recognition of the equal worth of all individuals, whatever their social situation or their views and therefore of their absolute right to enjoy the benefits of education.

Nigeria is one of the many countries which answered the call for the democratization of education as a fundamental human right and also for the investment in education as the ultimate hope of achieving economic growth. Strong though this belief in education may be, Nigeria (as do many developing countries) is now critically questioning the suitability of the system of education which it inherited from its colonial masters. It has therefore started re-examining its educational system which has led to curriculum renewal programmes. (See Chapter One), reorganising the educational planning, administration and supervision; all aimed at making education relevant to national needs.
This section (which covers Chapters 6 to 9) looks at the application of the above ideas to primary, secondary (also technical, teacher, commercial, etc.) and higher education. In this application, the system has encountered a number of problems: historical, political, social and economic. These problems and their effects mean that the Nigerian educational system is peculiar to Nigeria alone. It is therefore in the light of the characteristics as will be seen in the following chapters that the Nigerian educational system - an organisation which is aimed at the achievement of Nigerian educational goals, based on Nigerian standards - should be viewed.
6.0 THE YEARS LEADING TO INDEPENDENCE

To recapitulate: Education in Nigeria had very humble beginnings which were to develop into really complex issues as the development continued. We have seen how people’s attitude towards education changed as they realized and appreciated its social and economic benefits. We have also seen that the colonial administration started getting involved in education by laying the foundations for it in Northern Nigeria, even though the progress achieved during the entire period (i.e. the period preceding 1951) could hardly be regarded as satisfactory.

The political and constitutional developments in the country in the 1950s had a marked effect on the educational situation. As a result of the increase in nationalistic activities, growing political awareness and increasing public enlightenment in most parts of the country, the demand for education literally outstripped supply. Also, as a result of these constitutional developments and the regionalisation of education, decisions and efforts for the development and expansion of educational facilities fell into Nigerian hands. What followed as regards education in the regions, and especially the northern region might be described as a revolution. Enrolments shot up in the primary schools; there was also a marked increase in the enrolment figures of other levels of education (secondary, technical, etc.) Many targets in educational provision were
recommended by various commissions and committees set-up by both Regional and Federal governments.¹ These commissions made unconventional recommendations for changes in the whole system. There had been remarkable implementation of some of these recommendations and in some instances, the recommendations were exceeded by very wide margins. One of the results of this new outburst of enthusiastic sense of purpose was the introduction of the Universal Primary Education (UPE) in the Western Region in 1955; Lagos and Eastern Region in 1957. The Northern Region was, however, cautious about taking this bold step—the reasons for this would be seen later.

The Ashby Commission which was set-up to look into higher education also drew up plans for the education of teachers to take care of the growing primary education. Before going on to discuss the UPE, secondary and higher education, it would be necessary to take a look at the primary education system in the 1950's.

6.1 THE PRIMARY SCHOOL SYSTEM

Figures 6.1 and 6.2 show how the primary school system operated in Nigeria in the years before the introduction of the UPE schemes of the 1950s. In the North, following the abolition of nomenclatures like 'elementary', 'middle', (as used by the Missions) in view of the considerable confusion they caused, the primary education system became a 7-year course, consisting of 4 years of junior primary (which could be terminal) and 3 years of senior primary. In 1957 this system was further replaced by a 7-year straight course. This introduced an element of uniformity into the system, and also meant that a greater number of pupils
Other universities at home and abroad.

Ahmadu Bello University and associated institutes for degree studies

Polytechnic for professional and sub-professional courses.

3-year course for Nigerian Cert. of Educ. Grade I Teachers.

Sixth form or 'A' level work for Higher School Certificate

Technical Institute for Technician and Commercial Training

12th

5-year Course for Grade II teachers' Certificate

Craft Schools 3-year Pre-Vocational Training

Various Ministries' Training Courses

5-year Secondary Education for West African Certificate.

Technical training schools for vocational training

11th

7-year course for primary education.
Entry age 6; pupils complete 7 years of general education to qualify for the Certificate of primary education. In the 7th year they compete in the common entrance examination for entrance to secondary courses.

10th

8th

7th

6th

5th

4th

3rd

2nd

1st

Federal and regional Clerical Training Schools

Secondary Education for West African Schools Certificate.
Four Year "Junior Primary" Basic Course of Primary Education
Age Group 5+ to 9+

Four Year "Senior Primary" Course
Age Group 9+ to 14+
Standard 3
Standard 4
Standard 5
Standard 5
Standard 6

Secondary Schools
Age Group 12+ to 18+
Class 1
Class 2
Class 3
Class 4
Class 5
Class 6

Secondary Schools
Age Group 12+ to 18+
Class 1
Class 2
Class 3
Class 4
Class 5
Class 6

Trade Training Centres
(2-5 year Apprentice Period).

Technical Institute
(varied courses including evening and day continuation classes).

Teacher Training Colleges
(2 year course for "Junior Primary" teachers).

Teacher Training Colleges
(2 year course for "Senior Primary" teachers).

University College Ibadan
Nigerian College of Arts, Science & Technology
(Including Teacher Training Department); and Special courses in the United Kingdom.

Special Teacher Training courses (2 year course for "Junior Secondary" teachers).
could continue their primary course up to primary VII level, thus substantially reducing the percentage of primary educational wastage, whereby some pupils who could not pass the entry examination into the senior primary often drop-out of the education system. Indeed, this new system laid the foundation on which the 1976 UPE Scheme was built.

In the South, the length of the primary school was 8 years, with a 4-year Junior Primary and 4-year Senior Primary, which were divided into standards. Like the North, during this period, promotion to the next class was not automatic. Pupils who failed the locally or centrally set examinations were required to repeat their class. However, when UPE was eventually launched in the West and East, the cost of managing such schemes freely was too much for the financial resources of the regions, as such, the duration of the course was reduced from 8 to 6 years and promotion to the next stage became automatic. It is interesting to note that many people today advocate a return to the old system because alarmed by the fall in the standard of primary education, it was thought that the decision to promote automatically was not so sound after all.

The normal entry point was at age 6 but in the widespread absence of birth certificates, some children entered at age 9+. On completion of the primary course, pupils were issued with a First School Leaving Certificate which was recognized for admission into secondary school or into training institutions or for employment.
6.1.1 THE OPERATION OF THE PRESENT STRUCTURE

As a result of the reduction of the primary course from 8 to 6 years by the Western Region, 8 to 7, and then to 6 by the Eastern Region, and 8 to 7 years by Northern Region, the Nigerian education system momentarily lost its uniformity. This also shows the strength of regional autonomy in education and policy determination, despite the overall guidance of the federal authorities. When, in 1967 the 12 States were created, some Northern States i.e. North Central and Kwara aligned themselves with the South and introduced a 6-year primary course in 1972. Other Northern States retained the 7-year course so that when the UPE took-off in 1976, States like North-East, North-West, Benue-Plateau and Kano formed a group at variance with the rest of the country, although by 1980, all States had adopted the 6-year primary course.

The official entry age to the primary school is 6+. At the end of the primary course pupils sit two examinations. The first one (i.e. the one on which entry to secondary institutions is based) is called the Common Entrance Examination (CEE), which is administered centrally by the West African Examination Council. The second examination leads to the First School Leaving Certificate (FSLC). This examination is set by individual schools under the auspices of each Local Education Authority (LEA). The examination is also based on school subjects such as English, Arithmetic, History, Geography, Rural Science or Nature Studies, Religious Knowledge, Craft and Handwork, etc. The Certificate obtained is important in the sense that for pupils whom the primary school is terminal, it (the
(as mentioned above); e.g. into the Police Force, Nigerian Prisons Services, or office help in Government Ministries. It is also an admission requirement into the Trade Centres. The different avenues for post primary education are shown in Figure 6.3.

Even as there was a marked expansion of the primary level of education, issues such as teacher problem, curriculum and quality problem could not be avoided. The treatment of this subject will not be complete without looking at, and analysing these problems but before doing that, it is necessary to look at the UPE schemes of the 1950s: these schemes (as it were) exacerbated the above problems.

6.2 THE BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE FOR UPE - 1950s

Despite the increase in the demand for education in the country, there was still a diversified reaction to education. Essentially it has different meanings and uses to people, depending on what part of the country they hail from. Whereas the North needed education in order to off-set regional domination even though the people here were generally less enthusiastic "about the benefits of schooling, and some are actively antagonistic."; in the East and West, people made considerable sacrifices to secure education for their children because they appreciated the economic benefits of formal education.

Nationalist and political activities in the country in the late 1940s led to the "exploitation" of this enthusiasm. Since those actively involved in the nationalists campaigns were mainly from the Southern part of the country, the issue of free education attracted
FIGURE 6.3 THE FORMAL SCHOOL STRUCTURE

- **Pre-Primary**
  - Nursery = 2-3 years.
  - Optional

- **Primary**
  - Primary = 6 years
  - Secondary

  - Secondary Commercial = 5 years to WASC
    - 12+

- **Secondary Commercial**
  - 17+

- **Secondary Grammar**
  - 17+

- **Teacher Training**
  - 5 years to Grade II

- **Emergency Teacher Training**
  - 2 years to Grade III

- **Secondary Technical**
  - 5 years to City & Guilds

- **Secondary Teacher Training**
  - 5 years to City & Guilds

- **Primary Teacher Training**
  - 1 year to Grade I

- **School of Basic Studies**
  - 1 year

- **High School Certificate**
  - 2 years

- **Advanced Teachers College**
  - 3 years to National Certificate of Education

- **Emergency Secondary Teacher Technical Training**
  - 5 years to Grade III

- **College of Technology/Polytechnic**
  - 2 years to HND

- **Colleges of Technology/Polytechnic**
  - 4 years HND

- **University**
  - 3 years to BA, B.Sc.

- **Pivotal Teacher Training**
  - 1 year to Grade II

- **Emergency Secondary**
  - 2 years to City & Guilds
considerable support from the people. The North, which was less vocal on the issues of Western education was literally left out. On the whole therefore, three main factors/imbalances, resulting in imbalance in the provision of education in the country, stood out: the first imbalance was, as mentioned above, political in outlook. The nationalist activities, (also mentioned above) which followed World War II, particularly in the Southern part of the country had varying degrees of impact on the Northern elite who were also becoming politically conscious and saw that the interest of the North in an independent Nigeria would suffer severely unless its people were educated to be able to compete favourably with the more educated people of the South. This fear of Southern domination was not misplaced in view of the fact that, then, most of the top posts open to Africans in both the private and public sectors of the economy were taken up by Southerners because of their educational advantage. In later years, this fear led to the outbreak of violent clashes and deaths of many people; it was also a major factor precipitating the Civil war which tore Nigeria in 1966. The second imbalance lay in the preference to educate boys. This again affected the North most because here, it was considered economically better to educate boys rather than girls whose occupation is naturally ascribed - marriage and motherhood. The third main imbalance arose from preferential development of the urban areas as opposed to rural areas. Because about 75% of Nigeria's population live in rural areas, the benefits of education and development are less here as a result
of this uneven development.

The most outstanding reason for launching the UPE schemes of the 1950s, however, was rivalry between Nigerian politicians. Constitutional changes and regionalisation policies (referred to earlier) meant that Nigerians were in positions to make decisions on issues that affected their regions. It should be mentioned that the three regions of East, West and North were co-terminous with the three largest ethnic groups: East with Igbo, West with Yoruba and North with Hausa-Fulani groups. This marked the beginning of active and in most cases nasty tribal politics in the country. And, because political loyalties in Nigeria were based on these ethnic groupings (as observed in Chapter 2), the whole set-up had particular educational implications. The political parties which emerged in the 1950s therefore, were streamlined according to ethnic diversities: The National Council for Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC) - East; Action-Group (AG) - West; and the Northern People's Congress (NPC) - North.

With the intensive political rivalry which developed, education became a hot political issue which the parties used at rallies. When the UPE schemes were eventually launched, the politicians were more concerned about the breadth and not the depth of the education provided. This was the case because resources had to be thinly spread to cover the maximum area. Being in the Southern part of the country, the political rivalry between the Action Group and NCNC was most intensive. One example of such political misgivings was the way the UPE scheme was launched in the
One belief was therefore, that, the East decided to provide free UPE just because the same was done in the West. And because several reforms which were made in the Western schemes were highly criticised by the leaders of the NCNC, they found they were inhibited and therefore could not implement or make similar changes in their own scheme which eventually led to a lot of difficulties (as shall be seen later). Probably therefore, this rivalry was the main cause of ill-planning of the schemes and their eventual problems and down-fall. To find an insight into this, and many other problems that affected the educational system, and to look into the circumstances that led to the launching, in 1976, of the national UPE scheme, and how this was handled, it is necessary that the schemes of the 1950s are treated, only but briefly.

6.2.1 THE WESTERN REGION'S BREAK – 1955

The Western region's UPE scheme was initiated in 1957 in an Action Group policy paper which called for free and compulsory primary education. To go with primary education must be a massive expansion of the teaching force, secondary schools, etc. According to Awokoya: "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."3 Thus, the UPE scheme of the Western Region which was eventually launched in 1955 was described as the "boldest and perhaps the most unprecedented educational scheme in Africa south of the Sahara..... launched by an indigenous government as a meaningful demonstration of its commitment to the vital
interests of the people it governed.³

A year before the scheme was launched, 457,000 children were attending primary schools in the region; and primary education used to be for a duration of 8 years (this was generally so everywhere in Nigeria before the regionalization of education).

For the region to cope with the scheme effectively, the existing eight year primary school course was reduced to 6. This change alone placed the West at variance with the rest of the country.

A small expansion was envisaged in enrolments. The expectations of the government that 170,000 children in the 6-7 age group would be registered in the first year of the scheme proved to be a great under-estimation because in fact 391,895 class one pupils became the first beneficiaries of free schooling. According to figures quoted by Fafunwa,³ the total primary school population during the first year of the scheme jumped from 456,6000 in 1954 to 811,432 in 1955. This represented a percentage increase from 35% to 61% of the 5-14 year olds.

As a result of this under-estimation, by 1958, the ratio of enrolment adjusted to population of 5-14 years had reached 100:0, where the estimated population of these 5-14 year olds was 1,657 ('000). In fact by 1958, enrolment figures had passed the one million mark. As the enrolment figures grew out of proportions, it was decided that the clause on compulsory education should be dropped.

Bold as this attempt was, it showed how much politics had been involved in its execution and therefore the ill-planning. For instance, the teaching force, which
forms the backbone of any such programme was not seriously considered before this scheme was launched. With the pressing need for teachers to run the schools therefore, quality was eventually sacrificed on the altar of quantity - crash programme for the training of teachers was organised. Primary school graduates underwent training for a period of 3 years and then went back to teach. This meant that many thousands of untrained teachers were in service. The proportion of trained staff dramatically fell from 37% in 1952 to 22% in 1955; and four years later, it was found that one in every three teachers was untrained. In 1961, however, out of a total of 40,149 primary school teachers, 26,756 were untrained. (Details of the qualification of the teaching staff in primary education are discussed below).

One miscalculation led to another. Money was not wholly considered either. Because the planners never anticipated as large a turn-out of children for registration as they actually did, the money that was voted for the project was very inadequate. The region's budget for education increased from £2.2 million in 1954 to £5.4 million in 1955, and nearly 90% of this was spent on primary school alone. This meant that other projects had to be abandoned so that their voted resources could be transferred to the UPE scheme. And inspite of the stalemate which other projects suffered, and although over 43% of the total budget of the region was being spent on education, the UPE scheme still left much to be desired as observed by the Taiwo Report:

".... Anyone who has seen the primary schools at first hand has remarked the shocking condition of most
school buildings, the appalling lack of essential equipment and facilities and poor staffing cannot but conclude that financial provision has been, if anything, inadequate."6

The only noticeable achievement of the Western Region's UPE was in accomplishing a high rise in enrolment figures of school age children from 35% in 1954 to over 90% in 1960.7 Fees were not re-introduced (as the case was in the East) but because of the enormity of the project, the purchase of text-books, payment of examination fees and contribution of building levies became the responsibility of parents, when the government found it could no longer go-it-alone. Many parents who were relieved when the free primary education was launched, now found (with having to make all these contributions), that it was cheaper when they used to pay fees for their children's primary education. Most, who could not meet the constant demands were left with only one alternative - withdraw their children from school; which probably explained the 3% drop in enrolment from 1,124,788 in 1960 to 1,089,327 in 1965 (ten years after the scheme was launched).

The general assessment of the scheme confirmed that there had been a decline in levels of attainment in the primary school since the introduction of the scheme and this has been due principally to the withdrawal of many trained teachers to secondary schools and the recruitment into primary schools of many others who had had little or no training at all. Of the detailed criticisms that follow, most were as a result of this lack of professional training.

6.14
Quite a number of subjects taught such as Nature Study, health science were criticised because theory was not visibly matched by some practical activities. It was however agreed that a degree of literacy in the mother-tongue was achieved but not so in the English Language, because as shown in the Banjo Commission Report "The teaching of English is allocated no less than ten periods of the whole forty period week for six years but it seems that the standard which is reached at the end of it is very low."

Another aim of primary education which is the imparting of some skill and the recognition of the value of manual work was the least achieved. Since primary school could be terminal for most pupils, it was hoped that the literate primary school leavers would go back to be better farmers, bricklayers, carpenters, etc. But all such manual work especially farming, was given a negative importance in the sense that teachers used it as a form of punishment for the pupils. As a result, all the pupils wanted to be junior clerks in offices - which was less arduous than engaging in some manual work. This, and the fact that the secondary schools were not adequately expanded to ensure a place for all the pupils, created many problems of unemployment and vagrancy for the government.

As we shall see later, events and circumstances surrounding this particular UPE scheme suggest that the history of the Western Region did not teach as much as might have been hoped.

6.15
Although the Western Region's UPE waddled in many difficulties, it was never abandoned. As it turned out, the UPE scheme of the East ran into more problems, probably because economically the East was less viable (the West had more resources and numerous sources of income, e.g. the West monopolized the cocoa trade which was a major foreign exchange earner in the 1950s). The Eastern scheme, inspite of its initial success, in achieving high registration figures, was less successful because ultimately, in order to save the system as a whole from total collapse, fees were re-introduced.

The East, apart from having financial problems also had political problems as well. In 1953, a crisis developed in the dominant party, NCNC which led to the resignation of many Ministers and a reshuffling of portfolios. Even the leader of the government, Professor Eyo Ita, was replaced by the leader of the NCNC, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe and the Minister for Education was replaced, as well. All these collectively affected, seriously, the proposed free primary education scheme. The new government of Dr. Azikiwe, rejected the modest proposal of the former government, preferring the rapid introduction of UPE on a large scale (because the challenge posed by the Action Group in the West was too great to be ignored by the NCNC). The NCNC's rivalry with the Action Group continued to intensify. In order not to allow the Action Group to score any more 'political marks' than it had done by launching a free primary scheme in 1955, the political leaders of the East proposed to launch their own scheme two years later, with all eight years of the primary school attendance completely free.
It was not possible for the NCNC initially to reduce the eight-year course to six because they had earlier on opposed the reduction in the West, ostensibly on grounds of quality but in fact for political motives.  

Further to the pressure accruing as a result of the NCNC's rivalry with the Action Group in the West, was an intensive denominational rivalry in this region between Catholics and Protestants. It ought to be pointed out that when Missionary work started in Nigeria, the Roman Catholic Mission (RCM) had a firmer root in the Eastern Nigeria. As a result they, (the Catholics) (constituting more than 60% of the Christians in the East also) owned more than 60% of the learning institutions in the region. With this advantage, they objected to the scheme strongly and threatened to found their own party - Catholic Religious Party - to contest the election. The Protestants on the other hand, constituting a small fraction in the region (in terms of population) took a more liberal position on the issue than their Catholic counterparts. Just a few months before the scheme was introduced, the head of the Niger Diocese of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) said in a press release:

"We, in the past, in common with other churches have used our schools as one means of spreading that Christian Faith which we believe to be the true way of life for all. We shall naturally be sorry to see those particular opportunities restricted in future, but we recognise that when education is provided universally at public expense the churches cannot claim to continue to control nearly all the schools...."
The Catholics on the other hand challenged categorically the authority of the government to enforce such fundamental rights as freedom to choose a Mission, on people:

".... children belong to their parents by natural law, and the parents are responsible before God for their proper upbringing and education. They cannot fulfil this responsibility unless they are free to choose the agency (or Mission) to which they give their children ...... If we accept this first step .... without protest, the second and third steps will provide a "full education service" which will exclude our Catholic religion from all grant-aided schools. This loss of Catholic education will be followed inevitably by the loss of faith."  

This threat by the Catholics was too severe and it was a threat that could, if not handled carefully, destroy the NCNC. In order to keep the Catholics within the party, the NCNC leaders were forced to make a lot of concessions.

It ought also to be pointed out that in its rush to match the political capabilities of the West, the Eastern region had less time than the Western region to plan its scheme. In 1957 the UPE scheme in the region was launched; and as would be expected, practically all the new schools were staffed by untrained teachers as there was not enough time to train them. The time factor also meant that there were inadequate buildings, equipment, etc., and eventually make-shift shelters were used to accommodate the growing school population. Yet, despite the lack of substantial preparation or planning and the eruption of acrimonious disputes, the initial success of the scheme was quite impressive.
However, as in the West, the enrolment took the authorities by surprise. Whereas in 1952 there were 518,900 pupils in 3,500 primary schools in 1957, these figures increased to 1,209,167 in 6,700 schools, an increase of 133%. Actually, according to some figures tabulated by Donald Burns, there was an absolute increase in enrolment at all levels of the primary school, over a period of four years, and a general tendency towards further expansion. The figures also show an appreciable degree of wastage from year to year (except may be in 1957) which may be estimated approximately (on the assumption that all pupils are promoted annually) by comparing the enrolments of successive classes in successive years.

The teaching force was also inadequate, and training facilities were inadequate as well. In 1959, for example, two years after the launching of the scheme in the East, the majority of the teacher training colleges (as a result of the initial colonial government reaction to institutions of this nature), were not appropriately developed to turn out enough and qualified teachers. And in terms of professional attainment, as many as 3 out of 4 teachers in the primary schools of the Eastern Region were untrained. In fact, according to Donald Burns, out of a total number of 44,591 primary school teachers in the Eastern Region in 1962, 23,319 or 52.3% were untrained.

As noted earlier, the East was financially poorer than the West. Thus, at the end of the first year of the scheme, the region ran into serious financial problems. To make up for the over-spending on UPE, the Voluntary Agencies received no increase in their grants from the government.
Inspite of the NCNC's criticism, the primary school course was inevitably reduced to 6 from 8 years. Subsequently, fees were re-introduced in 1958 under the name 'Assumed Local Contributions'. Eventhough the first two classes were still free, parents found they were paying twice as much in fees for the last two classes with the UPE. Such extreme steps as the laying-off of many teachers and the closing down of many 'uneconomic' schools were taken due to lack of funds. Unaware of the government's financial difficulties, the announcement of the re-introduction of fees was received with shock and anger by many people. Many parents, who were unable to pay the fees, withdrew their children from schools (as did their counterparts in the West when they were asked to contribute toward the purchase of textbooks and building materials).

In all, one sees that insufficient planning, religious and political complications along with poor administration or management led to the serious consequences which the UPE scheme in the Eastern region suffered. Although the scheme operated till the end of 1966 and had to be abandoned as a result of the Civil war, the 'failure' of the scheme illustrates the dangers of attempting such an enormous project without careful and proper planning.

6.2.3 THE LAGOS SCHEME - 1957

Lagos had been a federal territory and the seat of the Nigerian government since the establishment of Colonial Rule. But because of its linguistic affinity with the West (predominantly Yoruba-speaking), the Macpherson Constitution of 1951 amalgamated it (Lagos) with the West. This move was resisted by the Eastern and Northern regions and as a result of much pressure from these two regions, Lagos was once again separated from the West in 1957.
It could be recalled that when the planning of UPE for the Western region began in 1952, Lagos was still part of the Western Region and therefore was meant to benefit from the scheme. But its separation from the West in 1954 meant that Lagos was left out when the programme was finally launched in 1955. As a result, it became necessary for the Lagos Town Council to launch a similar scheme. Therefore, in 1957, just two years after the West, Lagos launched its free UPE.

In size, Lagos was smaller than the other regions and therefore was easier to run. Also, because of its stronger financial base, as a federal territory, the scheme launched here was more successful. Lagos, like the other regions, witnessed a tremendous increase in enrolment figures. As the case was with the other two schemes, enrolment was raised from 37,038 in 1955 to 50,182 in 1957 (an increase of over 35%). By 1959 also, the figure had reached 66,320. The pressure on facilities necessitated the introduction of "double shifts" to accommodate the continuing flow of children for registration. In addition, unsuitable accommodation was also acquired and converted to classrooms. Because of its steadier financial base, Lagos maintained the 8 year period in the primary school, but even then, the continued increase in enrolment figures called for the enlargement of classes from 40 to 45 and also an introduction of triple shift system - this involved a serious shortening of the working day which meant that children learnt far less than what they ought to learn in an average school day. The need for the triple shift however lingered as the number of primary schools reached 129 with a total enrolment of 142,118 in 1966.
However, the problem of little tuition and/or instruction which the children were experiencing could not be ignored for too long; therefore the triple shift system was abolished as soon as possible, though it was re-introduced in 1976 when the national scheme was launched.

6.2.4 THE NORTHERN ALTERNATIVE

The late arrival of the Christian Missions to the North and the slow start of Western education in the region put the North very far behind the Eastern and Western regions. Even though Islamic education had existed in the North for many years, but because this was not the education of science and technology, it had limited recognition and therefore limited effect to change the status of the North. With regionalisation, the North found itself making decisions for its young people, but more about the adult population. If it expects to represent its people and put-off Southern domination, the adult population of the North must be educated. Therefore, at a time when the East and West were launching UPE schemes, the North opted to develop adult education. The argument for this decision was that as the struggle for independence continued, the region wanted to prepare people who would eventually take-over charge of the regional affairs when independence is finally achieved. (It should be recalled that as a result of its Islamic education and experience in administration, i.e. traditional rulers - the North was placed in a better position to handle critical situations with more caution than its Southern counterparts). In a bid to create a conducive political situation and to stimulate
sensible public opinion, the North launched, in 1952 its "Yaki da Jahilci" (Campaign or War Against Ignorance).

At this time also, the North became increasingly conscious of the encroaching Southerners in tipping the scales of its economic and political balance by occupying all or most of the key and sensitive posts open to Africans by the Colonial rulers as mentioned earlier. Thus, by launching its adult education scheme and at the same time trying to expand the existing school facilities and structures (only on a small scale), the North was hoping to 'kill two birds with one stone' - prepare for independence and educate the youth at a minimal cost. Furthermore, in view of the fact that financially, the North was not up to the task and also because it had the highest number of school age children, it was thought unwise to emulate the Eastern and Western Regions by launching UPE as well as making it free. As Fafunwa put it:

".... While the Western and Eastern Regions vied to be the first region or government to give its people a free and universal primary education between 1952 and 1958, the Northern Region was unable to enter the race principally for financial reasons compounded by the enormity of the number of children of school age resident in the region (at least half of Nigeria's children of school age live in the North)." 13

Thus, the North felt it would be soliciting for social as well as political breakdown were it to introduce a free primary education. Another thing worth mentioning here also is the general attitude in the region towards Western type education. In the 1950's (and even now) there was a general lack of
enthusiasm for the Western type of education in many Muslim areas, compared to the Islamic type of education to which the Muslims were deeply attached. Since a majority of the people have this attitude - they had faith in the supremacy of Islamic education over Western type of education - and since the people were yet to show any signs of appreciation of the benefits of Western education (as the case was in the South), it would be worthless for the regional government to use up the little finances it had to impose, forcefully (and therefore undemocratically) education on people who were not so keen on it.

Another related reason for the lack of implementation of UPE in the region was that of quality. There was widespread fear that the quantitative expansion of primary education would result in a fall in standards unless adequate and effective steps were taken by the regional government to train more teachers to cope with the situation. For example in 1962, 41.88% of the 6,734 teachers employed in the Northern schools were untrained. The North was therefore being very cautious not to sacrifice quality for quantity. Furthermore, the North had fewer indigenous politicians, compared to the South and the attitudes of these indigenous politicians were in line with the British who governed them. Whereas, in the South, UPE was a significant means of one party gaining ascendancy over the other, in the North there was no such rivalry as the whole region gave its allegiance and support to the one party - Northern Peoples' Congress (NPC). Summarily therefore, one can say, the main reasons why the North did not launch a UPE programme in the 1950's include (among other things): the
1. There was less popular pressure for such a programme;
2. A lukewarm importance attached to Western type education by the indigenes;
3. Shortage of trained primary school teachers and an attempt to maintain quality in schools;
4. The absence of rivalry between parties in the region as the only party enjoyed the support of the whole indigenes; and
5. The attitudes of those Northerners who had the privilege of occupying top posts in the administrative stratum were similar in outlook to those of the British education officers. This point is emphasized by what the then Minister of Education, Northern Nigeria had to say on UPE:

"With regard to this Universal Free Primary Education, I realise that this expression has now become a slogan - that anybody who decides to attack the Government on education just shouts out the slogan knowing all too well that it is asking the Government to perform a miracle.... The rate of expansion of education is controlled entirely by two factors; teachers and funds. I think any layman can understand this.... It should be remembered that in training teachers there is no short-cut." \(^{14}\)

This was definitely the voice of the British education officer speaking through the Northerner. This attitude left the Northern child (especially the one outside Muslim areas) un-catered for in terms of Western education and he had to wait until 1976 to enjoy (if only in nomenclature), free
In conclusion, generally, one appreciates the efforts of both the East and West (including Lagos, of course) in attempting such enormous projects. Even though they discovered only too late that there were certain mistakes which they could have avoided if only they had given ample time for planning these schemes; this much could be said of the two regions: they attempted something near impossible (no matter what motives they had for doing so). The plans were enthusiastically executed in the first two years. Equipment was provided and made free to both teachers and pupils. Only in the subsequent years, as the enormity of the task dawned on the governments, were pupils left to usurp the meagre resources of their parents in order to stay on at school. This change of responsibility forced many children to withdraw from school because their parents could not cope with having to pay fees. This explained why in 1962, for example, enrolment figures in the East dropped by 11.5% from 1,430,514 in 1960 to 1,266,566 in 1962; and by 1.4% (from 1,124,788 to 1,108,99) in the West in the respective years.

There was a drop in quality too as more untrained teachers were employed to cope with the situation; and also because, (as a result of the cost), the length of the school years were reduced from 8 years to 6 years.

Another over-sight that one could attribute to the schemes of the 1950s is that, collectively, they conceived education only as a means of producing a literate population, without any emphasis placed on vocational training. The negative attitude towards vocational training then is still
very evident today and it represents part of the
genral criticism of the curriculum of Nigerian educational
ystem. For example, in a paper presented at the National
Curriculum Conference held at Ibadan in 1969, the
emphasis placed on literary education was re-echoed and
ridiculed:

"One often finds that teachers teach subjects like
arithmetic, English, history, geography to
passive children, glued to their desks, because the
substance of the work is not related to their home
and experience. Farming, handicrafts or any other
outdoor activity are more often a drudgery too
because of their remote connection with practical
life. This is the sort of thing that makes them
hate farming and handwork. It is in English, history
and geography that the distinction between learning
and doing should be broken."\textsuperscript{15}

After these schemes of the 1950's, Nigeria waited for
over two decades before it launched a National UPE
programme (in keeping with the declaration by Third World
countries in 1961 at Addis Ababa Conference to provide Universal
education as a pre-requisite for economic development - See
Chapter III). The question then is: did Nigeria learn
anything from the experience of the schemes of the 1950s and
if it did, to what effect did it put this knowledge to see
that the national scheme of 1976 avoided all the mistakes
committed before? Whether there was any difference at all
between the schemes of the 1950s and the 1976 scheme can only be
seen when the 1976 scheme is treated in detail.
The concept of education is not new (as we have seen in this study, so far). The process of it is as old as man himself. However, in recent years, education has acquired a load of new terms which have been adopted particularly in Third World countries. Terms such as Universal Primary Education (UPE), Life Long Education, Basic Education and Functional Literacy are just some of the expressions that have become near slogans in these developing countries' education circles.

In this regard, one feels tempted to ask questions like: what is new about these concepts? Do they individually describe different things? Are they actually or predominantly Third World phenomena? If they are, what do the countries hope to achieve for their people by launching and implementing such laudable programmes? And, what dangers do educationists face by attempting to deal with and use many different concepts simultaneously? Whatever answers we come up with to these questions, one thing seems very clear and that is that all the concepts are in some way emphasizing the need for education, in some form or other to reach everybody. Some of the concepts like Life Long Education introduce a time dimension which imply that education should not only reach everybody but that it should reach them all the time. In attempting to answer the above questions, one also clarifies the concepts thereby harmonizing the various ideas especially as they relate to mass education and, the economics of education.
The new wave of thinking about education as an economic venture was largely generated by UNESCO through a series of international conferences on educational planning held for various regions of the world at Tokyo, Santiago, Karachi, and for Africa at Addis Ababa in 1961 (referred to above). Whilst the Addis Ababa Conference proclaimed that education is the right of everybody, it also emphasized that education is an investment in human beings - "there is no disputing that expenditure on some forms of education is an investment which more than pays for itself even in the narrowest economic terms."16 (Up until around this time, education was conceived of as a spending service). The emphasis placed on this point however, is that if a country could effectively invest in its human resources, it would not only be developing and satisfying its manpower needs (thereby relieving it of dependence on foreign technical and managerial expertise); but that it would be placed on the right footing towards attaining economic development as well. These countries hoped that by initially eradicating illiteracy, by implementing their UPE schemes, they could also gradually attempt to indigenize the intermediate and high-level manpower of their countries which are often held by foreigners. Another related stronghold of these attempts is that the countries' newly acquired political independence would be meaningless without a corresponding economic independence.

Another particular thrust of educational reform worth mentioning here which has been seen as offering more effective means of harnessing the total human resources of the nation, and of improving the capacity of the people as a whole to
participate in the management of their own affairs is that of democratising education - widening access to education and making it available to all citizens. It should, however, be pointed out that although this was part of the resolution of the Addis Ababa conference, such aims are bound to be interpreted in very different ways depending on the ideological leanings of each country. However, whichever turn they take, it is expected that equal opportunities would be provided to everybody to participate in building and transforming their society. But then, the question which comes to mind is: how far are such systems of basic education likely to provide equality of opportunity? T. Husein (in a publication which appeared in 1972 but which still strongly applies to and explains the stand of UPE in nation-building) reminded us that there are three aspects to the provision of equality of educational opportunity: to start education on an equal footing; to receive equal treatment during education irrespective of sex or social origin; and equal opportunity to succeed in and through education. The first reaction towards these three aspects is likely to be not only in the massive expansion of school facilities, but also the abolition of fees, and the provision of qualified teachers to all schools, in order that no region of a country may suffer deprivation or disadvantage.

The extent to which finances will permit this is of course crucial, and it is true that most of these countries which resolved to provide free primary education would find this a tough nut to crack; but in view of the immense investment involved, it is necessary perhaps to look
a little closer at how far the goal of equality of opportunity will be met. The question of providing equal opportunities can be interpreted both from the point of view of common education through same procedures, syllabuses and same means of assessment; and also from the inevitable differences in children themselves - if they show or possess sufficient merit and their general reaction to education. This point therefore is difficult to analyse unless a whole load of instances of how the country intends to go about guaranteeing such a thing (equality of opportunity) are adequately stressed and ironed out.

It is not the particular concern of this study to debate the authenticity of each country's guarantee of equality of opportunity as a political framework for development, but simply to note the danger of assuming that the democratisation of education will have the same purpose, take the same form and above all work out to suit a particular country's expectations. At this time, we are seeing African countries (in particular) struggling in diverse ways to reconcile these aims. Through different approaches, they have launched their schemes and it is not certain whether these countries have started to see positive results towards achieving economic growth and political stability.

In the particular case of Nigeria, Universal Primary Education meant the provision of free education for no fewer than fifteen million children, many of whom would for the first time, be given access to schooling. Was Nigeria up to this task even with its massive oil revenues?
How much has it achieved so far to enable it to declare economic independence? It is likely that one can answer these questions if one looks critically, at the Nigerian experience in providing UPE, nationally.

6.3.1 THE NIGERIAN EXPERIENCE: EDUCATION POLICY FORMULATION UNDER MILITARY REGIMES.

It is not the intention of this study to analyse or treat in any more details than is necessary the political instability of Nigeria, especially since the Macpherson Constitution of 1951 created the three regions of the East, West and North. However, we know that because of ethnic diversity in the country, the politics of the country had been highly tribalised; this in addition to political party rivalry and educational imbalance between the South and the North were some of the reasons that led to serious political uprisings and the eventual declaration of secession by the Igbo people of Eastern Nigeria in 1966. What is important to this study is that since this date (January 1966), Nigeria has experienced one military administration after another. For more effective, centralised control, the former three regions were divided into twelve federal states in 1967 and later into nineteen in 1975. As a result of the partial suspension of the federal constitution, the military governments have been able to issue decrees to govern the organisation and management of the education system, among other things. It would be remembered that previously, as a result of the regionalisation of education, for instance, each regional government made its own education laws in respect of all levels of education.
When the military government took over, constitutional arrangements were replaced by decrees. This was how, in many states, church-owned schools and private schools were taken over by the government.

The military governments, however, tried to "democratise" their leadership by seeking the views of the people through the setting up of commissions. Commissions are often meant to change certain aspects of the system and, in fact, they often precede important policy decisions, especially in the educational system. But as Fagbulu, A.M., saw them, "Most commissions on education are conscience-salving operations" because they have often not been able to effect any serious changes in educational practice in Nigeria. Also in the particular case of Nigeria, Commission Reports have often been shelved and forgotten and their carefully thought-out and reasoned suggestions are either just left on the shelves to gather dust or they are so modified that the eventual thing bears little or no resemblance to the original.

One would definitely not be far from the truth if one says that under the military regimes in Nigeria, educational policy formulation has been grossly inconsistent and contradictory. The case of the free UPE scheme in 1976 clearly demonstrates this point. The Federal Military Government (FMG) set up a commission to advise it on how to implement the policy of UPE. After a detailed study of the problems at stake and review of the UPE schemes of the 1950s, the commission recommended that free UPE in Nigeria should not be started until 1979, a date which was thought to be most ideal because planners would have ample time to prepare;
proper curricula would be drawn up and the right textbooks would be made available then; also teachers would be adequately trained and recruited. However, this scheduling failed to please the military government/leaders who had made a prior arrangement to hand over power to a civilian government in 1979. To launch the UPE scheme would be the greatest achievement of the military regime and to take the pains of planning and preparing for the scheme only to leave the reward and glory of its implementation to the civilian government was unthinkable.

The government therefore rejected the recommendation of the commission and launched the scheme at an earlier date - September 1976. Fortunately, it had the advantage of possessing a swelling purse from increased oil sales and production to help it start this bold plan - the free UPE.

6.3.2 UNIVERSAL PRIMARY EDUCATION, 1976.

The key date for the conception of the National UPE scheme goes back to 1972 when the National Council on Education met at Zaria in Kaduna State to discuss some crucial education issues. At this meeting, Chief A.Y. Eke, the then Federal Commissioner of Education implored the delegates to consider making provisions for the introduction of UPE in the Third National Development Plan (1975-1980), whereby 6-year olds could be enrolled into Primary Schools in September 1976.¹⁰ The military government had already made plans for UPE and these were made public in January 1974 by the then Head of States General Yakubu Gowon when he went on an official visit to Sokoto State. According to Arnold,²¹ the Head of States casually remarked that his government intended to launch UPE in 1975. Undoubtedly, this
announcement took the planners unawares; they never anticipated the timing of the announcement. A longer period for preparation was requested and the campaign was finally launched in September 1976.

It could be said that the Nigerian government took this big plunge for the reasons mentioned above: to prepare for economic development as well as political maturity by extending education to everybody. Furthermore, the scheme was seen as an expansionist strategy designed to correct the age-long imbalance in the spatial distribution of educational opportunities and provisions between the North and South. Statistical data for instance, show that in 1972, (four years before the national scheme was launched) there were 4,225 primary schools in the North compared with 10,313 in the South with enrolments of 854,466 and 3,536,731 respectively. Apart from educational backwardness, the North also had fewer infrastructural and social amenities such as good roads, health services and so on. It was therefore in the hope of stamping out these conditions and also providing ample opportunities for the welfare of the nation and its peoples that the 1976 programme was launched.

Another reason which is political in nature as the one above, as well as being economic, for the launching of the national scheme is Nigeria's new found wealth. Nigeria has been an agricultural country until the discovery of oil and the oil boom of the 1970's (See Chapter 2) provided it with an opportunity to emulate and provide such services and infrastructure for its people as those found in the countries of Europe and America. The richness in oil
and the UPE programme gave vent to the wish to show the world at large that Nigeria is capable of producing and relying on its own employable labour force (a wish that is yet to be realised, especially as Nigeria continues to look up to the foreign labour force it can import to man most of the affairs of the country).

This scheme, like those of the 1950s, was welcomed with enthusiasm by the majority of Nigerians. This enthusiasm was very strong, so much so that even when there was an eventual change of power (General Gowon was ousted in a coup d'etat in July 29, 1975 by General Murtala Mohammed, who himself was later killed in an abortive coup by revolutionaries on February 13, 1976), the new government of General Olusegun Obasanjo did not abandon the scheme - because it would shatter the hopes of many parents, and politically also, it would create chaos. It is significant therefore, that while earlier on, the government in its announcement had anticipated compulsory education as from 1979, the new Head of States, in his launching speech only made a passing reference to the clause on compulsion to be around 1980. He was hoping that by then, the benefit and importance of education will be so appreciated that making UPE compulsory will be a mere formality.23 Events that took place during the year of launching and a few years after, showed that the Head of States had been over-optimistic; although it was obvious that he was only complying with the
previous government's plan and timetable. Only eighteen months after the scheme was launched, the Head of States was forced to publicly announce the short-comings in the implementation of the scheme and to criticise the inadequacy of preparatory groundwork. And in mid-1980, the Northern Commissioners for Education declared the scheme a national disaster - the Federal Military Government had certainly bitten more than it could chew; all in the hope of taking the praise of providing and funding a free UPE for its citizens.

6.3.3 COSTS OF UPE

The UPE scheme of 1976 was included in the Third National Development Plan (1975-80) and in laying out its scale and cost, the plan regarded the scheme as its most far-reaching policy decision. However, the plan took note of the fact that education, particularly for a developing country such as Nigeria, is expensive. This is true both of direct costs and the opportunity costs of alternative development precluded by use of resources for education. Both costs, (in other words capital and recurrent) showed a marked increase when the UPE scheme was launched; as Table 6.1 shows. Although capital expenditures were reduced, subsequently recurrent expenditures remained high and, since more and more teachers are being employed, will show a tendency to increase. Inflation may be responsible for this but even with allowance for this, the increase still is considerable.

Administrative changes, which is a constant occurrence in Nigeria often mean that yearly totals are not always strictly comparable. Thus, one reason for the sharp increases in federal expenditure in 1974-5 (as Table 6.1
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<th>Recurrent</th>
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* Approved estimates
** estimates

shows), was the assumption of responsibility for teacher training capital and recurrent costs as well as the primary school capital expenditure. The substantial increase of capital and recurrent expenditures of ₦30 m and ₦12.2 m in 1973-4 respectively to ₦179 m and ₦128.7 m the following year indicated not only a rapid expansion of development programmes in education generally, but also the transfer of responsibility from the states to the federal government. This same situation applies to 1976-7, when full responsibility for the recurrent cost of primary schools was assumed by the federal government, even though this responsibility was later devolved to the state governments.

In a break-down of expenditures according to the educational level, the federal figures, both for capital and recurrent expenditure on primary education in the year when UPE was launched, were well over half the total (i.e. UPE had an allocation of ₦386.3 m representing 65.4% of the recurrent expenditure on education and ₦223.2 m or 54.6% out of a capital expenditure of ₦408.5 m). Also, the break-down for both the recurrent and capital costs per student show a rapid increase, especially at higher stages of the educational ladder. For example, the Onabamiro Report indicated annual recurrent costs of ₦86 for primary pupils, ₦205 and ₦430 for day Junior and Senior secondary students respectively, ₦880 for boarding secondary students and ₦4,704 in Universities. Capital estimates were higher at ₦100-₦140 in primary, ₦700 and

6.39
₦1,000 in Junior and Senior secondary respectively, in addition to ₦920 per hostel place and ₦230 per dining place. This shows how high the tertiary level costs, although enrolments here are lower (this point had been discussed in Chapter 3 of this study). Figures like these help in calculating future expenditures because although the unit costs for the primary level are low, the introduction of UPE will surely increase the pressure for secondary places, especially when the first UPE intakes graduate.

As well as this, another area of great importance is teachers' salaries. As more and more teachers were needed to take control of the ever-increasing UPE schools, the salary bill that was already large, inevitably grew larger. (This according to the Onabamiro Report, accounted for 66% of the total primary recurrent costs). Unfortunately, things like these were not adequately dealt with when the programme was initiated, and the problems, both financial and otherwise, that were incurred when the scheme was launched demonstrated the need for long-term planning in the education sector, and indeed all other sectors. But even though people are led to believe that this is an investment in both the individual and the nation, the fact still remains that mass education schemes are often initiated
for short-term political success than for strictly educational success; which is why long-term perspectives are often neglected as the case was in Nigeria.

Apart from the initial shock as regards the number of children who turned-up for registration - there were three million new pupils as against the estimated 2.3 million (See Table 6.3) - another scare was the cost of the project. From the early planning stages of UPE, both recurrent and capital costs were seriously underestimated. The Third National Development Plan committed the onerous mistake of failing to mention recurrent costs, which, usually are greater than capital costs, and require annual payments. For example, the capital estimate of the sum of N500 m was presented with the implication that this would cover the total expenditure required to meet the UPE target. This sum represented N300 m for primary schools and N200 m for teachers' colleges during the entire plan period - 1975-80. What actually happened was that N559.7 m was disbursed between 1975-6 and 1977-8 alone; the sub-division of which was N281.4 m for primary schools and N278.3 m for teachers' colleges. In 1977, petroleum exports (on which Nigeria relies) fell 25% in volume and 4% in price (See Chapter 2 of this study). This set-back coupled with the increase in the costs (as against the Plan's estimate) provided the background for austerity measures, which eventually pushed the federal government to devolve responsibility for primary education to state and local governments.
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<tr>
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<td>1.7</td>
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<td>35.6</td>
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<td>3.7</td>
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<td>6.0</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>30.9</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* approved estimates  ** estimates + grants to States for UPE included in 'Others'
+ includes grants to States for UPE (accounted separately in these years). SOURCES: Federal Republic of Nigeria
Although assessment of opportunity costs is a complex issue beyond the scope of this study, there is need to make a few observations. Table 6.2 shows that after 1973-4 Education rose as a proportion of federal recurrent expenditure. Thereafter, in the mid-1970s it was second only to Defence on the budget sheet, and after 1978 it was the highest item. The agricultural sector had been strikingly low despite frequent exhortations on its role; so also had the Health sector been neglected, usually receiving less than 5% and 2% of federal recurrent and capital expenditures especially after 1976-7. There is little doubt therefore that education in general, and UPE as a substantial part of it, may have a considerable opportunity cost. For example, weak, hungry and malnourished children are faced with more learning disabilities than are well-fed ones. This suggests that some educational objectives could best be achieved not by providing UPE classes and teachers but by paying greater attention to food production (agriculture) and health sectors.

There is also the opportunity cost of UPE within the education sector, that is as regards the neglect of non-formal education where the opportunity cost is particularly high. It is arguable that the effectiveness of primary schooling may be considerably improved if parents are given at least a little education to enable them understand the purpose of education for their children.
So far, an attempt has been made to show how expensive UPE is — more expensive than the planners had anticipated. The scheme proved too expensive for the federal government (as mentioned earlier) and therefore it passed down the responsibility to the states who, in turn, were forced to use various means to share-out the burden — one of the means was the imposition of compulsory taxation on tax-payers. In Kaduna State, for example, "a levy of one naira was imposed on all tax payers for the support of the UPE scheme. All workers in the State pay 2½% of one month's salary and businessmen are levied 2½% of one month's assumed income."

In Kano State, as indeed in all other States, the same measures were taken in order to salvage the UPE; this in addition to what the various state governments allocated to education — it was often the largest single budget item.

Financial pressure was reduced in the country to a reasonable limit in 1979 when oil revenues picked-up from the slump, although this did not correct the situation created by the underestimation of the UPE costs. From the above discussion, therefore, one finds it easy to compare this scheme with the Eastern Region's scheme of 1957; and the outcome of this comparison suggests that planners failed to learn from the experiences of the past schemes. Also, the increasing pressures suffered by the scheme suggest that unplanned circumstances have the tendency of getting out of hand than when they are carefully planned.
6.3.4 **Enrolment**

One of the very few successes observable in the UPE schemes launched in Nigeria, both in the 1950s and 1970s, is the enrolment figures. These are always higher than the official projections. The picture created by these high figures suggest to this writer two things; firstly, it suggests that more and more people have come to terms with the benefits of education and the UPE provides them with the basis of expressing or demonstrating their enthusiasm, and secondly, high enrolment is noticeable at a time when education is provided free and so this suggests that cost is the likely factor that prevents people from sending their children to school and not necessarily hostility to western education or ignorance about the benefits of schooling.

Other than these observations, there have been other suggestions that certain factors actually contributed to the very high figures recorded and, that these factors differ from state to state. In the Northern States (which were having their first taste of UPE) for example, the factors include, first, poor communications and shortage of staff. The poor state of roads leading to the rural areas especially, make it really difficult for the few staff to travel out to these places for the sake of recording accurate figures of registered pupils. In the circumstances therefore, it was thought cheaper and easier to make the figures up. Secondly, in view of the importance placed on high turn-out, some headmasters give false reports to the authorities - they often record all pupils who have dropped out - thereby painting a picture of success of the scheme. Thirdly, local governments were aware that the grants they would get from the state...
governments depended largely on the size of the schools and their enrolment. As a result, individual schools tend to over-estimate these enrolment figures. All these factors ensure a general excess count of 10-20% in the first year of the scheme.

Generally, however, it was not at all easy to document the enrolment figures of the scheme in view of the fact that most states failed to respond to the federal circulars urging them to correct or confirm their initial provisional estimates. Nevertheless, the figures, if examined with caution, provide a useful impression. Total enrolments in 1976-77 (as in the 1950s) greatly exceeded expectations. Table 6.3 which shows the projected and actual enrolment figures in class one in the first year of the scheme demonstrate how enrolment was grossly underestimated. In Anambra State for instance, the actual enrolment almost doubled the projected enrolment, putting the percentage of the actual over the projected at 98%. Benue State's enrolment figures for this first year was very interesting in that the actual number of children who registered was 276,200 as against the projected 99,900, showing a 176.4% difference. On the whole, most states had a massive turn-out even though this is more so in some states than in others. For example, in the Northern States, with the exception of Benue, Kaduna and Plateau which had enormous turn-out compared to the projected figures, the others had moderate differences and in some cases, the actual enrolment was less than the projected. This was true of Borno, Kano and Sokoto whose actual enrolment was 108,200 or -58% less than the projected. This probably confirms the lack of enthusiasm that is still noticeable in the North even with
## TABLE 6.3

**Enrolments in Primary Class 1 (Projected and Actual), 1976-7.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Projected Enrolment (000)</th>
<th>Actual Enrolment (000)</th>
<th>Actual as % of Projected &amp; Projected (000)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anambra</td>
<td>148.1</td>
<td>292.8</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bauchi</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>102.9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bendel</td>
<td>101.3</td>
<td>174.4</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benue</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>276.2</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borno</td>
<td>123.4</td>
<td>88.2</td>
<td>-29</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cross River</td>
<td>143.2</td>
<td>233.9</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gongola</td>
<td>107.3</td>
<td>11.27</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imo</td>
<td>151.2</td>
<td>260.9</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaduna</td>
<td>168.8</td>
<td>281.1</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kano</td>
<td>237.8</td>
<td>193.1</td>
<td>-19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwara</td>
<td>70.6</td>
<td>87.3</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagos</td>
<td>65.2</td>
<td>84.6</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>49.2</td>
<td>72.3</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ogun</td>
<td>63.9</td>
<td>75.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ondo</td>
<td>11.24</td>
<td>112.6</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oyo</td>
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<td>198.9</td>
<td>-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plateau</td>
<td>83.4</td>
<td>171.3</td>
<td>105</td>
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<td>Rivers</td>
<td>70.8</td>
<td>94.6</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sokoto</td>
<td>186.9</td>
<td>78.7</td>
<td>-58</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>2,297.9</td>
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</table>

**Source:** Bray, M. (1981).

6.47
with free UPE. In the Southern States on the other hand, eventhough there had been a high enrolment figure, there was still a wide margin increase on the projected figures. The reason for the deficit in the case of Oyo might be that people here were still not very sure of promises made to them on educational matters in view of what happened in the 1950s. But on the whole there was still a high 'craving' for education in these Southern States.

Plotted onto Figure 6.4, Class 1 actual enrolment was 36.1% of the total Primary school enrolment for 1976-7. A year after, this went down to 28.4% and this continued sliding to 24.6% in 1979-80.

On the primary school enrolment, on the whole, the enrolment 'fever' experienced in 1976-7 continued on a relatively high level up to 1979-80 (i.e. on individual State basis). Thereafter, some states, like Anambra, Bendel, Benue, Imo and Lagos started recording lesser enrolment figures than the previous years, as Table 6.4 shows. However, enrolment in Nigeria had been increasing since 1976-7; this faltered in 1983-4 but improved in 1984-5, as can be seen from the Table. However, Figure 6.4 represents this more clearly. From just over 8.2 m in 1976-7, this figure increased to about 9.5 m the following year. It reached 13.1 m in 1981-2 where it steadied until when it picked up in 1984-5 to 13.6 m. With the increase in enrolment was a corresponding increase in the number of schools. In the first year of the scheme, schools in Niger State, for example increased to 931 from 245, in 1975-6; showing a massive percentage increase of 280%. Inspite of the low turn-out of pupils in Sokoto State (that is the actual
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<td>647.6</td>
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<td>508.5</td>
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<td>3.5</td>
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</table>
FIGURE 6.4

Projected enrolment (Class 1) vs. Actual enrolment (Class 1)

YEAR


ENROLMENT (MILLION)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

compared to the projected), the number of schools still showed a 142% increase, as they moved from 732 in 1975-6 to 1,771 in 1976-7. Very high increases were also recorded in Kaduna, Kano, Plateau, Bauchi, Benue and Kwara. Despite the overall increasing trend, it would be observed that in 1979/80 Bauchi and six other States (i.e. Benue, Cross River, Gongola, Kano, Niger and Plateau) had lesser number of schools vis a vis 1978/79 figures, as Table 6.5 shows.

It was suggested above that the reason why percentage increases were lower in the Southern States (both in enrolments and number of schools) may be explained by the fact that they already had higher enrolment figures and number of schools because of their UPE schemes in the 1950s. In the same token, one notices the very high figures in respect of the Northern States. The lack of enthusiasm here has been a major point of reference. But, what these States could not do because of lack of enthusiasm, they made up for it otherwise (see reasons above). Also, although the official announcements made provision for an entry age of 6, actual admissions in the Northern States ranged between 4+ and 12+. The reason why the Northern States ignored these upper and lower limits of age was that they felt it was inegalitarian to prevent a child from schooling simply because he is a few months or years too young or too old. Another reason was that because of the general attitude toward western education in this part of the country, the officials did not want to discourage already unwilling parents by turning back children whom they thought to be too young or old. Eventhough this line of thought was logical considering the circumstances, it certainly created pressure on the system and, for the teachers who had to cope with children who were either too young and deserved more attention and those who were too old for the very
### TABLE 6.5 NUMBER OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS BY STATES, 1975/76 to 1979/80

**Source:** Statistics Unit, Federal Ministry of Education, Lagos

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATE</th>
<th>1957-76</th>
<th>1976-77</th>
<th>% Increase on Previous year</th>
<th>1977-78</th>
<th>% Increase on Previous year</th>
<th>1978-79</th>
<th>% Increase on Previous year</th>
<th>1979-80</th>
<th>% Increase on Previous year</th>
</tr>
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<td>Anambra</td>
<td>1,708</td>
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<td>1,908</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>1,956</td>
<td>2.5</td>
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<td>1,850</td>
<td>70.3</td>
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<td>20.3</td>
<td>2,251</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>1,869</td>
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<tr>
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basic tuition they had to put-up with. In the East too (particularly Anambra and Imo) age had to be over-looked because the war meant that many people could not receive education and now that this opportunity had been provided, it would be wrong to deny them entrance. And, of course, there was the question of the absence of birth-certificates as we pointed out earlier.

6.3.5 BUILDINGS AND EQUIPMENT

A few months before UPE took-off, it was clear that many buildings would not be ready in time. Because of this, there was a plea from some sectors of the public that the launching date be postponed for a more favourable time - a question of a stitch in time, as it were. But because of political implications, as we have already seen, the government considered it preferable to keep to the target and tolerate the shortcomings. The government also argued that pressure to complete projects would be much reduced when deadlines keep receding. Instead, Task Forces were created to nudge the contractors to complete their work, fast. Also, because structures were needed in such a short time, contractors were awarded contracts without having to check how competent they (the contractors) were. In the confusion that ensued, some cases were reported of some contractors starting work in the wrong places.

This incompetence and inexperience was further exacerbated by acute shortage of cement - the most important item in construction work. As would be expected, therefore, many projects were poorly executed, which meant that a lot of money was needed to maintain them (where it could be helped) or if they became too dangerous to life they were demolished.

Most Southern States did not suffer such severe pressures as the Northern ones first, because the rate of expansion they
needed was less and second, because their greater level of economic development ensured a better supply of skilled labour and raw materials.

Another reason which contributed to the delays incurred during constructions was that money was in short supply. The planners allocated funds to the States based on the 1974 prices. With inflation, this became quite inadequate in 1976 and States who could not supplement these grants had either to award contracts with the minimum profit margin (to the contractors) in which case they found many businessmen unwilling to undertake such assignments or they make do with poor designs or even reduce the number of structures needed.

Recurrent expenditure was high in those States with very high enrolment figures; which therefore means that the Southern States enjoyed more grants than the Northern ones. The effects created by these grants were indeed serious because they suggested that far from 'bridging the gaps', the UPE scheme has benefited the Southern States more than the Northern States. On the other hand, if Northern States were to be encouraged financially in order to correct the existing imbalances between North and South, that would mean discrimination against the South.

As far as other necessary equipment was concerned, most primary schools could boast of chalk and slates from the beginning of first term and about a year or so later. In a study of the Nigerian school costs in respect of Bendel and Ogun States, J.R. Hough observed the deplorable state of schools in Benin City as a result of shortage of buildings and equipment. He stated that:

"Any visitor to primary schools in Benin City must be
struck by the fact that, despite all having
double shifts (which are much less common in all
other areas), nearly every teaching room in every
school appears uncomfortably overfilled with very
large numbers of children, as if the existing
school buildings are quite inadequate to cope
with the advent of Universal Primary Education.
(The emphasis is mine).

... It does, however, seem clear that the inferior
pupil-teacher ratio results from the lack of rooms:
no more teachers can be employed if there are no rooms
for them to teach in. Currently the situation is
almost certainly continuing to deteriorate as U.P.E.
classes move up through the schools and as new school
buildings are erected only extremely slowly. Short
of some quite drastic solution, such as introducing
treble shifts in schools .... it is difficult to see
how the situation can be improved in the short term."

This much can be said of all the States in Nigeria.

It, however, does seem quite unfortunate especially as all the
problems discussed above were clear repetitions of what
happened in the 1950s. For example, the situation of
shortage of structures as described by J.R. Hough had been
experienced before when the Lagos scheme was launched. In
places where structures were erected (in the 1976) scheme
schools tended to be too far from home - with no good roads
and water. Pupils therefore had to carry water to school
and so their preoccupation was with the amount of water that
could last them till the end of the day and not with the
learning aspect of school.
6.3.6 THE CURRICULUM CONTENT

The curriculum is a factor central to the quality and efficiency of an education system. On the other hand, the state of the economy, what the society expects, the entry ages to school, etc. all determine or dictate decisions on the content - whether academic or vocational - and also how broad and deep these should be.

Over the past two decades, educational arguments in the Third World countries had been centred on the theme that the most desirable form of an education system which caters for a minority is not necessarily the same as that which caters for the majority. In other words, an education system that undertakes hard decisions like the ones above is more beneficial to many people than a privileged few.

On the basis of this argument, UPE schemes have been launched in countries like Tanzania (1977), Bangladesh (1980) and Nigeria (1976) to mention but a few. However, even though the underlying reasons for these schemes are similar in most countries, yet several differences exist, the most important of which is the curriculum. To take Nigeria and Tanzania, it is worth noting how the political outlook of each country determined the curriculum employed. Whereas in capitalist Nigeria, the scheme was launched to permit individuals to compete (better) within the existing broad social and economic set-up, in socialist Tanzania, the scheme was initiated to reinforce social as well as economic revolution or change. Thus, while in Nigeria, UPE was only part of a massive formal educational expansion, with the primary school being a preparatory ground for pupils to proceed to post-primary education, in Tanzania, UPE was launched in conjunction with a large-scale adult-education at the expense of post-primary education. In this example
alone, one can see that the curricula which these two countries would adopt will be different. But, the difference must still (in both cases) satisfy the situation which The Montserrat Education Report stressed that "Primary schools need to adjust to changing priorities demanded by the changing system". What this report stressed, however, is what one might call a theory of what should happen. In the particular case of Nigeria, it is difficult to assess whether or not change has really taken place because, as Bray said, the objectives of the campaign as a whole have never been made explicit. Politicians, in their speeches, have referred to goals they hope the scheme will accomplish, but all along, none of these speeches and statements have presented a clear and definitive list of the purpose of the scheme.

If UPE is to allow people a more conducive situation to compete in the social and economic structure as pointed out above, then the academic and vocational content (both in depth and breadth) cannot be isolated from the curriculum. Thus, although the primary school is to prepare pupils for post-primary training, we must not shy away from the fact that for many years to come the primary school will be terminal for most children. If, therefore the rate of absorption to the post-primary level continues to be below 50% (inspite of the expansion of the secondary school level), it means that the curriculum should offer, at the primary school stage, a lot more for those who will not be opportune to proceed to the post-primary level.

It must be re-stated again that because financial pressures were less serious in Nigeria at the time when the scheme was planned and launched, interest in non-formal education had
been less. While Nigeria's planners encouraged this departure from non-formal education, they also failed to make much effort to relate education more closely to the needs and lifestyles of the people of Nigeria, most of whom, despite Nigeria's wealth, are poor and are likely to remain in the agricultural sector. If UPE's intention is to reach everybody, and therefore make important impact in the restructuring of the society, then the curriculum must make a radical departure from the conventional education of the Colonial era - education that is bookish in nature and emphasizes academic work which is wholly assessed by way of written examinations. In other words, the curriculum must make a complete break with the past and have a new outlook; entailing in addition to academic training, vocational and technical training as well; and this must start from the primary level; this is primarily necessary because "As we move from a regime of education for a small ruling elite to one of the masses, and into an era of incredibly rapid scientific and technological change, we are asking our educational system to perform functions it was simply not designed for." That is to say, with a curriculum which entails subjects like English Literature, Writing, Geography, History, Reading, etc., it is almost impossible to talk of or expect economic and technological growth. Training for these (economic and technological growth) must start as early as possible and the subjects studied or taught must also relate to these areas.

A number of writers and educationists who are faced with analysing the place of curriculum in national development, such as, Edward E. Ezewu, who in his case - study entitled
'Some Comments on the Curriculum For training teachers for the primary school system in Bendel State, Nigeria'\textsuperscript{32} in which he stressed that in order to train children in vocational and technical education, such training must first be reflected in the curriculum of their teachers; and also A.M. Ejiogu who pointed out in his case-study: 'When Innovations are external to the realities and needs of an organization: Problems of educational innovations in developing countries'\textsuperscript{33} that new innovations in educational procedures must precede change, to mention but a few; all conclude that curriculum in the primary school should be designed on vocational, technical, agricultural as well as academic, with a lot of stress on subjects like Wood-carving, Textile Weaving, Clay and Leatherworks, traditional music and dance, Livestock farming, etc. They should also be taught how to sell some of their farm-produce and how to save money. Subjects like History, Geography, Civics, Religious and Moral Education should also be included in the curriculum to help create in the children at an early stage, political awareness and respect for their country. The methods employed to impart skills to apprentices in the traditional system should also be adopted to teach things like sewing, roof-thatching and such skills that are needed locally. The practical training in all of these subjects would give the children a purpose in life even when they choose not to proceed to the post-primary level. Children should also be made to understand work as a basic, respectable and necessary part of life; so that wherever their interests lie, they ought not feel ashamed as to it being inferior or unprestigious. This would not be easy
because as pointed out earlier (Chapter 5), people acquired a negative attitude to manual work during the colonial era; the benefits of education are therefore determined by a good clerical job in an office and not a dirty job as a farmer or bricklayer. That is why it becomes mandatory that since the primary school is to most people, terminal,

"... the most important reform needed in primary education is the introduction of programmes of occupational orientation and training .... to handle simple tools, perform elementary operations and hence be rendered generally productive through the use of school workshops and farms..... Currently education gained in rural schools serves too much to provide knowledge and incentives which promote migration of talented and ambitious young people to the cities, since the content and method of education in primary schools in rural areas, as in urban areas, is academically oriented......

Parents and children are left with the impression that the purpose of primary education is to provide them with the basis of escape from traditional society...."

This report also lamented the obvious absence of attempts to teach the wide range of manual occupations on which community life depends.

One can readily accept the argument that since the entry age to the primary school is six, by the time the child leaves school, he would be twelve and, therefore, certainly too young for paid employment, which means that the adaptation of the above curriculum will be very difficult indeed. But in view of the fact that the primary school can be or is terminal,
then one solution to this age problem is either to raise the entry age to say, 8 or lengthen the primary school to 8 years (as it used to be). Tanzania and Gambia have raised their entry age to 8, and Sierra Leone to 7 and in the circumstances it is both logical and cheaper for Nigeria to do the same.

The question of giving the curriculum a vocational flavour is not new. In Chapter 5, Vischer's experiment and indeed the CMS' and the SUM's efforts to provide this form of education was discussed. With the launching of UPE, the need for this mix became all the more important. The fact that vocational education was resisted shows how much effort was put into providing it. One basic reason for this resistance however, is (as pointed out above), because people are aware that 'real' jobs can only be got through an academic career. This, therefore, confirms or explains people's attitudes to vocational training - this form of education is looked down upon even by the elite who advocate it. When the elite ask for the expansion of these facilities, it is often for other people's children rather than for their own. In this regard, attitudes must be made to change; and this will only change when the rewards from vocational training are improved and made relative to those from academic education.

It is, however, a shame that despite the rhetoric by people advocating vocational training and emphasizing its potential for economic growth, there has been little official attempt to supply it. It is true that several significant innovations have been made on paper but the impact in real terms have been limited. In Chapter 1 of this study, the
Primary Education Improvement Project (PEIP) was discussed and it was pointed out that the project had a great potential for improving the curriculum of the primary level not only in the North (as the project was designed particularly to suit the North) but also the whole country. High costs, lack of motivation on the part of the teachers and other such issues meant that the project could not achieve optimum results.

The issue of language in the curriculum is another very important issue. It is not a new subject however because during the missionary period, most missions tried relentlessly to provide some instruction in the local language. The fact that the mother tongue is the most effective language in which a child learns cannot be disputed. The experiments carried out at the Institute of Education, Ahmadu Bello University, and at the University of Ife, using respectively, Hausa and Yoruba as the media of instruction with English Language taught only as a subject testify to the fact that a Nigerian language can be effectively used to facilitate learning. But for both political and practical reasons, it is difficult to pick out a few languages which will be so developed for instruction in Nigeria in view of the number of languages in Nigeria (See Chapter 2).

On the other hand, since one fundamental aim of UPE is to cement national unity by providing a common language of communication, many people consider that English should have a greater emphasis in primary schools. Moreover, English is considered also as a language of commerce, technology, science as well as being an international language, and that
since it costs more to develop a Nigerian language to be on a par with English Language because the vernaculars have too limited a vocabulary for modern subjects, English language is best retained as the language of instruction. But in order not to alienate the children from their culture, the language of instruction in the first three classes of the primary school should be the language of the immediate community; while English is taught as a subject right from class 1.

From what we have seen, so far, there is still a lot to be done if the UPE has to achieve what Nigeria expects of it. It is painful to see that even up to now, the negative facets of UPE still outnumber the positive ones. Once again, fees have been re-introduced in all States of the Federation and the levies imposed on the civil servants and parents have attracted, as before, a lot of criticisms some of which are farcical. At the moment therefore, parents are too concerned about how to finance their children's education to worry about what is and what is not on the curriculum. But whether the parents think about it or not, the government of Nigeria owes it to its people to provide relevant education. For long, the country had adhered to the education system and pattern which was a colonial legacy; and for long it has been trying to copy other advanced countries' education systems and this has not been beneficial because of the unsuitability of what is being copied. Nigeria's desire therefore should change from trying to 'catch up' with the advanced countries to gearing its educational innovativeness towards applying relevant technology to its own needs. Since the primary school is the most important time of most children's growing
lives, it is necessary that they get the most satisfaction and training out of it. On this note, this writer cannot agree more with the Udoji Report statement which said:

"We cannot emphasize too strongly that UPE will end in failure and disillusion if it results only in a vast expansion of the existing system which is irrelevant to the needs of a large majority of those whom it is intended to serve. For at least 60 years, educationists in Nigeria have been saying that education is too school-oriented and not sufficiently life-oriented. It is time something was done about it."
CHAPTER 6
REFERENCES


5. Fafunwa, Babs (1974), op. cit., p.168


7. Fafunwa, Babs (1974), op. cit.,

8. The Banjo Report, Quoted in Donald G. Burns, op. cit., pp.46-47


11. The Leader, Editorial (8, September, 1956) Quoted in Fafunwa Babs Ibid.

12. Burns, Donald G. op. cit., pp.41-65

13. Fafunwa, Babs, op. cit., p.174

14. Minister of Education Alhaji Aliyu (1957), Nigeria, Northern Regional Legislature 1957, 223, Quoted in Bray op. cit., p.20


27. Nicholas A. Nwagwu, (1978), op. cit., p.156


35. Ibid.
7.1 DEVELOPMENTS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION

The development of secondary education in Nigeria started in early/1950s. Even though the Christian Missions attempted the establishment of secondary schools, the cost of running them was far beyond their reach. However, such schools were established especially in Southern Nigeria. When the colonial administration got involved in the provision of education, its initial area of concentration was the primary level. In the North, the development was particularly slow because the colonial administration had a policy of not encouraging northern youth to acquire higher education, because they feared a possible destabilisation of the native administration. The impact of World War II on Nigeria, the growth in nationalist activities, the increasing political consciousness among the educated elite and the growth in the general level of literacy and public enlightenment, the decision to grant independence by the British government, and the improvement in the economic conditions of the country - are factors which contributed to the general, rapid development of secondary education after 1950.

The next phase of secondary education development took place between 1960 and 1970, and was influenced by a number of factors. First, the expansion in primary education saw a greater demand for secondary education; a demand which, when met, would result in the increased output of secondary school leavers required for future manpower development, as recommended by the Ashby Report. Secondly, Nigeria was one of the African States which adopted the Addis Ababa Plan1
according to which it (Nigeria) projected an annual intake of 45,000 secondary school pupils. Thirdly, the content and method of the secondary school curriculum had been highly criticised - i.e. the bookishness of the programme, the lack of orientation to manual and technical education as well as the general lack of science curriculum in many schools. But before we go on to discuss the curriculum problem, enrolment problem and other related problems like the wastage rate, it is pertinent at this point to take a look at and define the nature of secondary education in Nigeria in relation to the education system and policy of the country.

7.2 THE NATURE OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN NIGERIA

According to Taiwo\(^2\), the term "secondary education" differs in meaning from one country to another. In one context, secondary education is the form of education which a child receives automatically after the completion of his primary education. In that sense, secondary education simply means post-primary education. In another context, secondary education links primary education with University or higher education which is sometimes termed tertiary education in order to emphasize the links in the education system. It is the form of education which a child must necessarily have before he receives higher education.

In Nigeria, secondary education is the form of education suitable for the children who have completed primary education and which is given in a secondary school. And since a secondary school qualification is a pre-requisite for entry into a University, the latter definition above also applies in this case. This definition therefore covers the form of
education given in the schools which are described as secondary grammar, commercial, modern comprehensive, technical and teacher training. This variety of secondary schools is the result of the continual criticism of Nigeria's educational system and of the secondary school in particular (as we shall see later in the chapter). It is, however, doubtful whether the fragmentation of the secondary schools is helping to achieve the main aim of secondary education.

From our "Nigerian definition" of secondary education, we emphasized that the primary school prepares the child for this level, which in turn moulds the child for higher education. However, it is sad to note that children enter the secondary schools with inadequate preparation for secondary studies, and the secondary schools are thus in reality higher primary schools. Most homes in Nigeria don't provide the conducive surroundings necessary to assist progress at school - there is little or no help which illiterate and ignorant parents can give their child at school. In such a set-up the main object in sending a child to school is seldom for the purpose of acquiring knowledge, "but rather from the notion that an acquaintance with the studies of secondary school is hereafter translatable into more shillings and pounds per month than if the boy's education was limited to the primary school." In this we see that both the parents and the child look upon the wage-earning as the most alluring of conditions and the latter is kept in school until an opportunity for getting suitable employment arises.

As pointed out earlier, Nigeria has experimented at
diversification of secondary education with the hope of shifting the emphasis on the purpose of secondary education from wage-earning to one of improving the "self" intellectually and therefore improving the environment. We now turn to this subject to see how much has been achieved.

7.2.1 EXPERIMENTS AT DIVERSIFICATION OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

Among the major educational changes in secondary education that have taken place over the years is the policy of diversification. This policy is viewed as a major reform in curricular issues aimed at favouring the bases of commerce, agriculture, technical orientation and home science. Nigeria has (as have most developing nations) accepted the fact that diversification provides the basis of speeding economic development. The purpose of integrating new subjects into the secondary school curriculum and giving them greater weighting is three-fold: educational, vocational and social. While providing pupils with a good base knowledge, these subjects also serve the purpose of meeting manpower needs of the society because the recipients are trained in useful vocations. In fact, there is no disputing the fact that practical subjects, if well-coordinated with the other school subjects of the curriculum, make education more meaningful, more relevant both to the individual and society at large.

As Figure 6.3 shows, secondary education is given to children from the age of 12 in a variety of post-primary schools; including teacher training and technical institutions. It is a five year course, leading to the West African School Certificate (WASC) in the case of the Secondary Grammar, RSA in Commercial School, Grade II in the teacher training and City and Guilds in Secondary technical. The description of the
schools in detail, is as follows:-

7.2.1.1 SECONDARY GRAMMAR SCHOOLS

These are the most popular type of secondary schools, which usually have boarding facilities. The main objective here is to prepare students for higher education as such, no skills are learnt or taught. The curriculum includes subjects like English, Mathematics, History, Geography, Religious Knowledge, Biology, Chemistry, Physics, Physical Education, Needlework, Domestic Science, French and at least one of the three major Nigerian languages. A purely literary curriculum; it places a premium upon the accumulation of knowledge and does not encourage schools to teach their pupils how to use their knowledge other than in examinations.

These schools are often well supplied with funds and graduate teachers; and well-equipped laboratories. Federal Government Schools or 'Unity Schools' are also grammar schools. At the end of their five year course, students sit an examination designed by the West African Examination Council, in order to obtain the West African School Certificate (WASC) which is also equivalent to GCE. This certificate is an entry requirement to the HSC, Advanced Teachers' Colleges or Polytechnics.

7.2.1.2 SECONDARY COMMERCIAL

This type of school is a parallel to the grammar school. As the name suggests, it offers commercial as well as general education leading to the WASC in commercial subjects and Certificates of the Royal Society of Arts of London (RSA). The curriculum includes subjects such as Typing, Shorthand, Book-keeping, Office Management, Accounting, English, Mathematics, etc. Also a 5-year course, it prepares students for middle-level jobs in commerce and government ministries.
as typists, stenographers, accounting clerks and such like and also for entrance into the training schools for office secretaries in the Civil Service.

7.2.1.3 **SECONDARY TECHNICAL**

This is a straight 5-year post-primary course, which emphasises practical and workshop instruction. Courses are offered in a wide range of technical fields and in electrical engineering. These include woodwork, metalwork, masonry, bricklaying, etc. At the end of the five years, students sit the City and Guilds of London Institute Certificate examination (which is equivalent to a Secondary school GCE). The course prepares students for middle-level employment and also for entry into Polytechnic or College of Technology. (This will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter).

7.2.1.4 **TEACHER TRAINING COLLEGES:**

This is also a five year post-primary course which prepares students for teaching in the primary schools. Subjects taught are the same as in Secondary Grammar, as well as the Methodology of teaching them.

7.3 **THE NEW SCHOOL STRUCTURE**

The suitability of the educational structure (as described above) for Nigeria’s needs and resources has been under constant criticism. Structures exist to serve a purpose and where there is no such purpose, the structure is of little or no use. For a very long time, there seems to have been really no purpose, no national objective for education at any level in Nigeria. According to Lawrence, the purpose for which education existed in Nigeria (from its inception up to the 1960s) was, by and large, the glorification of colonialism - human domination by human endeavours; which was
perpetuated not only by the British Imperialists, but also by the Nigerian 'Uncle Toms' who did all they could to be favoured by the whites.

The narrow curriculum base, the out-moded books, the experiments with grammar, modern, commercial and comprehensive schools (as stated above) are living issues which, though exhaustively discussed and experimented with where appropriate, have still to be resolved and translated into living and meaningful working models. Even today, Nigeria is still grappling with the 'numbers game', whereby the number of students and schools are quoted as indices of progress. There is need to shake-out these false criteria and infuse a sense of purpose into the education system. A situation whereby mechanical engineering and micro-biology graduates have to look round for teaching employment in secondary grammar schools (as teaching has become the last resort of many graduates in Nigeria) is hardly a sign of a well-planned and coordinated system with a strong purpose of national development as its main aim.

Nigeria's main national objectives are:

i. A free and democratic society;

ii. A just and egalitarian society;

iii. A united, strong and self-reliant nation;

iv. A great and dynamic economy;

v. A land of bright and full opportunities for all citizens.

The broad goals of secondary education (and indeed the Nigerian education) fall within the foregoing and overall national objectives, namely:

i. Preparation for useful living within the society; and

ii. Preparation for higher education.

All the objectives as described above, should lead to self-
realization, better human relationships, self and national economic efficiency which will promote national consciousness and unity. These objectives demand much more than the education system described above can sustain. The purpose of our education should be geared towards satisfying these objectives. In 1977, the National Policy on Education made a specific statement that a new system be implemented. The new system, diagrammatically shown in Figure 7.1 was introduced just in time for the first output of Universal Primary Education (UPE) pupils in 1982. It is represented thus: $6 + 3 + 3 + 4$ i.e. 6 years primary education, 3 years junior secondary, 3 years senior secondary and 4 years University education.

There are two main advantages in dividing the secondary level into two stages. First, the junior secondary system enables pupils to continue with a common core for longer. This is because the curriculum at this stage would be a continuation, on a higher level, of the primary school. Thus, at the end of this stage, the students would be exposed to a number of skills that they would now decide on their future course of study. The skills learnt here would also enable students to take gainful employment if they decide to terminate their formal schooling. The second advantage is perhaps more important. If this junior stage does become free as is being proposed, pupils may proceed automatically into this level and thereby lengthen their stay in the school system. If, at the end of this stage pupils decide not to continue their studies to senior secondary, they will have better chances of getting employment because of their greater maturity and because, so long as the decline in quality caused
FIGURE 7.1  PROPOSED NEW STRUCTURE FOR THE FORMAL EDUCATION SYSTEM

- **NURSERY**: 2 - 3 years
- **PRIMARY**: 6 years
- **JUNIOR SECONDARY**: 3 years
  - **TECHNICAL SCHOOL**: 3 years
  - **COLLEGE OF TECHNOLOGY**: 3 years
  - **UNIVERSITY**: 4 years
    - **PGDE**: B.Ed.
  - **SENIOR SECONDARY**: 3 years
  - **TEACHER TRAINING**: 3 years
    - **ADVANCED TEACHERS' COLLEGE**: 3 years
by UPE is not too serious, they have acquired more
knowledge. Also, the decision to limit the stage to
three years is cautionary on the part of the government.
In view of the cost and the large number of potential
secondary pupils caused by UPE, the government is
conscious of the cost and therefore wants to limit its
commitments.

7.4 SECONDARY SCHOOLS ENROLMENT

The educational policy of both the Christian Missions
and the colonial administration made very little contribution
and recognition of post-primary education in view of their
initial aim for providing education. Against the back-
ground of nationalist activities as well as representative
government (i.e. the active participation of Nigerians in
governmental affairs), however, secondary education saw
some expansion. The UPE schemes of the 1950s also contributed
to this expansion as the demand for secondary places
increased. During this period (1950s), there were 161
secondary grammar schools in the whole country with an overall
enrolment of 9,908; these increased to 325 schools and
55,235 students in 1960, thus representing percentage increases
of 102% and 457% in number of schools and enrolment,
respectively.

The period between 1960-1973 also witnessed some modest
increases in both the number of schools and enrolment figures.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Enrolment</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Enrolment</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Enrolment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>9,908</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>55,235</td>
<td>1970's</td>
<td>448,908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td></td>
<td>1960</td>
<td></td>
<td>1970's</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Schools 161</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>1,499</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.10
However, these declined during the Civil War years (1967-1970) as some schools in the war-affected areas had to be merged to minimise cost and also to ensure continuity for the few that could attend. Despite the decline in the number of schools, enrolment increased to 448,908 in 1,499 schools in 1973. Steady increases continued to be observed in the enrolment figures in secondary schools from 1975/76 to 1979/80. In Table 7.1 this enrolment had gone up to 705,516 in 1975/76, representing a 57% increase. In that year, Oyo State had the highest enrolment; 16% of the total enrolment, followed by Imo and Bendel with 12.2% and about 12% respectively. When UPE was launched in 1976/77, enrolment in the secondary schools was affected. It increased by 17.2% to 826,709. However, Southern States maintained high enrolment figures, although percentage distribution for Ogun and Rivers were relatively poor. Throughout the period under review (1975-1980) enrolment figures for the States of the North were almost static. For example, percentage distribution for Niger State remained at 0.6% from 1975/76 to 1979/80. Sokoto States' figures also remained poor, although this improved in 1979/80 when its enrolment formed 1.3% of the total Nigerian enrolment. In the North, therefore, the States that had relatively better enrolment figures were Kwara and Kaduna States (See Also Map 7.1).

In 1979/80, Imo and Oyo States topped the list by about 15% and 13% of total enrolment in the country respectively; with Bendel, Anambra and Ondo also maintaining high standards. On Nigeria as a whole, enrolment dropped by about 3% from 1,567,708 in 1979/80 to 1,528,000 in 1981/82. However, by 1983/84, this had improved by 35.3% to 2,067,000.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number of Students</td>
<td>Percentage Distribution</td>
<td>Number of Students</td>
<td>Percentage Distribution</td>
<td>Number of Students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anambra</td>
<td>64,601</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>80,346</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>96,720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bauchi</td>
<td>4,225</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>4,697</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>5,132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bendel</td>
<td>82,407</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>95,330</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>107,011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benue</td>
<td>14,311</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>22,355</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>28,442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borno</td>
<td>4,282</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>6,240</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>8,231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross River</td>
<td>40,213</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>50,362</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>66,341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gongola</td>
<td>6,405</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>8,068</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>10,025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imo</td>
<td>85,995</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>107,389</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>155,858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaduna</td>
<td>18,606</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>23,680</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>32,440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kano</td>
<td>6,382</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>10,095</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>12,937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwarar</td>
<td>17,856</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>31,806</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>38,243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagos</td>
<td>64,231</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>78,331</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>82,956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>6,342</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>5,048</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>6,312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ogun</td>
<td>43,812</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>46,838</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>50,674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ondo</td>
<td>72,681</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>78,200</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>81,879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oyo</td>
<td>113,287</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>122,657</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>140,844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plateau</td>
<td>11,330</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>12,534</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>17,756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rivers</td>
<td>32,080</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>36,780</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>49,533</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sokoto</td>
<td>6,367</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>6,533</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>7,633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIGERIA</td>
<td>705,516</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>826,709</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>998,967</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: PROJECTED

### TABLE 7.2 RECENT TREND IN PRIMARY SCHOOL OUT-TURN AND SECONDARY SCHOOL IN-TAKE 1975/6-1977/8.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATES (1)</th>
<th>PRIMARY SCHOOL OUT-TURN</th>
<th>SECONDARY SCHOOL IN-TAKE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anambra</td>
<td>77,801</td>
<td>93,517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bendel</td>
<td>45,242</td>
<td>90,788</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benue</td>
<td>17,632</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross River</td>
<td>63,092</td>
<td>72,449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imo</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>127,706</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaduna</td>
<td>25,515</td>
<td>28,086</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kano</td>
<td>9,503</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwara</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagos</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>37,745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6,982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ondo</td>
<td>37,833</td>
<td>45,238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oyo</td>
<td>52,986</td>
<td>60,181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plateau</td>
<td>10,127</td>
<td>12,144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sokoto</td>
<td>11,093</td>
<td>15,274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL FOR SOUTHERN STATES</td>
<td>276,954</td>
<td>527,622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL FOR NORTHERN STATES</td>
<td>73,870</td>
<td>82,041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OVERALL SOUTH % OVER NORTH</td>
<td>274.9%</td>
<td>543.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTE:**
(i) States which did not provide data on either primary school out-turn or secondary school in-take are left out of this table.
(ii) - indicates no data was provided.

The implication of the very poor enrolment figures in the Northern States shows once again the educational imbalance between the North and the South. It shows that the North has still got a lot of 'catching-up' to do. The enrolment figures of all the Northern States, with the exception of Kwara, formed a mere 13.4% of the total Nigerian enrolment in 1979/80; or 17.4% including Kwara. That means that the nine Southern States (Anambra, Bendel, Cross River, Imo, Lagos, Ogun, Ondo, Oyo and Rivers) accounted for 82.6% of the country's total secondary school enrolment in 1979/80. From these figures, one can say that the Northern States may never catch-up with their Southern counterparts but, that this wide gap can be narrowed down substantially.

One problem created by this lack of expansion of the secondary school facilities especially in the North is an acute bottleneck situation whereby transition from the primary school to secondary is restricted. Table 7.2 shows this more clearly. Plateau State, for example, had a total primary school out-turn of 12,144 in 1976/77, while only 4,594 were actually enrolled in Secondary 1 for the following school year, 1977/78. This means that just a little above one third of those who left primary school in 1976/77 got places in Plateau State secondary schools the following year - this represents 37.8% primary to secondary school transition rate for the period 1976/77 to 1977/78. In the case of Bendel State, the rate of transition during the same period was 30%. In the country at large, out of the large number of pupils who graduate from the primary school every year, only about 10% are admitted
into secondary schools leaving most of the remaining 90% to be absorbed into the labour force. However, on retention, Nwafor believes that this is better in the secondary schools even though more than one-third or 36.2% of those that complete the course fail the final examination.

The figures in Map 7.1 show (as do the figures in Table 7.2), that the Northern States are the most disadvantaged in education generally and secondary education in particular. In Borno, Bauchi, Gongola, Niger and Sokoto States, for example, the secondary school student population as a percentage of the total population is about 0.1%. This percentage is, however, higher in the States of Anambra, Imo, Rivers, Cross River and Bendel and highest in the former Western State (comprising Oyo, Ondo and Ogun States). This, once again demonstrates the argument that has been extensively discussed in this work viz. the imbalance in educational provision in Nigeria. The fact that the Northern States are generally poorer as regards vegetation and climate (see Chapter 2, Sub-Section 2.5) does not help matters, either.

By the policy of UPE, it was estimated that by the end of the 3rd National Development Plan period in 1980, there would be about 11.5 million pupils in primary schools representing 90% of all pupils enrolled in the country's formal education system, as against about 1.5 million students in all secondary schools (See Map 7.1). By 1987 it is expected that there will be over 32 million primary and secondary pupils in the country. The rate of expansion in
the primary school has not been matched in the secondary school which means that this problem (i.e. of inadequate facilities and low enrolment figures in the secondary level) is going to continue for some considerable time. And although the government is firmly committed to ensuring that every citizen is given full opportunity to develop his intellectual and working capacities for his own benefit and that of his community, the financial involvement (as we shall see later in this chapter) is staggering to the point that the cooperation of parents and communities has been enlisted. Certainly, the massive increases in the number of unemployed primary and secondary school leavers will not fail to make an ugly dent in the country's social stability in the years ahead.

While one concerns oneself with the inadequacies of facilities for secondary education, another major concern should also be the curriculum. What do children learn at school and how relevant is this to their lives after leaving school? Or, how much does this instruction satisfy the national objectives of the country? The examination of the curriculum and the reforms made therein, is likely to provide some of the answers to these questions.

7.5 SECONDARY SCHOOL CURRICULUM REFORMS IN NIGERIAN SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

7.5.1 Sources of Curriculum Content

Curriculum conceptualization had its foundations since the era of Christian philosophy of man. Basically, this philosophy which sees the individual as a component of body and soul (whereby the soul is spiritual and the body is material); stresses the development of character in order to guarantee the sanctity of the soul. The education of the
adolescents (and of the adults) therefore requires the acquisition of the classical languages - Latin and Greek, of the holy texts and fluency in these languages. This is because familiarity with the passages of the holy texts will assist in keeping the mind pure and, fluency in the language of the texts is a tool for discussing the texts and explaining them to the less educated ones.

In agreement with the Christian philosophy of man, the secondary school curriculum of the Medieval Europe was designed to assist the school attendants to understand the Divine and to acquire the language to explain the Divine to the commons. The secondary school curriculum during this period had as contents grammar, logic and rhetoric (or "trivius") and arithmetic, astronomy, music and geometry (or "quadrivium").

During the Renaissance period (i.e. the time which extended between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries), there was not much radical deviation from the approach to secondary education which characterized the Medieval era. However, whereas the secondary curriculum of the Medieval era remained essentially the development of the mind to dwell on the world hereafter, the Renaissance thinkers (or humanists as they are also called) maintained that the importance of the study of the classics resided in the acquisition of literary abilities to observe and appreciate human nature and human organizations. Basic to the empirical view (i.e. modern philosophers) of the curriculum, however, is the argument that the process of education should combine the development of the mind as well as the rational and the intellectual potentialities of the individual.
From the above review, there is sufficient evidence to show that most approaches to curriculum inquiry combined and emanated from philosophy and psychology.

However, it must be remembered that from time to time, emphasis in the process of secondary education reforms shifts from knowledge-centred curriculum to general or practical education curriculum. (The one lays emphasis on the traditional classics - English, Latin, and Greek; the other seeks to assist the students to acquire technical and trade skills). Sometimes, an educational system gives equal importance to both types of curriculum.

The concern as to whether secondary curriculum should be knowledge-centred or practical skill-oriented or both, has been a recurring educational issue in the Nigerian system of education. It is to this point we now turn in the subsequent sections.

7.5.2 The Curriculum - What Emphasis?

Reforms are necessary events in the process of education. As indicative of the preceding section, alternative ways in the process of education arise from the consideration of alternative philosophies of education. Hence, changes or reforms in the school curriculum may be seen as measures toward the attainment of desirable ends of schooling, within the constraints of assumed needs of the society which the education hopes to serve.

Since the introduction of Western education to Nigeria, and especially in the 1940s and all through the 1960s, characteristic of the type of the process of secondary education inherited from the British Colonial rulers, a grammar-centred curriculum with subjects such as Mathematics,
Geography, History, Biology, Chemistry, Physics and excellence in English Language constituted the main core of the secondary school curriculum. This grammar-centred curriculum aims at preparing those who attend secondary schools to become the elites of the society. It has, however, been observed that:

"No doubt, that educational system we inherited was a good one - good, that is, for the country and society for which it was planned; good for England and English society. But it was not good for us because it neglected to take into consideration our cultural and social background; because it has tended to produce an educated class of pen-pushers and because it failed to lay the foundations of economic freedom by providing the manual skills for successful industrial and agricultural development."

Following such criticisms as this, was a development of a series of ideologies in the late 1960s about the purpose of secondary education in Nigeria which indicated that there were educators, individual thinkers and interested groups who were totally against the grammar-centred secondary education. Influenced by strong nationalist ideology, some sectors of the public argued that the secondary education should be employed to promote patriotism and tolerance among and between the numerous Nigerian ethnic groups. Committed to the development of Nigerian cultures and customs, others were in favour of a secondary education processing which might regularise the influence
of the Western world on the social and cultural life of the Nigerians. The processing of secondary education for the perpetuation of elitism was seen as a factor which adversely affected the Nigerian traditional way of life.

This called for change in secondary school systems in general and the curriculum in particular, on a very grand scale. However, it is amazing that curricula which aimed at reforms were developed in only a few secondary schools. Examples of such schools are the Mayflower in the then Western Region (now Ogun State) and the Gaskiya College in Lagos. In both of these secondary schools, cultural awareness and nation building are basic elements of the philosophy of secondary education and agriculture is an important aspect of the curriculum. Community development is also given priority in the curriculum.

Inspite of the criticisms, it appears Nigerian educators and the public only pay what may be termed lip service to the need for change in the secondary school curriculum. We all know what Nigeria needs - cultural awareness, manpower (both skilled and semi-skilled), and also the need to acquire our own values as regards national and economic development. Nigeria is a big country, spread over a very wide area. It has a wide variety of physical features and vegetation. There are many languages, customs, and traditions. There is a lot we can learn from this diversity. The fact that we recognize education as a potent factor in exploiting the benefits of this diversity is not enough if we do not make it work; and the way how is to
(especially) diversify the curriculum so as to cater for differences in talents and to provide job opportunities so that these talents could be effectively made beneficial. Unfortunately, while we propagate a working curriculum in theses, conferences, etc., our planners (coupled with parents' attitudes and expectations) maintained a literary curriculum in our schools in Nigeria today, it is believed that anyone who attends a technical institution, or craft school, or anyone who chooses Domestic Science, Woodwork, Needlework, etc., in a Comprehensive school is not a particularly bright and promising student. The society as a whole looks down on these people (whether consciously or otherwise). That is why most parents use whatever means they have to see that their children get places in Grammar Schools and choose subjects such as Literature, Mathematics, English Language, Geography, etc.

This assumption or observation may be too bold but this writer is of the belief that when decisions are made pertaining to curricula changes (in Nigeria) so that practical subjects are introduced, these decision-makers often have children of the very poor in mind. One so often observes that children of university lecturers, school teachers, professors, ministry officials, etc., often attend the best grammar schools so that on graduation, they join the stream of elites in the country. If there should be any changes at all, these should start from attitudinal change of people at the top - everybody should be re-educated to face the need of providing and learning skills in order to make the country economically viable.

This brings me to the question of examinations. In criticising the curriculum, many writers often conclude
that a grammar-centred curriculum often begets examination consciousness, and learning by rote. This is a real criticism, but this writer believes that the situation must be viewed in its proper perspective. In a country where education is for an elite (as pointed out above), success at school confers special privileges on the certificate holder. Hence, education is regarded as an economic investment, which it certainly is, and the more examinations that are passed the higher the financial benefits derived. It seems to me that we are only being pretentious when we condemn examinations and certificates wholesale. There are few countries, if any, where the certificate obtained by a scholar is not a symbol of his social and financial status in the community.\textsuperscript{14} What is wrong, in my view, is that in Nigeria we lay emphasis on the wrong things and therefore we test or examine the wrong skills.

What we should do in order to get out of the traditional age and live (as do other nations) in a modern age of science and technology is to aim secondary education, through the curriculum to provide the knowledge of the environment and to infuse the spirit of creativity and scientific approach and its application to problems which confront us. Our science and mathematics syllabi should not only be restricted to fact finding and simple solutions of equations, and so on but, the emphasis must be on experimentation and inquiry (our students must be able to know why certain things happen). The experience gained from the various programmes available should be used in producing a Nigerian programme based on our environment and needs and in consonance with the age.
It is a shame that the richness of the Nigerian cultures and arts is less well known in Nigeria than abroad. Secondary education curriculum should create an appreciation and development of the arts and cultures with a view to enriching them. A conscious effort should also be made to develop the main languages so that they are used (generally) in speech and writing. Above all, secondary education should contribute to the habit of self-improvement and self-education, which I think, are the mainstay of a progressive people and an asset to a nation committed to the need to develop its social, economic and political life for the benefit of its citizens.

7.5.3 Curriculum Reforms of the 1980s

It would be wrong to state here that no reform had been made as regards the secondary school curriculum in Nigeria. For example, between the 1960s and 1980s, some educational professional strategies have been applied in order to bring about some reforms in the secondary school curriculum. The Nigeria Educational Research Council (NERC) was responsible for the coordination of reforms and innovations on secondary school curriculum. Through the organisation of several workshops, the NERC modified the aims of some secondary subjects to reflect the cultural social and economic needs of the country. The West African Examination Council (WAEC) has also contributed immensely in this direction. Based on the rationale that the English Language is the official language in Nigeria, and that science is a technological language, these two disciplines have been made compulsory in secondary schools by WAEC. Through the organisation of seminars, and workshops, the Nigerian Universities have also contributed
to curriculum reforms; so also have subject teachers' Associations like the Science Teachers' Association of Nigeria (STAN).

As a political strategy, probably the best so far, and certainly the most often cited example is the Investment In Education: The Report of the Commission On Post-School Certification and Higher Education in Nigeria, or The Ashby Report, for short. Recommending on secondary school curriculum, this Commission indicated the need to give priority to technical subjects. This was believed to be the best way to help produce responsible and skillful people who will participate in the economic development of the country.

A number of commissions were also set-up in the various regions of the country to look into educational matters. One of these commissions to which reference has been made earlier in this study, is the Banjo Commission of the then Western Region of Nigeria. This Commission was charged with the task of recommending reforms which will help with the reorganisation of the secondary school curriculum. In a bid to move from a grammar-centred education, the Banjo Commission recommended that the existing six-year grammar school and the three-year modern school (which was primarily for the acquisition of vocational skills) be merged into a 7-year, two levels structure: the Junior and Senior, levels. The Junior level was to offer, in addition to academic disciplines (English, History, Mathematics, etc.), pre-vocational disciplines (agricultural, technical, electrical, etc.). This level should run for three years. The Senior level, which would run a four-year programme would prepare students for entry into the
These recommendations and reforms of the secondary school curriculum were rejected because the educated Nigerian public, ironically, saw this as tantamount to lowering the quality of secondary education.

Interestingly, however, the Federal Government in the 1980s embarked on a national reform of the Secondary school curriculum; the characteristics of which are very similar to the proposals of the Banjo Commission in 1960. In the Federal Government Policy on Education, the government indicated its plans for a 6-year, 2 stage secondary education (See 7.3). In the revised policy on education in 1981, the Federal Government stated that the curriculum of the Junior Secondary school "will be both pre-vocational and academic". The outline below shows the structure of the Junior Secondary:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Core Subjects</th>
<th>Pre-Vocational Subjects</th>
<th>Non-Vocational Electives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>Metal work</td>
<td>Arabic Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Electronics</td>
<td>French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigerian Languages</td>
<td>Mechanics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>Local Crafts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art and Music</td>
<td>Home Economics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practical Agriculture</td>
<td>Business Studies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious and Moral Instruction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational Subjects</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With regard to the Nigerian Languages, the Federal Government expects that "students should study the language of their own area in addition to any of the three main Nigerian languages; Hausa, Ibo, and Yoruba subject to the availability of teachers." Here again, one can see that innovations in Nigeria however serious and urgent they are, are not often accompanied by the necessary implementation procedure (See Chapter 1.6.2 - 1.6.2.2). It would have been supposed that the training of teachers (and enough teachers as well) would precede the reform in the curriculum as regards Nigerian languages. It is obvious that a problem is not solved if the means for doing that is not available. If teachers are
not trained for teaching Nigerian languages, then the reform is as good as not being introduced. This confirms the nagging feeling one may have, that whatever reforms that are made in conferences, workshops, policy papers are not necessarily transferred practically to the classroom for the benefit of those people for whom the reform was made.

It must be remarked that an equally efficient administration of the curriculum is required; and while this is so, one must also sound a note of warning that while we intend to change our curriculum, the type of administration we have inherited from our Colonial rulers may not be adequate for efficient and effective administration of the reformed Secondary school curriculum; in that it is easily assumed that the person in authority also possesses the expertise required of the office. There is an urgent need for people who possess the expertise to make the structure functional and effective. What is decided in conferences must go hand in hand with what obtains in the classroom; otherwise our rulers, educators and policy-makers would have wasted their time, wasted the national resources and toyed with the future of the Nigerian child and the nation at large.

The establishment of pre-vocational as well as vocational institutions (e.g. Technical institutions) may obviously be a consequence of the criticisms that are heaped on the Secondary school curriculum (or grammar-centred institutions) and also the need to train the skilled middle work-force Nigeria needs to put it on the path to economic development. This is not to say that such institutions had
not existed in Nigeria before. It is only that the awareness and realisation of the potential of such institutions had increased and therefore more of them have been established over the years (this is in spite of the public feeling towards and rating of vocational schools as stated above).

At this point therefore, an examination of the technical institutions (as under Secondary technical education) will be worthwhile. We will also see, in the course of this examination, if Nigeria has shaken-off its "colonial-attitude" towards vocational education (in view of the criticisms against this).

7.6 TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Technical education in Nigeria is an outgrowth of vocational training in trades and crafts such as carving, carpentry, sculpture and building; these were traditionally run on an apprenticeship system without any form of literacy. Formal technical education in these and other skills was introduced through the government departments like the Nigerian Railway Corporation and the Post and Telecommunications, with the aim of providing necessary training for their junior technical grades. Instruction was in general education and intermediate science.

The development of formal technical education started in 1947 when a technical institute was established at Yaba in Lagos for the training of various grades of technical personnel. Growth over the years had been comparatively slow: in the 1950's Nigeria could boast of only 3 technical institutes which provided secondary and post-secondary courses; 7 trade centres of secondary school level and 18 handicraft centres which were of elementary school level.
As stated earlier, selection to technical secondary institutions was made on the same basis as the secondary grammar schools (i.e. by sitting for a General Common Entrance Examination). Students were indiscriminately sent to these schools; that is to say there is no prior ability criteria attached to such a selection: their interest, vocational or literary ability were not factors to this selection method. The credibility of this selection was doubtful as to whether students cared so much about learning a vocation or merely working hard to pass their examination.

In keeping with the National Policy of Education which emphasizes the development through the education system, of both the individual and the country, the need to expand the technical/vocational level became urgent. Much as there was a demand for technical manpower, there was also a noticeable absence of facilities and infrastructure needed to train enough people for this task. As a result, several thousands of Nigerians were sent to overseas institutions to undergo technical training. This programme, typically referred to as the Crash Programme for Technical Manpower Development shows that 'crash programmes' had become a stigma with Nigeria's development programmes; this is further emphasized by inefficiency and inadequate early planning. But, like any programme launched haphazardly, this overseas training was so expensive and yet it did not stop Nigeria from depending, as it used to, on foreign technical manpower.

There was therefore, need to cut down on overseas training. At the same time, the government intensified its
efforts in the provision of more local technical institutions, offering more areas of specialisation. It was along these lines that the Federal Government, in its 4th National Development Plan (1981-85), pledged to:

".... establish one Polytechnic, one technical college...... in each State."\(^{19}\)

Also, the Federal Government's allocation of ₦354 m to Technical education alone was an indication of its determination to train local, technically skilled manpower. This determination and commitment is revealed in this statement:

".... the very high priority that will be attached to the training of technical manpower at all levels during the Plan period .... the Federal Government attaches great importance to ensuring the availability of an adequate number of skilled technicians and technologists to the industrial centre......"\(^{19}\)

It is important at this point to look at the growth of technical education in Nigeria in terms of number of schools and enrolment figures.

7.7 **ENROLMENT IN TECHNICAL INSTITUTIONS**

It was pointed out in Chapter 5 that although the Christian Missionaries saw the obvious defects in, and the inadequacies of the education which they provided, they found there was little they could do to correct this; one of the main reasons for this was cost. A few of them, however, tried to devise a system of education suited to the country's needs and, i.e. by establishing industrial and vocational training at Lagos, Abeokuta, Onitsha and the famous Hope Waddell Institute at Calabar. The curriculum included teaching about cleaning and packing of agricultural
produce for the European markets, carpentry, masonry, brick and tile making, printing, tailoring and so on. These schools, which then were of craft school status actually enrolled a very few pupils.

At the time of independence, (1960), there were altogether 29 technical institutions in the country with a total enrolment of 5,037. By 1973, the number of secondary technical institutions had increased to 84 with an enrolment of 22,588 students. This represented an increase of 190% in the number of institutions and 348% in enrolment between 1960 and 1973.

As Table 7.3 shows, in the year before the launching of the UPE, the number of technical institutions in the country stood at 76, representing a 9.5% fall on the 1973 total. This could be explained by the fact that with the development of the Crash Programme for Technical Manpower Development (mentioned above) some of these institutions were operating at less than full capacity as most students were sent overseas for training. However, the enrolment increased by 16.2% to 26,241.

Once again, the Northern States, had a very slow start. For example, Bauchi had no secondary technical schools until 1977/78 when it had 3 with an enrolment of 132 students. Also, Sokoto State had only one institution in 1975/76 with an enrolment of 141; but by 1979/80, the number of institutions had gone up to 11 with 3,297 students in all: this shows an increase in number of schools and enrolment figures of 1000% and 2238% respectively. However, within the period between 1975/76 to 1979/80, Cross River State had progressively maintained the highest number of schools and students.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. of Schools</td>
<td>Enrolment</td>
<td>No. of Schools</td>
<td>Enrolment</td>
<td>No. of Schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anambra</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2,315</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2,257</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bauchi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bendel</td>
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<td>4,226</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2,768</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
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<td>Benue</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>856</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1,317</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borno</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross River</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4,906</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5,392</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gongola</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ifo</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1,960</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3,289</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaduna</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1,566</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2,896</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kano</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1,090</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1,253</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwarra</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>554</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>901</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagos</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2,151</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1,023</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>573</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>737</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ogun</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1,053</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1,029</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ondo</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>510</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>623</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oyo</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1,973</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1,958</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plateau</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>840</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rivers</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1,710</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2,042</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sokoto</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>736</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| NIGERIA      | 76      | 26,241   | 77      | 30,389   | 92      | 38,477   | 98      | 45,095   | 142     | 60,464   |

Source: Statistics Unit, Federal Ministry of Education, Lagos, p.32
These figures show something interesting as well. Apart from the fact that they show the Northern States' backwardness, even in the provision of technical education, they also show generally that technical education in the whole country is still in its infancy. When compared to the enrolment figures of secondary grammar schools in the 1979/80 session, which was 1,567,708, secondary technical enrolment of 60,464 during the same period constituted just 3.85%. These figures make one wonder - is Nigeria really serious about building and developing its economy? What is the basis of its investment in education policy if the curriculum and the whole approach to education is still concentrated or based on the grammar school which is also one of the legacies left behind by the Colonial administrators? It seems, from the above discussion, that much of current discussion regarding reforming the school and changing the emphasis from literary to technical/vocational is not new and has been going on for a very long time, in fact ever since Nigeria became independent, and despite all these years of demanding and discussing change, the truth still remains that Nigerian schools are fundamentally very little different from what they were 25 years ago. What then stops a break-away from the form of education which we know is not suitable for us? Could it be, as pointed out in Chapter 6 that people's negative attitude towards vocational education is the "stumbling block" to this change? To begin to answer these questions, it is necessary to re-examine some of the basic assumptions upon which the strategy of investment in education had been based and to relate this to technical/vocational education in Nigeria.
Throughout this study, much of the discussion surrounds the relationship between that section of the society concerned with the supply of manpower - the educational system - and the world of work. A general notion has also been maintained that the developing countries seriously rely on this relationship and believe that they can achieve rapid economic growth through this. Their conviction is based on the belief that the developed nations of today were able to reach their present level of political, economic and social development through education.

The study has also tended to focus on such issues as (a) the increase in unemployment of school leavers (both primary and secondary), and (b) a general lack of fit between what goes on in the schools and the reality of life and work that awaits those who emerge from them. These problematic issues are often blamed on the so-called 'academic' system of education inherited or copied from other (mainly Western) cultures. In drawing these conclusions, some facts that elude the developing countries are that the developed nations had:

1. highly developed economies with negligible subsistence sectors;
2. highly diversified occupational structures with a considerable degree of specialization;
3. ... high correlation between training of an individual and his chosen career. 20

Nigeria (as well as other developing countries) realised that to correct the situation of this 'academic' system, there needs to be a restructuring of the educational and training curriculum to provide the right types of skilled
manpower considered to be essential for economic and social transformation. Accordingly, (as per the National Policy on Education of 1977), greater emphasis is being given to vocational and technical education and training. The evidence for some countries on the African continent are also quite impressive. For example, "In Ethiopia, Burundi and Republic of Benin, enrolment in vocational schools has risen tremendously and the trend toward greater emphasis on vocationalization is apparent." 21

As established earlier in this chapter, the planning of vocational education in Nigeria has often run into problems. One of the reasons is its complexity and the cost involved. But, perhaps the most important reason is that there is a general antipathy to this type of education by the public. One of the aims of the National Policy on Education (referred to above) was to define the direction and objectives of Nigerian education as well as the mechanisms for the financing of education in the country. 22 The policy also aimed at making education an instrument of economic and socio-political change with far-reaching consequences for the society and the individual. According to the White paper:

"A substantial number of primary school leavers will have access to junior secondary education.... Those unable to proceed to Junior Secondary School will have opportunities provided for vocational training in craft schools and similar institutions where they can learn specific trades.... students who leave school at the junior high school stage may
then go on an apprenticeship system or some other scheme for out-of-school vocational training...."23

The government also intends to provide "basic tools for further advancement, including preparation for trades and crafts of the locality."24 This clearly shows that these policies aim at producing a back-up system to help the majority of pupils who fail to proceed with their formal education to work on their own as tradesmen and farmers.

Undoubtedly, reforms like these are good as they could have dramatic impact on the intractable school leavers unemployment problems. However, good as these reforms may be, their implementation and acceptance by the people for whom they are planned are beset with many problems. In a situation such as this, people need to be convinced that the change that is being planned is very necessary, and while it calls for them to change, they have to be shown how. As Coombs observed:

"When a society decides - as many have lately done - to transform its 'elitist' educational system into one that will serve the mass of people, and when it further decides to use that system as an instrument of national development, it is beset by many novel problems. One is that while many more people want more education, they do not necessarily want the kind of education that under new circumstances is most likely to serve both their own future's best interests and the best interests of national developments."25
This brings us to how individual objectives 'clash' with those of the society. In probing the attitudes behind these individual objectives the writer hopes to highlight how the self-allocative processes of pupils and students can undermine the planning of vocational education in Nigeria.

7.8.1 SELF-ALLOCATION

Self-allocation within the educational system is one of the main determinants of the outcome of any educational innovation. It relies heavily on how the incentive structure of the society attracts individuals with the proper qualifications into the appropriate types of education and subsequently into the appropriate occupations. In essence therefore, self-allocation is a function of the demand for education which in turn is a function of the opportunity and incentive structure attached to the different types and levels of education.

However, self-allocation does not often give a true picture of the human resource allocation within the educational system. For instance, a country may establish vocational centres in order to train middle-level technical and skilled personnel. But a closer look into the circumstances may show that many of the students who are attending these courses are doing so because they have had no admission to the elitist and more status-bearing formal schools which would ultimately lead them to white-collar jobs. As soon as they are able to secure admission to such schools they simply withdraw from the vocational courses. This has been the story of vocational education in Nigeria for a long time. This singular example demonstrates the
unrealistic stance planners often take by simply ignoring the expectations of the people for whom education is being planned and how such expectations can easily off-set the intention of educational planners.

For a long time, educational planners in Nigeria (and indeed in developing countries) have adhered to the assumption that the educational demand of a society, and thus the self-allocation mechanism of people can easily be altered to satisfy the manpower requirements for socio-economic development by simply restructuring the education and training curriculum of the educational system. This assumption does not take into consideration the fact that demand for education may not necessarily be influenced by the supply of education. Instead, the demand is largely a function of a person's perception of the end result or values attached to different types of education through incentives and social prestige. The interaction of these factors and their influence on the demand for education are things that need to be properly understood in the process of educational planning in Nigeria.

As if to confirm the above discussion, efforts by the educational planners to diversify the school curriculum and to produce people with skills suitable for technical and craft occupations have met with a silent but stiff opposition in Nigeria. This is because parents and pupils see these vocationally biased courses as ones that have no future by comparison with the academic courses which offer entry to higher education and thence to more
rewarding jobs. As the attitude towards vocational and technical training as well as the status of the teachers who teach them has tended to remain low despite all government efforts, it shows that the 'battle' in which people are almost being 'forced' to accept training contrary to their expectations, cannot be won (certainly not by the government or educational planners).

Recently, a survey was carried out on two towns of South Western Nigeria - Oyo and Ede - but are likely to be typical of most other parts of the country. A random sample of four schools were selected, and within each school, a random sample of 50 pupils was also taken. The survey aimed to examine the pupils' occupational orientation and the extent to which skilled work featured in their choices. The result of the survey was quite revealing as regards the general attitude people have towards technical or craft training as discussed above. Of the 401 sample, 48% would prefer white-collar jobs. "This finding highlights an unsatisfactory situation in a country suffering from a chronic shortage of such jobs and where emphasis is tilting toward vocational and agricultural education which would enable youths to pursue a livelihood in self-employment." However, 33% of the pupils aspired to skilled work but only a disappointing 1% wanted to engage in farming; (14% - trading and 4% - other manual occupations.)

A cursory examination of the pupils' occupational orientation in relation to their socio-economic background revealed even more. As Table 7.4 shows, (this table is adapted from the survey) pupils who are from high socio-
economic background are least disposed to skilled work. This re-establishes the fact that such children have a wider opportunity structure which enables them to choose jobs that 'suit' their background. Also, their families' resources is a major advantage that will ensure that they, unlike the poor children, can acquire the educational requirements needed for such jobs.

Clearly (as the Table shows) not all the pupils want white-collar jobs. This difference is important, somehow, in predicting the reactions to the attempt to vocationalize the lower level of the educational system in Nigeria. It is quite interesting to see that while a very high proportion of the children of professionals prefer to do the same sort of jobs as their fathers, there is a noticeable out-right rejection of farming by farmers' children. Their aspiration is to be in the top rung of the social ladder. Also, over 50% of traders' male children would prefer non-manual occupation while the females are liberally distributed between non-manual occupations, skilled jobs as well as trading. Note also that trading is the choice of most girls from most of the socio-economic backgrounds. Even in the clerical, uniform and professional group, up to 14% of the girls would rather engage themselves in trading than learn some skilled jobs or do other manual jobs including farming. This interest in trading by girls is a reflection of the traditional occupation of Yoruba women of South Western Nigeria where the survey was carried out.

Also, the main factors that underlie the pupils' choice of occupation include:

(a) income, 30%; (b) the social prestige of the job, 27%;

7.39
TABLE 7.4 OCCUPATIONAL PREFERENCES OF PUPILS BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION AND SEX OF PUPILS (PERCENTAGES).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>FARMER</th>
<th>UNSKILLED AND SEMI-SKILLED</th>
<th>SKILLED</th>
<th>TRADING</th>
<th>CLERICAL, UNIFORM, AND PROFESSIONAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NON-MANUAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>32</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>SKILLED</td>
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<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>21</td>
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<td>M</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRADING</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: O.Y. OYENYE (1981), Table 1.
(c) working conditions, 17%; (d) family influence, 12%; (e) influence of friends, 8%; (f) self-knowledge of some people doing the job, 4% and (g) others, 2%. 30

From these reasons, one notices that the pupils don't rank capabilities, and national needs as important. Instead, the first two reasons, reflecting the income, perception and prestige of jobs in the society may have important implications for the educational innovation proposed in Nigeria.

It may be argued that a single research finding is not enough to draw big conclusions on, but, the implication of the findings of even this single research for educational planners and administrators in Nigeria is quite clear. Even in the face of national needs particularly for skilled workers, artisans, craftsmen, there is still that preference for white-collar jobs. Even among those who responded in favour of vocational education and training, it was found that the motivating factor is not genuine interest but because their parents cannot afford secondary (grammar) school fees. Were they to have the opportunity, they would likely opt for secondary grammar education in anticipation of white-collar jobs. The fact that this is a very serious problem to Nigeria's education policies cannot be over-emphasized.

What readily comes to mind and poses as the only way through which the situation as described above can look different is a mass attitudinal change and most especially, corrective government policies to counter-vail the present antipathy which holds back the acceptance of vocational education as a worthwhile educational venture.
Even though it is not easy to effect mass attitudinal change (for the reasons that everyone has a right to his own decisions), in the same token, a 'laissez faire' approach will not help Nigeria to achieve success on this issue.

As a starting point, the government must try and win the confidence of the people by making the rewards of technical, vocational and craft-based courses as attractive as those of the academic education. Better recognition of their value to society and better appreciation of their skills would be a step in the right direction. Parents, especially, will want to know that their children can earn a good and respectable living through the skills to be acquired through vocational education. What is being suggested is that there should be a narrowing of earning differentials in the labour market such that general secondary or higher education do not look any more attractive than vocational training. But, as long as the prevailing income disparities between the highest and lowest paying jobs in occupational structure remains, vocational education will not make the desired impact on a majority of Nigerians. These measures are necessary because considering the cost of technical education, Nigeria cannot afford to continue squandering resources on a 'white elephant'.

Also, while on this subject, it must be pointed out that education in itself does not create jobs, except, of course, for school-teachers. If the products of schools are expected to use their education and participate in the process of development, it is not just enough to
equip them with relevant skills; jobs must be made available. Unfortunately, in Nigeria, these two aspects are moving at a very slow pace: while vocational training is slow, the rate of job creation is considerably slower. For example, in its current five-year plan (1981-85), Nigeria envisaged the creation of 4 million jobs mainly in the building, manufacturing and service industries. This would have been a remarkable achievement even though it would not have matched the number of young Nigerians who emerge each year from the UPE system and expanding secondary school system. However, because of its present economic crisis, redundancies in Nigeria are now more than the number of people being employed: there is therefore little room for expanding the already tight economy by way of job-creation.

Nigeria (and indeed the developing countries) ought to take a look again into this investment in education policy. People who are trained in skills should be able to 'sell' their expertise not only to the government but also to the general public. The use of local material in technical training should be made paramount. For example, Nigeria does not lack technical skills: traditional skills and crafts such as pot-making, weaving, metal-work and leather-work are evidences that these talents exist. These talents can be supplemented by formal training either at work, or by apprenticeship. The techniques and equipment used in the apprenticeship system can be transferred to the formal education system and taught alongside the scientific, technical techniques. This will ensure that local ideas
and material are adopted in the school system and thus minimise total dependence on advanced countries for equipment and ideas. The time is ripe for Nigeria to realise that it cannot continue trying to catch-up, technologically with the developed nations. The best it can do is to develop its own technology from its own environment, as well as borrow from the developed nations' technology those aspects that satisfy its own needs. Its education (conventional, technical, etc.) must be one that is built on the basis that it serves the people and the country in general. This is because education's contribution to economic development is relative and varies from one country to another depending on the stage of development reached by the country, the strategy it is pursuing and the forms of education it is utilising. That is why if Nigeria attempts to transfer 'whole-sale' western technology, it will be asking its education system to do the impossible. This is because with just over 60,000 students (which is the overall figure for the 1979/80 technical schools enrolment) and assuming all these became adequately trained and all acquired skills, the figure still cannot satisfy the intermediate technical staff problem in Nigeria.

It is true that technical schools are more expensive to equip and maintain than academic schools but it is also true (judging from the experiences of Germany and Japan, and also of developing countries such as South Korea and Singapore) that large amounts of technical education are conducive to economic growth. Bearing this in mind, the need for skilled workers, the expansion of technical schools in Nigeria and, the reorganisation of training programmes which allow for more meaningful and effective
practical approach, cannot be over-emphasized. And looking at findings like the ones above, it seems the days of rhetoric are over; this now appears to be the beginning of re-educating people as to the values of technical/vocational education not only to the individuals but to the Nigerian society as a whole.

7.9 THE FINANCING OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN NIGERIA

One of the main issues discussed in this study is the investment in education policy by most developing countries, generally and Nigeria in particular. It has also been maintained that formal education is one of the world's fast growing (and the developing countries' largest) industry. This means that education is also the greatest consumer of public revenues, and has therefore spelt doom for the poor nations, who, believing that education is their last hope of shaking-off their poverty, have invested huge sums of money in it. For example, in Africa and Latin America, public educational expenditure more than doubled in the 1960s, and between 1960s and 1970s, this expenditure in education was more pronounced than for any other sector of the economy.

In these developing countries also, the educational systems are passing through an unavoidable phase of secondary education expansion. This expansion (as stated earlier) has been caused primarily by the mounting pressure from the population who are increasingly looking upon secondary education as a necessary ladder for socio-economic mobility.

7.45
One thing that goes hand-in-hand with expansion is funding or cost. Crippling as this may be on the economy of an already poor country, in Nigeria, the funding of secondary education had changed hands quite often - from the Missions, to the colonial government and then in contemporary times to the governments (both federal and state) and households, communities, etc. For example, in the 1st National Development Plan (1962-1968) out of a total allocation of £29.2 m or approximately 7.1% made to education (from a total estimated capital expenditure of £412.5 m by the Federal Government), £0.944 m or 3.2% was earmarked for the establishment of new secondary schools, £1.840 m or 6.3% for the establishment of high schools in the States and £0.135 m or 0.5% for the expansion of sixth form education.  

Table 7.5 shows Federal Government recurrent expenditure on secondary education expressed as a proportion of total recurrent expenditure on education. It is observable from the table that allocation to secondary education from total Federal Government recurrent budget on education increased gradually from an almost insignificant proportion of about 9% in 1969-70 to an all time level of 50% in 1975-76. Thereafter a decrease is noticeable to a level of about 5% in 1977/78. A probable reason for this new trend is the decision by the Federal Government in 1975 to take over the control of existing Universities and the establishment of seven new ones which obviously imposed heavy financial commitment, detrimental to the other levels of the education system including secondary education.
TABLE 7.5 FEDERAL GOVERNMENTS RECURRENT EXPENDITURE ON SECONDARY EDUCATION AS A PROPORTION OF TOTAL RECURRENT EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION (N N)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>Total Recurrent Expenditure on Education (N N)</th>
<th>Recurrent Expenditure on Secondary Education* (N N)</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1969-70</td>
<td>16.16</td>
<td>1.39</td>
<td>8.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>20.03</td>
<td>1.89</td>
<td>9.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-72</td>
<td>26.93</td>
<td>2.48</td>
<td>9.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972-73</td>
<td>40.26</td>
<td>4.57</td>
<td>11.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973-74</td>
<td>53.78</td>
<td>6.18</td>
<td>11.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974-75</td>
<td>92.68</td>
<td>17.54</td>
<td>18.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td>240.20</td>
<td>119.59</td>
<td>49.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976-77</td>
<td>443.06</td>
<td>114.67</td>
<td>25.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977-78</td>
<td>786.62</td>
<td>36.37</td>
<td>4.62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Includes expenditure on West African Examination Council (WAEC).

Table 7.6 on the other hand shows recurrent expenditures on secondary education as a proportion of total recurrent expenditure on education by States on the basis of the 19 States structure. It is clearly observable that the trend of expenditure by States is that of an increasing nature while the proportional relationship between recurrent expenditure on secondary education and total recurrent expenditure has either been stable or has been increasing. It is also significant to note that Bendel, Niger and Rivers States are placing a lot of emphasis on the development of secondary education judging from the proportion of total recurrent expenditure on education which went to secondary education.

A varied number of sources show that the highest proportion of financial resources allocated to secondary education by both the Federal and State Governments went to personal enrolments, students' maintenance (which is a reflection of the emphasis given to the boarding system in secondary schools in Nigeria; although there is a lot of evidence to show that the boarding system is being gradually phased out thereby transferring a lot more responsibility to parents). J.R. Hough, in his study of schools (primary and secondary) in Bendel and Ogun States also shared the view that a lot of money goes to pay teachers' salaries. The proportional status of materials and equipment in total recurrent funds allocated to secondary education which on the average stands at 10% \(^36\) however, is a fact which should be noted with concern. The fact that a little proportion of the expenditure is spent on materials and equipment may in some ways be among the factors behind the high level of failure in the West African School Certificate (WASC) examination. One thing of interest here as regards the financing of
## TABLE 7.6

STATE GOVERNMENTS' RECURRENT EXPENDITURES ON SECONDARY EDUCATION AS A PROPORTION OF TOTAL RECURRENT EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION, ("M MILLIONS).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATE</th>
<th>Recurrent Expenditure on Education (&quot;M)</th>
<th>Recurrent Expenditure on Secondary Education (&quot;M)</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anambra</td>
<td>90.97</td>
<td>86.77</td>
<td>19.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bauchi</td>
<td>6.78</td>
<td>16.04</td>
<td>3.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bendel</td>
<td>48.44</td>
<td>76.46</td>
<td>38.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benue</td>
<td>38.89</td>
<td>68.43</td>
<td>10.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borno</td>
<td>7.65</td>
<td>27.46</td>
<td>3.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross River</td>
<td>64.67</td>
<td>83.08</td>
<td>15.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gongola</td>
<td>28.05</td>
<td>28.62</td>
<td>12.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imo</td>
<td>40.34</td>
<td>141.28</td>
<td>19.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaduna</td>
<td>53.26</td>
<td>77.37</td>
<td>26.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kano</td>
<td>67.85</td>
<td>106.27</td>
<td>24.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwaara</td>
<td>54.91</td>
<td>42.78</td>
<td>4.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagos</td>
<td>71.59</td>
<td>100.95</td>
<td>27.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>14.37</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>8.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ogun</td>
<td>31.92</td>
<td>30.70</td>
<td>16.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ondo</td>
<td>46.81</td>
<td>28.64</td>
<td>21.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oyo</td>
<td>77.60</td>
<td>117.65</td>
<td>28.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plateau</td>
<td>28.68</td>
<td>35.39</td>
<td>11.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rivers</td>
<td>45.35</td>
<td>68.08</td>
<td>31.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sokoto</td>
<td>33.36</td>
<td>57.65</td>
<td>17.09</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

secondary education is that it is not going to decline instead it will be on the increase as the level expands more and more, this being a direct response to demands for it by the population.

At this point, it will be worthwhile to discuss briefly how this cost is determined (since there has been an attempt to probe this earlier).

7.9.1 DETERMINING THE COST OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

According to Akangbou, the cost of secondary education is made up of two components: the direct and indirect costs. The direct costs cover such items that are directly purchased by the secondary educational institutions. On the other hand, the indirect cost is the value of output which the students would have produced were they not studying. In attempting to determine what will constitute the direct social costs one can either use actual or estimated public recurrent and capital expenditures on secondary schools or, use actual expenditure by a sample of schools. The problem with the former method is that it is often difficult to segregate purely educational expenditure from welfare ones since expenditure by governments on secondary schools cover both (For example, expenditure on boarding is of a welfare nature). However, using these two methods in a study to find the direct social cost of secondary education per student year in Bendel and Oyo States, Akangbou found that this cost in 1980/81 in Bendel State about ₦242 while that for Oyo State was ₦278 (See Table 7.7). (It would seem that secondary education is cheaper in Bendel than in Oyo State but this writer would like to point out that whilst the figures for Bendel State were based on rough estimates, those for Oyo State were based on actual school situations). Using
TABLE 7.7  DIRECT SOCIAL COST OF SECONDARY EDUCATION PER STUDENT YEAR IN BENDEL AND OYO STATES OF NIGERIA, 1980/81

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEMS.</th>
<th>Amount (₦)</th>
<th>Unit Cost (₦)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. BENDEL STATE, 1980/81</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Ministry of Education, Secondary Division</td>
<td>88,530</td>
<td>0.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. State Board of Education</td>
<td>53,953,060</td>
<td>211.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Imputed Rent</td>
<td>31,800,000</td>
<td>30.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>85,841,590</td>
<td><strong>241.90</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. OYO STATE, 1980/81</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Teachers' Salaries and Allowances</td>
<td>3,109,967</td>
<td>211.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Non-Teachers' Salaries and Allowances</td>
<td>461,881</td>
<td>31.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Other Current Goods and Services</td>
<td>326,146</td>
<td>22.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Imputed rent</td>
<td>122,542</td>
<td>13.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>4,020,536</td>
<td><strong>278.09</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:** Akangbou, S.D. (1982), "Returns to Secondary Education in Nigeria: A case Study of Bendel and Oyo States., p.213
the calculation in Table 7.7 therefore, one can obtain the total direct social cost of secondary education in the two States by multiplying the total unit cost by the number of years the student spends in the secondary school system (which was 5 years in 1980/81). Thus in Bendel State the total cost of secondary education is estimated as N 1,210 each whilst in Oyo State it is estimated as N 1,390 each.

We can go on and on trying to work out the social cost of secondary education; the number of things we need to consider to arrive at this actual cost is almost endless. For example, the wastage rate (i.e. repetition of classes, drop-out, etc.). All these factors need to be considered. For instance, in a survey carried out by Akangbou in 1974/75, it shows the wastage rate in secondary education in Bendel State was 19% per annum. If we assume that this has remained constant, since 1974/75, then adjusting the crude social direct costs for wastage, we shall obtain a total social direct cost of about N 1,434 per student in Bendel State and N 1,654 per student in Oyo State.

This brings us to the cost to the individual of secondary school education. How much is the cost to him? We should bear in mind that this cost covers all expenditures incurred by him as a result of the education he is acquiring. This includes expenditure on books and stationery, school uniforms, transport, school levies (where applicable), etc.

Table 7.8 shows that it costs an individual about N 130 and N 142 per annum to undergo secondary education.
TABLE 7.8 PRIVATE DIRECT COSTS OF SECONDARY EDUCATION PER STUDENT YEAR IN BENDEL AND OYO STATES OF NIGERIA, 1980/81 (₦ per annum).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Bendel State</th>
<th>Oyo State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Books and Stationery</td>
<td>50.65</td>
<td>55.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Transport</td>
<td>19.50</td>
<td>17.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Uniforms</td>
<td>21.00</td>
<td>29.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Consumable Materials</td>
<td>10.00</td>
<td>12.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. School Levy</td>
<td>14.00</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Other items</td>
<td>15.00</td>
<td>18.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>130.15</strong></td>
<td><strong>142.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

training in Bendel and Oyo States respectively. When adjusted by 19% per annum (i.e. taking wastage and stagnation into account as was done for the social direct cost), the private direct cost for Bendel State becomes N 155 and that in Oyo State becomes N 169 per annum.

The above figures suggest that the society has over-invested in secondary education. Assuming that one can generalise these figures on the rest of the 19 States, it would certainly be true to say there is an over-investment in secondary education. In addition recently, some States (Oyo, Bendel, Ondo, Ogun and Lagos), have been flirting with massive democratisation of secondary education. The efforts of these states is exerting an indirect pressure on the remaining States to increase enrolment into their secondary schools at a faster rate because the population view this as a measure of performance by elected politicians.

As from 1982 (as a result of the new policy on education) the first three years of secondary education (i.e. the Junior Secondary) are being provided free by the government. This policy poses a great problem because it appears that serious consideration has not been given to the effect which this policy will have on the flow of funds to the institutions. Already, as mentioned earlier, the present level of funding is increasingly becoming inadequate to meet certain vital needs of secondary education e.g. materials and equipment.

Given that the direct social cost of secondary education will become problematic (as it certainly would in the near future if the current economic situation of the country continues much longer), it will be necessary to find ways for the secondary school system to be run more cost-effectively.
One of the ways to do this is to maintain an optimum size for the secondary level institutions. Since (as was confirmed above) the level of recurrent unit cost per student in a secondary school depends, to a much greater extent, on the level of enrolment, changes in the level of enrolment therefore is likely to bring about changes in the unit cost per student (i.e. assuming that all other factors remain constant). Some research findings seem to support this. These findings show that the optimum size for secondary schools with the lowest unit cost per student is 2,000 enrolled students. It was also observed that any size below or above this optimum would result in higher unit costs.

The other way by which costs can be greatly reduced is for individual institutions to engage in generating resources for themselves. One of the ways they can do this is by using the massive land they have at their disposal for, say, mixed farming. This possesses the potential of providing not only food for students on which huge sums of money is spent annually (especially in schools with boarding systems) but also the badly needed cash when harvests are sold after meeting the food needs of students.
CHAPTER 7

REFERENCES


7. Ibid., p.10


9. Ibid., p.231; See also Inanoya Imogie, op. cit., who puts this at 30%. p.387.


17. Ibid.,


23. Ibid., p.10.


29. Ibid.


38. Ibid.


CHAPTER 8

8.0 DEVELOPMENT OF TEACHER EDUCATION

The system of training teachers in Nigeria before and after independence in 1960 has not been very different from teacher training systems in most developing countries of Africa. It has maintained a traditional outlook, often beset with the usual problems of an inadequate supply of manpower to cope with the ever expanding system of basic education. Lack of equipment, teaching and learning materials and other facilities only added to an age-old problem.

Perhaps it may be useful to trace the development of teacher training by using Beeby's classification of stages in the development of systems of education. Professor A. Taylor has tried to modify Beeby's classification so as to relate the stages more directly to the problems of teacher education. The period of Nigeria's educational development - Missionary control, Colonial Administration's Involvement, Self-determination, Post-Investment Period - fit nicely into the four stages.

The four stages are summarized as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage: Beeby</th>
<th>Teachers: Beeby</th>
<th>Prof. Taylor</th>
<th>Period in Nigeria</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I Dame School</td>
<td>ill-educated/ untrained</td>
<td>Pre-formal</td>
<td>Missionary Control 1842-1882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Formalism</td>
<td>ill-educated/ untrained</td>
<td>Formal</td>
<td>Government Involvement 1912-1950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III Transition</td>
<td>Better educated and trained</td>
<td>Pre-Professional</td>
<td>Self-Determination 1950-1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iv Meaning</td>
<td>Well-educated and well trained</td>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>Post-Investment In Education. Period: 1970-todate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 8.1 Teacher Educational development in Nigeria Compared to Beeby's Stages of Educational Development
The Dame School or the Pre-formal stage in Nigeria would be the stage when the Christian Missionaries were in total control of education. People who could read and write in the small mission schools were assigned to take catechism classes whereby they in turn teach their attendants how to read and write. As more and more Mission Stations were established, there was a need to introduce certification. The vernacular teacher (grade IV) course provided basic training in a vernacular language for pupils who had completed four years of elementary education. As the primary school became more established and formal, the Elementary teacher (Grade III) course was introduced. This followed a successful completion of a 3-year teacher training course that stressed mostly Methodology, Classroom organisation and general education principles. Entry qualification was the First School Leaving Certificate which is obtained after the completion of primary grades VI or VII.

The formal stage grew out of the pre-formal. This period coincided with the government involvement in the responsibility for the provision of education. In addition to the above, the Higher Elementary (Grade II) course became necessary. Entry was open to Grade III certificate holders for a duration of 2 years (but now the grade III has been phased out) and to holders of the First School Leaving Certificate or through a competitive examination. Although teaching is a vocation, that much regard was not given to the training for it. There was no encouragement of initiative or creativity for the trainees; instead major efforts were placed on the establishment of academic
standards. The examination system of teacher education programme had, unfortunately, become an end in itself. The passing of national examinations was often equated with good teaching. In later years, the respect and status given to examinations led to a teaching style of covering the subject textbook page by page without much creative innovation and critical thinking. When the policy of teaching pupils in the local language in the first three years of the primary school was enacted, teacher trainees were faced with additional problems of studying and learning in English (the medium of instruction) whereas on graduation, they teach in the vernacular.

Since then, the curriculum in most teacher training colleges included English, Arithmetic, History, Geography, Physical and Health Education, Principles and Practice of Education, General Science, Religion and Teaching Practice. Also Methods of Teaching are included in the subject matter of most of the subjects. The concept of learning by doing and the practical subjects of primary education such as Art and Crafts, Agriculture (or farm science) were generally lacking and furthermore, these subjects were often labelled as non-academic and therefore treated as minor or inferior subjects. As a result, these creative and activity-based subjects were often allocated the least qualified tutors, less time, facilities and equipment, and on the whole, enjoyed an inferior status in both the primary and college curriculum.

Stage III or the pre-professional stage in Nigeria began with the establishment of the Advanced Teachers' Colleges in 1962. This resulted from the combined efforts of the Nigerian government and UNESCO to train non-graduate teachers.
The regional governments also stepped-up their teacher training programmes all with the aim of meeting the increasing demand for teachers in both the primary and secondary levels. The Nigeria Certificate in Education course (i.e. the ATC course) is awarded to candidates after a 3-year post-secondary (also post-Grade II) full-time course of high academic and professional content. Upon graduation, NCE holders are expected to teach in the lower forms of post-primary institutions (in practice though, they also teach in the senior forms). NCE is also an entry qualification for admission to Nigerian Universities for degree courses in Education and Education related subjects.

Although the NCE course has a high esteem (in terms of teacher qualification), with some elements of specialization in chosen subject areas, concentration on the subject is still highly academic. This is true of even the professional stage (the education qualification awarded to candidates who have either a GCE 'A' level, NCE or Diploma in Education, after undergoing a 3-year course, in the case of the GCE 'A' level holder, 2 years for NCE. Degree holders may also get a Post-Graduate Diploma in Education (PGDE) after undergoing a year's course). A highly bookish curriculum is followed and apart from Teaching Practice, very little practical work is done. Subjects include Psychology, Philosophy of Education, Sociology of Education, School Administration, Comparative Education, and such like.

From the above synopsis of teacher education in Nigeria (so far), this writer's views are that new approaches and new perspectives are still needed for teacher education.
Today, and in the very near future, teacher training institutions will be required to adopt educational concepts and innovative experiments taking place in schools and in the society in general. The training and preparation of teachers should therefore reflect the social concepts as well as the pedagogical concepts of basic education for the masses. There is need to raise the level of teachers to stage IV of well-educated and well-trained and therefore to a professional status. The importance of teachers in the Nigerian education system is very crucial; and the challenge posed by the need for quality teachers is a grave one. Nigeria, at its present level of development, demands committed, competent and resourceful teachers who possess the right knowledge, skills and attitudes to meet the present and future demands of the society. Presently it is not clear whether teachers (especially the Grade II level) have acquired from their training any skills. At the same time, it is not certain whether by merely making structural changes, introducing new skills and educating people to accept these will effect any change that will have any desired effect in the schools at all. As will be observed later in the study, this is a very complex issue and therefore needs to be handled with utmost care.

8.1 TEACHER-SUPPLY AND THE UPE

As observed above, the training of teachers dates back to the Christian Missionary period, when the CMS established a teacher-training college in 1859 - 'The Training Institution' - at Abeokuta. As the products from teacher training institutions help tremendously in furthering their course, the Christian Missions intensified the expansion of teacher
training institutions.

The curriculum of these early training institutes combined theology with teaching methods as would-be catechists would also have to teach some classes and those who were trained as teachers were also expected to serve as evangelists or catechists. (See 8.1 above). Under such circumstances, the syllabus comprised school management, New Testament Criticism, Preaching and Theology, History, Christian Religion, English, Arithmetic, Vernacular language, etc.

It should be mentioned that even though teacher training institutions were expanded, the enrolment figures of the UPE schemes of the 1950s were overwhelming and these posed really big problems as regards the teaching force. As a result, crash programmes for the training of teachers were launched, especially in the Western Region. This certainly meant that in expanding the teaching force, quality was sacrificed; the majority of teachers had no teaching qualifications and if they had it was only the Grade III certificate, which, as pointed out above, was just two years' training after the primary school. During the 1960s however, concern was expressed about the quality of education; as a measure of quality-control therefore, the Grade III teachers' course was gradually phased-out, and the existing Grade III teachers were up-graded through in-service training to Grade II standards - the Certificate now regarded as the standard professional qualification for teaching in the primary schools.

When the UPE programme was launched, however, the Grade III course was re-introduced in some States, and once again, ground on quality-control was lost. This put the national
objectives of 80% Grade II teachers in primary schools and 100% trained graduate teachers in secondary schools by 1985, in jeopardy. Table 8.1 shows wide disparities in teacher qualifications, which had significant implications for what children actually learned at school; this therefore affects the value and potential of UPE to bridge the educational gaps between the States. The table shows the considerable proportion of sub-grade II teachers in all the States. In Lagos and Imo States, this was relatively low, but particularly high in Sokoto, Borno, Gongola and Kano States. Although it is surprising that Ogun State, for instance, had a higher proportion of untrained staff than Kaduna State; and the reason for this is not readily apparent.

Just as qualitative differences were posing problems and doubts as regards UPE's ability to close educational gaps between the States, the experience of the first four years did not indicate any significant progress in general, either. Table 8.2 shows that out of a total of 345,684 teachers employed in the primary education, in 1979/80 only 82,997 or 24% have the Grade II certificate and the Grade II failed, Grade III and Grade IV (combined), formed 19.4%; while those who had no training in teaching at all formed a massive 34.3% (i.e. HSC/WASC and Others).

Despite the initiative taken to employ unqualified persons to teach, it could be observed that there still were not enough teachers to effectively cater for the children in terms of providing for their educational needs; and also despite the number of students who enrolled in Teacher Training Colleges (Table 8.3).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATE</th>
<th>1975-6</th>
<th>1976-7</th>
<th>1977-8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gr.II</td>
<td>Gr.II f*</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anambra</td>
<td>60.1</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>66.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bauchi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bendel</td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>58.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benue</td>
<td>40.2</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>47.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borno</td>
<td>28.4</td>
<td>37.8</td>
<td>66.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross River</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>36.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gongola</td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>30.1</td>
<td>63.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imo</td>
<td>62.9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaduna</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>65.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kano</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>44.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwara</td>
<td>48.6</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>60.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagos</td>
<td>59.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ogun</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>49.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ondo</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>50.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oyo</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>53.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plateau</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rivers</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sokoto</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>56.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>(42.5)</td>
<td>(14.3)</td>
<td>54.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Gr.II f means Grade Two failed.*

**TABLE 8.1** GRADE II (CERTIFICATED AND FAILED) TEACHERS AS % OF ALL TEACHERS IN PRIMARY EDUCATION 1975-6 to 1977-8

**SOURCE:** FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA (1979b, p.58)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Total Primary School Enrolment</th>
<th>Total No. of Teachers</th>
<th>Grade I &amp; Higher</th>
<th>Grade II &amp; Certificate</th>
<th>Grade II failed</th>
<th>Grade III &amp; Grade IV</th>
<th>H.S.C. &amp; W.A.S.C.</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Pupil/Teacher Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anambra</td>
<td>978,885</td>
<td>27,653</td>
<td>878</td>
<td>12,470</td>
<td>4,556</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>983</td>
<td>8,747</td>
<td>35.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bauchi</td>
<td>372,382</td>
<td>10,902</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>943</td>
<td>2,024</td>
<td>970</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6,691</td>
<td>34.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bendel</td>
<td>825,423</td>
<td>24,234</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>10,023</td>
<td>6,225</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>3,341</td>
<td>4,214</td>
<td>34.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benue</td>
<td>859,691</td>
<td>25,418</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>9,246</td>
<td>1,631</td>
<td>1,631</td>
<td>2,087</td>
<td>10,570</td>
<td>33.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borno</td>
<td>693,294</td>
<td>10,576</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross River</td>
<td>776,899</td>
<td>21,786</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>6,765</td>
<td>7,806</td>
<td>1,215</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5,929</td>
<td>35.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congola</td>
<td>407,506</td>
<td>13,823</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2,373</td>
<td>2,001</td>
<td>2,078</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7,355</td>
<td>29.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imo</td>
<td>1,095,623</td>
<td>30,987</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaduna</td>
<td>605,858</td>
<td>19,899</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>1,848</td>
<td>6,128</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>2,052</td>
<td>9,662</td>
<td>30.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kano</td>
<td>854,639</td>
<td>20,828</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>491</td>
<td>6,544</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>765</td>
<td>12,890</td>
<td>41.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwara</td>
<td>588,388</td>
<td>13,251</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>3,505</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>1,758</td>
<td>7,802</td>
<td>44.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagos</td>
<td>477,371</td>
<td>14,892</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>8,830</td>
<td>2,444</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>2,963</td>
<td>32.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>319,755</td>
<td>6,987</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>3,302</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>786</td>
<td>2,445</td>
<td>48.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ogun</td>
<td>350,423</td>
<td>11,469</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>4,476</td>
<td>2,056</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4,651</td>
<td>30.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ondo</td>
<td>583,747</td>
<td>16,995</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oyo</td>
<td>1,281,744</td>
<td>30,087</td>
<td>465</td>
<td>19,002</td>
<td>5,790</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>872</td>
<td>3,738</td>
<td>42.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plateau</td>
<td>411,130</td>
<td>13,950</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>2,490</td>
<td>1,607</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>854</td>
<td>8,582</td>
<td>29.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rivers</td>
<td>484,567</td>
<td>15,975</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sokoto</td>
<td>448,363</td>
<td>15,972</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>7,383</td>
<td>506</td>
<td>4,206</td>
<td>3,624</td>
<td>28.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIGERIA</td>
<td>12,415,688</td>
<td>345,684</td>
<td>2,792</td>
<td>82,997</td>
<td>59,497</td>
<td>7,771</td>
<td>18,161</td>
<td>99,933</td>
<td>35.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Percentages are based on total teachers.*
## Table 8.3: Enrolment in Grade II Teacher Training Colleges, 1975/6 - 1979/80

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. of Students</td>
<td>% Distribution</td>
<td>No. of Students</td>
<td>% Distribution</td>
<td>No. of Students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anambra</td>
<td>3,920</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>6,598</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>8,855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bauchi</td>
<td>7,078</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>6,437</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>6,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bendel</td>
<td>9,281</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>9,281</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>10,573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benue</td>
<td>5,701</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>8,945</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>12,692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borno</td>
<td>6,404</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>6,898</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>6,893</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross River</td>
<td>7,123</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>7,622</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>8,406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gongola</td>
<td>6,784</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>6,014</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>5,835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imo</td>
<td>6,939</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>8,212</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>11,153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaduna</td>
<td>8,702</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>10,767</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>14,798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kano</td>
<td>8,444</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>12,619</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>16,972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwara</td>
<td>5,399</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>7,215</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>9,353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagos</td>
<td>3,690</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>4,727</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>5,308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>6,435</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>7,220</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>8,326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ogun</td>
<td>3,141</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>3,364</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>4,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ondo</td>
<td>4,493</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>6,353</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>7,757</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oyo</td>
<td>6,847</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>7,310</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>8,666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plateau</td>
<td>6,246</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>8,364</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>9,952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rivers</td>
<td>7,420</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>7,663</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>10,562</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sokoto</td>
<td>9,730</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>12,349</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>16,324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nigeria</strong></td>
<td>123,627</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>148,158</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>183,724</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Statistics Unit, Federal Ministry of Education, Lagos. p. 34
Whereas in Sokoto State, with 15,972 teachers, and total primary enrolment of 448,363, in 1979/80, the teacher:pupil ratio was 1:28.1, in Borno State this was 1:65.6. Other than Kano, Kwara, Niger and Oyo States, most States were within the official teacher:pupil planning target of 1:35 (though these are average rates which conceal intra-State variations on which data was unavailable). It is notable that some of the highest ratios were in the North. This reflects overall pupil enrolment rates, and points to the wish (by the North) to catch-up with the South in terms of education.

Certainly, statistics like these pose a very serious problem for the education system as a whole; as a matter of fact, it is claimed that they actually affect the internal efficiency and quality of the system. For example, in the sections on primary and secondary education of this study, it has been observed that the sharp increases in both primary and secondary school enrolments in recent years (i.e. years after the introduction of UPE) have been accompanied by high failure and drop-out rates in the schools. In many States, over 20% of the primary school pupils who sit the First School Leaving Certificate (FSLC) examination fail the examination. The results are equally bad at the secondary school level. For example, the Registrar of the West African Examinations Council said of the 1975 West African School Certificate (WASC) examination results that "the failure rate for the year was much higher than should normally be expected."³ A high failure rate was also recorded at the Higher School Certificate Level: only 682 or 15.5% of the
4,387 candidates who sat the examination qualified for a full certificate. The interesting thing about these high drop-out rates in the primary schools and high failure rates in the secondary school is that these are often attributed to inadequate facilities and, most importantly, poor quality teachers. A 'mud-slinging' situation ensued in the sense that while the teachers were and are still being blamed by the public and the government for the fall in educational standards, the teachers blame the government, which they accuse of not equipping the schools and not producing conditions of service conducive to the recruitment and retention of good and dedicated teachers.

The question to ask therefore is, what is the main reason which determines or dictates the sort of teachers produced to teach in Nigerian schools? In essence, this question necessitates an examination of the teaching profession as a whole and teachers status in Nigeria, in particular.

8.2 PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND AND STATUS OF TEACHERS IN NIGERIA.

A general belief exists among educationists that the social background of people recruited into a particular profession affects, to a considerable extent, the rating of that profession. In other words, a profession is rated as prestigious or otherwise depending on the social class or strata of the people who join it.

A number of studies carried out in England and America about two decades ago tried to find the validity of this claim. Banks' study, dated though it may be now,
shed some light on this issue. She found about the teaching profession that

"..... the social origin of the teaching profession is closely related to the method of recruitment, and the availability of training. The pupil-teacher system in 19th century England was an important avenue of social mobility for the clever and ambitious working class child. At the same time, the lowly social origins of the elementary school teachers was a factor in the low status given to the teaching profession...."^4

In effect, this statement summed up the sort of regard given to the teaching profession because of its original recruitment methods.

In Nigeria, researches into education and details of such nature as discussed by Banks, whether through government or individual initiative exist, even though tucked-away in some inaccessible libraries (as stated in Chapter 1). However, taking it at its face-value, Banks' statement still fits perfectly to the Nigerian situation. It should be remembered that the first people who entered the teaching profession (during the Missionary period) were slaves or outcasts who had either been bought or rescued, or given protection by the early Christian Missionaries. After they had been converted to Christianity, the slaves had been given some form of education which, they in turn started imparting to other people by holding catechism classes. This privilege accorded the slaves a high status and, indeed, they formed a new elite class; but this 'prestige' was short-lived
because as the number of schools increased and the
country started to experience, in general, political,
economic and educational development, the money economy
which replaced trade by barter and, the acquisition of
material things became symbols of status; and slave
teachers lost their status in society. This therefore
upset the credibility and the status of the teaching
profession in Nigeria; and ever since the Nigerian
teaching profession became established in the education
system, and free persons (and not slaves) now go into
the profession, not much had been done to change the
picture as described above. It is necessary to take a
look at some of the very obvious reasons that affect
the teaching profession as well as the status of
teachers; which in turn affect the education system
as a whole.

8.2.1 SALARY

The salary level enjoyed by a particular profession
is likely to be a measure of esteem in which the
profession is held in the society. It also may be a
reflection of the relative scarcity of the skills required
in the practice of the profession. In most countries
of the world, the teachers' salary may not be the most
coveted and it may not compare well with that received
by members of other professions. But, as Hoyle argued,
in places like England, the National Union of Teachers
(NUT) fought for improvements in the pay and condition of
service for its members; this achieved some degree of
success, although it would not be said that they got the
same response to their problems as did the medical
profession.

8.14
In Nigeria, the teachers' salary structure, as it was constituted before the recent changes, was the most important factor in dissuading people from joining the teaching service. Now, with the relative improvement in their salaries, teachers still suffer numerous hardships before they get their salaries paid; in most cases they often had to go on strike before they get paid. The government always feels the teachers can wait for as long as it takes for their salaries, whereas the civil servants in the Ministries cannot be kept waiting. This attitude to the teachers' problems further confirms how less important the government finds the function of the teachers, and this also explains the low status accorded them.

Furthermore, promotion in the teaching service is very slow. In any event, the only post a teacher can aspire to is the headship; and promotion for a school head takes him/her out of the school and into the Ministry. As a result, with just one promotion post to aspire for, teachers are paid on the value of their qualifications only. This situation had resulted in teachers paying more attention to raising their own academic standards (than actually teaching) through correspondence courses. In the event that their qualifications become improved, they leave their teaching jobs, to 'sell' their qualifications and services elsewhere.

In a study by Nicholas Nwagwu to look into the conditions of service of teachers in Nigeria, the issue of salary featured repeatedly in the survey. In response
to why people are generally unwilling to train to become primary school teachers and to make the job a life career, the survey discovered that the four most important reasons given were:

(a) Salaries are poor and often not paid at regular times;
(b) There are hardly any opportunities for promotion;
(c) Primary teachers have low status and respect in society;
(d) Primary teaching is difficult; you teach every subject.

Another more related issue to salary is housing. Housing for teachers is very inadequate; so also are social amenities such as good roads, pipe-borne water and electricity which are even more scarce in the rural areas where teachers find themselves, more often than not. Government effort in this direction is not often evident especially because of the reasons of the concentration on urban development in urban areas (referred to in Chapter 5 of this study). This therefore makes housing a status symbol; and since teachers are often placed in the lower stratum of the society, their access to good or adequate housing is very limited.

Following the recommendations of the Public Service Review Commission of 1974, popularly referred to as the 'Udoji Commission' that teachers should receive the same fringe benefits as their counterparts in the Civil Service since they are both public servants, it was evident that the conditions of service of teachers had improved and this has had some significant favourable impact on the interest of prospective teachers but then the disconcerting effect still remains that these conditions of
service have not dramatically changed to the point of making the teaching profession an attractive one in comparison to other professions.

It has to be pointed out that relatively teachers have still to catch up with civil servants in the country in respect of enjoying equal treatment and opportunities for advancement on the job. It is true that good policies have been produced by various governments but the method and spirit of implementation have been very slow. For example, it takes a teacher much longer to get a car loan granted to him/her even when she attains the appropriate level for such a loan; and it takes some state governments also longer to implement new salary grading for teachers. These are some of the means by which civil servants have often thwarted or even subverted government policies aimed at improving teaching conditions and so making the profession attractive; and Philip Coombs assertions that

"If, therefore, we want to get an educational system's real aims, we must look beneath its precepts to its practices" cannot be more strongly said.

8.2.2 THE QUALITY AND RETENTION OF TEACHERS

The poor quality of teachers has been mentioned repeatedly in this study. Although it is true that possessing a certificate is not a proper indication of a teacher's ability, the fact that in 1976-7 only 9% of the teaching force in Nigeria were trained and certificated showed only too well that the situation was bad enough to cause some concern. And also, this writer is of the opinion that the quality of teachers in Nigeria is the main root of the poor or low status of teachers.
However, one can say with certainty that the main cause of this poor quality is the length of training to become a teacher and most importantly, the minimum qualification required for the job. Compared to other professions, the teaching profession in Nigeria is, to describe it in what may perhaps be an extreme term, a shambles. A would-be doctor or lawyer for example would require training that lasts 19 or 17 years at least (respectively). For the teaching profession, however, it is in the special case of Nigeria that 6 years of primary education is enough for any one to be a teacher. And while the minimum qualification for a doctor or lawyer to be registered as a professional by the Nigerian Medical Association or the Nigerian Bar Association is M.B.B.S and L.LB respectively, the First School Leaving Certificate (FSLC) is the minimum qualification for a teaching job. The problem became worse with the launching of the UPE. When it became possible for almost anyone to obtain a teaching appointment, (including some Arabic teachers in the North who have no formal education who were recruited to teach after just a few months of crash training), the profession was flooded with poorly qualified persons, and became even less prestigious. The recruitment of these teachers of lower standards worsened an already serious situation; because of their recruitment, the better qualified ones leave the primary level to teach in the expanding post-primary level. This reinforces the low status of the profession and also encourages those capable of moving, either to post-primary institutions or out of the profession altogether to do so.
A new move to look into upgrading the teachers in the country was made with the establishment of the National Teachers' Institute (NTI) at Kaduna in 1976. Because most of the time, teachers busy themselves trying to improve their qualifications that they actually do little teaching, the Institute's main objective became the provision of in-service courses for teachers through the distant learning system, up to Grade II and NCE levels (i.e. correspondence course in methodology, classroom management, etc.)

But, with the extremely unreliable postal system which Nigeria has, there was much doubt that this programme would work; which prompted the UNESCO to point out that "the young, inexperienced and half trained teachers .... may do more harm than good to the whole concept of universal, free and compulsory education if left to their own devices."  

Despite these efforts to improve the teachers and so improve the status of the teaching profession, the picture still looks bleak. The use of National Youth Service Corps Members to teach for one year (be they engineers, administrators, journalists, etc.), secondary school drop-out or failure, and such ill-suited people in the profession is certainly a daunting experience, not only on the education system, the image of the teachers; but also on the children who pass through the system. Just how bad this impact is, will be known when these children grow up to manage the affairs of the country; or become teachers themselves. Certainly they will be poor teachers and will in turn produce poor pupils - it is a vicious circle which only good teachers who are committed
to their work can help the situation.

Now to turn to the second aspect of efficiency (i.e. retention of teachers); it is important to examine ways through which trained teachers could be retained in the system once they have been trained. Teaching is the one profession that has a very high attrition rate. It was estimated by the Onabamiro Report that the annual attrition of the teaching force was 10%. This proved to be an underestimation because in Ogun State, for example, about 1,302 or 15% of the total number of teachers employed in the state, left the profession during the first year of UPE.

It has been suggested that, in order to curb this high attrition, the teaching profession should be made more attractive relative to other professions and primary teaching in particular should be made more attractive relative to other levels and, also that teachers should be bonded; and this should be made one of the terms of their training. But, considering how difficult it is to get teachers recruited (to teach), it somehow looks as if this last suggestion is not such a good idea. Nwagwu found out from his study that people become primary school teachers not because they like to teach young children but, because, among other things, education in the teacher training colleges is free and that teachers can teach near their homes or where their wives or husbands are working. If a system of bonding is introduced it will deter many women from going into teaching because in a situation where their husbands are transferred to another state, they cannot but break the terms of bonding. This writer would rather see a situation whereby the first two suggestions - improving the
conditions of service in primary level teaching and also the whole teaching profession - are executed. It is when one looks at the totality of the above discussions that one appreciates why teaching has not yet succeeded in becoming an attractive profession to many people in Nigeria. Teacher quality is related to the calibre of people who are recruited to train and also their attitudes to the teaching profession. Dedicated teachers and quality-teaching can become realistic and achievable goals only when concrete measures are taken to improve the social and economic welfare of teachers and to give them job satisfaction. If not, the teaching profession will remain doomed and people will continue to use it as a stepping stone to other jobs.

8.3 CURRICULUM ORGANISATION

Like in the other levels of the Nigerian education system, the curriculum of the teacher training colleges is highly academic; a traditional type of curriculum, which is specialised into subjects. Because of individual and societal expectations that the purpose of schooling is to gain or bank knowledge and qualifications, the curriculum is designed to help students pass examinations by memorisation of facts which they cannot prove and problems which they cannot solve. Paulo Freire termed this type of curriculum "The banking type of curriculum",\(^\text{10}\) which leads children to conform to the syllabus and to fail to apply school knowledge to the real world.

In the Grade II teacher training colleges the subjects offered include (as mentioned earlier) the Principles and Practice of Teaching, Education, English and Arithmetic.
These subjects are compulsory and are centrally examined all over Nigeria. Individual colleges also offer a wide range of subjects which include the following: Home Economics, Social Studies, General Science, Physical and Health Education, Religious Knowledge, Art, History, Geography, Agricultural Science, Nigerian Languages, and English Literature. The methods of teaching each subject are also taught.

Until recently, candidates used to take twelve or more subjects which they were required to pass in one sitting in order to qualify for a certificate. In an attempt to improve quality, however, most candidates now take 8 or 9 subjects including the compulsory ones.

It is easy to say that our student teachers should leave school full of knowledge, initiative and the ability to relate ideas to the practical world of his pupils when he is unfamiliar with this way of reasoning. To be able to do this, the curriculum must be changed and the emphasis of it changed from banking knowledge to problem-posing, always questioning any piece of knowledge before accepting it. This change should occur not only in the teacher education programme but should run throughout the whole education system (this point will be discussed in more details in the concluding part of this study).
CHAPTER 8
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9.1 THE GROWTH

The pace at which higher education has grown in Nigeria since independence in 1960 is unparalleled elsewhere among the New African countries. Compared relative to the West African sub-continent, Nigeria has at least twenty universities more than all the universities of Ghana, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Senegal put together.

The number of universities in Nigeria went up from only two in 1960 to 13 in 1975, of which seven were established in 1975 alone. Now there are 28 universities (including the Federal Open University). This number is expected to increase because some states and private individuals have plans for the establishment of universities still on the drawing board (see Map 9.1).

Higher education was not started in Nigeria until 1934 when, at the initiation of E.R.J. Hussey, the Higher College, Yaba, was founded to provide instruction leading to the award of diplomas in medicine, teacher education, agriculture and engineering. Courses were kept below university level (because the College was not a university constitution) and the final award was therefore below a full degree. The College was under the direct control of the Department of Education, working in close contact with the technical departments. What this meant was that the students' success in the College's examinations was not so much determined by
their performance as by the availability of vacancies in the government departments. Admission requirements were also high and so was the wastage rate. This whole set-up attracted severe criticism from several nationalists; even more so because the final award from the College was not recognised outside Nigeria. There was therefore a general feeling that:

"The Higher College came to symbolize the effort of the colonial administration to frustrate Nigerians who were ambitious for higher education by offering them an inferior alternative ..."¹

Partly because of this frustration and partly because of the general expectation by the people for a university based on the culture of the African, which would also provide education to suit local needs, and to prepare West Africans to assume positions of responsibility (especially when they finally achieved independence), the Asquith and Elliot Commissions were set up in 1943.² The Elliot Commission particularly recommended the establishment of university colleges in Nigeria, the Gold Coast (Ghana) and re-organisation of Fourah Bay into a university college for Sierra Leone.

It was against such a background that the University College, Ibadan, was founded in 1948, and also affiliated to the University of London (as recommended by the Asquith Commission). The College offered courses in science, medicine, arts and agriculture. In order to project a national outlook in the provision of higher education, the
Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology was founded with campuses at Enugu, Zaria and Ife in 1952. These were short-lived because, following the recommendations of the Ashby Report of 1960, more universities were established. The University of Nigeria, Nsukka (1960), Ife (1961), Ahmadu Bello, Zaria (1962) and Benin (1970) were established and controlled by the various regional governments, while Lagos (1962) and Ibadan were federally controlled and financed. In 1973, all universities came under the direct control of the Federal Government. When in 1976 more states were created (from 12 in 1967 to 19 in 1976), those states who found themselves without universities pressurised the government to provide them. Also, in view of the fact that the number of people who qualified for university entrance had increased, the Federal Government established seven more universities through the establishment of entirely new ones (Ilorin, Maiduguri, Sokoto, Calabar) and the recognition of autonomous university colleges as independent universities (Kano, Jos, Port-Harcourt).

It has been pointed out repeatedly in this study that unequal provision of education between the North and South has always plagued and disturbed Nigerian education. It is well known what the causes are (the history of Western education has been extensively treated in Chapter 5 of this study); but considering the complexities of the issues involved (i.e. the Muslims fearing conversion to the Christian faith because Western education was introduced by Christian missionaries; and the Colonial rulers savouring the idea of
keeping the North culturally intact), it would not be proper to start apportioning blame here. However, one thing is certain: and that is that the educational backwardness of the North and the determination by successive governments (Military or Civilian) to improve that situation has always been an issue of particular concern. It would be remembered that this imbalance was one of the reasons behind the launching of the National UPE in 1976. In other words:

"... the political dangers and economic handicaps of disparate educational provision are the forces behind the drive towards a universal primary education and university expansion against the background of a view of education as the key to social economic and political advantage ...."³

The imbalance therefore creates a potential threat to the cohesion of the country.

Thus, the establishment of five new universities in the North in 1975 (namely, Kano, Sokoto, Jos, Maiduguri and Ilorin) is more of a political move by the government to correct the spatial educational imbalance. As a response to further pressure to narrow the educational gap between geographical areas in the country (North and South), the Federal Government, in addition to its responsibility for funding university education, also agreed to open and fund pre-university colleges (known as Schools of Basic Studies) in the educationally disadvantaged states. These colleges
prepare students (mostly indigenes of the state where the SBS is sited) for university admission. This is necessary because, as fewer students are enrolled in secondary schools in the North compared to the South, there are not enough students out-turn from the schools to feed the universities in the North. So, in essence, if these SBS are not introduced with relaxed entry requirements into the universities, Southerners would eventually take advantage of the universities in the North. For example, during the 1976-77 academic year, secondary school intake totalled 736,000. 58.9 per cent of this were from five of the 19 States (Imo, Oyo, Bendel, Lagos, Anambra) and only 17.8 per cent formed the combined intake of the 10 Northern States. Therefore, the governments' concern for the educational backwardness of the North and their endeavours to improve it is also a concern for national unity and a bid to strengthen it.

In keeping with the new national policy on education (which was launched in 1977) that at all levels of education more emphasis would be placed on science, agriculture and technology, the third generation of universities started with the establishment of seven Universities of Technology. They were sited in the seven states hitherto without a Federal university, i.e. Owerri (Imo State), Bauchi (Bauchi State), Makurdi (Benue State), Yola (Gongola State), Akure (Ondo State), Minna (Niger State) and Abeokuta (Ogun State). In addition, the States of Anambra and Rivers also established their own state-controlled Universities of Technology,
bringing the total number of such universities to nine.

As the North desperately tries to catch up educationally, the South forges ahead. Thus, Imo, Bendel, Cross River, Ondo States have, in addition to the Federal Universities, established their own State Universities. Plans for State Universities in Benue and Ogun have reached advanced stages. Private universities are also being planned for Imo and Anambra States. If and when they become operational, the number of universities in Nigeria (including the Federal Open University) will be over 30. This looks a fair enough number as far as expansion goes, and also considering the fact that in 1960 Nigeria had only two universities. However, the questions now are: Is this fair on quality-control of higher education? Is Nigeria capable of running these universities (economically) in addition to the numerous polytechnics and colleges of education, and at the same time uphold its UPE programme? Is the Nigerian government letting good reasoning and responsible educational planning go in its (the government's) bid to score political marks? Or, would it be, as Richard D'Aeth put it, a "determination to modernise rapidly by using its oil income"? It is hoped that the answers to these questions would be provided in the course of treating the following sub-sections of this chapter.
9.2 THE THIRD NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN (1975-80)
AND ITS IMPACT ON HIGHER EDUCATION

The Third National Development Plan is very important (this is not implying that the ones preceding it are less important but) because it was in it that the Federal Government spelt out specifically its policy on higher education. Part of this policy was to consolidate and expand the six existing universities (i.e. ABU, Zaria, Lagos, Benin, Ife, UN, Nsukka, Ibadan) (see Table 9.1 for years of foundation) in order to ensure the maximum use of their facilities. In other words, the government saw a need for the universities to go through some sort of radical change as the country's educational needs did not only increase as a result of more demand for places, but the need also "changed quite fundamentally in terms of the requirements of a vast country just about to embark upon a mammoth industrial and technological revolution".6

In due course, however, the plan had its initial hiccup when seven instead of four new universities were established in 1975. This meant that the ₦370 million set aside for university students' bursaries, and the ₦246 million also set aside "for the development of new universities, provision of student and staff facilities and improving and adding to facilities of the existing universities" was not enough to go round.

An increase in the student population was also envisaged. Student enrolment was projected from about 27,000 in 1975 to circa 53,000 in 1980. Greater emphasis was expected to
TABLE 9.1: NIGERIAN UNIVERSITIES: LOCATION AND YEAR OF ESTABLISHMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>Place &amp; State</th>
<th>Year Founded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ahmadu Bello University</td>
<td>Zaria, Kaduna</td>
<td>1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Anambra State Univ. of Technology</td>
<td>Enugu Awka, Anambra</td>
<td>1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Bayero University</td>
<td>Kano, Kano</td>
<td>as college</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Bendel State University</td>
<td>Ekpoma, Bendel</td>
<td>1981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. University of Benin</td>
<td>Benin, Bendel</td>
<td>1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. University of Calabar</td>
<td>Calabar, Cross River</td>
<td>1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. F.U.T., Abeokuta*</td>
<td>Abeokuta, Ogun</td>
<td>1981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. F.U.T., Bauchi*</td>
<td>Bauchi, Bauchi</td>
<td>1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. F.U.T., Yola*</td>
<td>Yola, Congola</td>
<td>1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. F.U.T., Owerri</td>
<td>Owerri, Imo</td>
<td>1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. University of Ibadan</td>
<td>Ibadan, Oyo</td>
<td>1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. University of Ife</td>
<td>Ife, Oyo</td>
<td>1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. University of Ilorin</td>
<td>Ilorin, Kwara</td>
<td>as college</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Imo State University</td>
<td>Eti ti, Omo</td>
<td>1981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. University of Jos</td>
<td>Jos, Plateau</td>
<td>1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Lagos State University</td>
<td>Lagos, Lagos</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. University of Maiduguri</td>
<td>Maiduguri, Borno</td>
<td>1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. National Open University</td>
<td></td>
<td>1983†</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. University of Nigeria</td>
<td>Nsukka</td>
<td>1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Obafemi Awolowo University</td>
<td>Ado Ekiti, Ondo</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Ogun State University</td>
<td>Ago-Iwoye, Ogun</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. University of Port Harcourt</td>
<td>Port Harcourt, Rivers</td>
<td>as college</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Rivers State Univ. of Sc.&amp;Tech.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1975, 1977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. University of Sokoto</td>
<td>Sokoto, Sokoto</td>
<td>1975</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: *Merged with other universities (see text).
†Suspended for lack of infrastructure.
be placed on the distribution of students among the most important disciplines. (It is necessary to point out that the university system in Nigeria is widely developed as can be seen from the wide range of subjects covered at the end of this chapter.) A 60:40 science to humanities ratio was hoped for in the plan period. This stressed the importance attached to science as the country planned for technological take-off (earlier referred to).

The admissions policy of the universities was also changed to provide for the greater manpower requirements of the country. This saw the establishment of the Joint Admissions and Matriculation Board (JAMB) to handle all admissions and matriculation matters for all universities using uniform admission criteria. The Board's initial opposition came from the universities themselves who felt their autonomy had been tampered with. Moreover, they felt that the creation of remedial courses for the students who are not suitably qualified is a way of lowering individual university standards.

At this point, this writer wants to digress a bit to show the other reason behind the setting up of JAMB and also to show the reaction of the Nigerian people to the Board (this will be in line with the reaction to UPE and WAEC as shown in Chapters 6 and 7 of this study).

By setting up JAMB, the government of Nigeria did not only want to regularise the admission procedures in the country's universities but also hoped that the Board would help to narrow the ever-widening educational gap that exists
between the North and South because this exercise would give more Northerners more chances of going to Southern universities like University of Ife, Ibadan and Lagos which are 'traditional' institutions for the Southerners only. The JAMB therefore meant to the South a risk on the monopoly which they had had in securing university places. Consequently, this attracted some degree of bitterness from the Southern media. When in 1978 JAMB admissions revealed that the Southern candidates still secured almost three-quarters of all admissions, the spear-head of the anti-JAMB campaign transferred itself from the South to the North.

The Northern-based 'New Nigerian' newspaper in its editorial of 27 October, 1978 claimed that JAMB, by allowing this large percentage of admissions to go to Southerners, was,

"... perpetrating the long-existing gap between the Northern and the Southern regions of the country ... what JAMB is doing is unpardonable ... from all indications JAMB must be scrapped or else the unity of this country is at stake once more ..."

Mohammed Ndatsu is quoted to have summed up the one single grievance of the Northern people against JAMB in the 'Your Views' column of the 'Nigerian Standard' newspaper thus:

"... the reason for dissatisfaction has to do with the simple fact that the few places now available are inequitably shared vis-a-vis the states of the federation. The public is
dissatisfied that the Board is insensitive to the problem of educationally backward areas of the country."

There was an overwhelming reaction to this "insensitivity" especially by the students of the Northern universities of Zaria, Maiduguri, Kano, Jos and Sokoto. Anti-JAMB demonstrations under the rallying cry of "JAMB Must Go" were organised. These demonstrations took violent forms and the country was once more rocked by threats of a North-South split. The Federal Government acted quickly by stepping in and promising to look into the suitability of the Board. When the government of President Shagari came into office in 1979 it promised to disband JAMB.

Although JAMB is still operating, these reactions show clearly how the educational starvation of a people could lead to unsavoury conditions and it also shows the limit to which such people are prepared to go without it (education). Education in Nigeria has become (as it were) a potent issue that must be handled with caution (if) for the sake of maintaining national cohesion and unity.

Now, going back to the earlier initial discussion, it is quite obvious that university education in Nigeria has, since 1975, particularly seen a great advancement. Tables 9.1 and 9.2 testify to this. At the same time also, the university system is also facing some sort of crisis. Its loss of autonomy, as referred to above, is one. Administrative centralisation under the National Universities Commission and the increased Federal Government's involvement
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discipline</th>
<th>Graduate Out-turn</th>
<th>% Increase</th>
<th>1976/7 to 1978/9</th>
<th>1978/9 to 1981/2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arts, Soc. Sci. and Law</td>
<td>2,347</td>
<td>9,182</td>
<td>28,994</td>
<td>291.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Admin.</td>
<td>677</td>
<td>2,205</td>
<td>4,162</td>
<td>225.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine and Related Disc.</td>
<td>570</td>
<td>6,753</td>
<td>9,037</td>
<td>1084.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture and Vet. Med.</td>
<td>1,505</td>
<td>3,266</td>
<td>4,161</td>
<td>117.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>1,756</td>
<td>7,622</td>
<td>14,170</td>
<td>334.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering and Technology</td>
<td>559</td>
<td>6,299</td>
<td>5,026</td>
<td>1026.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Design</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>1,697</td>
<td>3,022</td>
<td>1133.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sciences</td>
<td>1,043</td>
<td>6,877</td>
<td>11,761</td>
<td>559.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prelim. and Remedial</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,597</td>
<td>2,619</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Disciplines</td>
<td>8,594</td>
<td>45,497</td>
<td>82,952</td>
<td>429.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: These figures are for the Federal Universities only.

in university affairs like the appointment, transfer and dismissal of Vice-Chancellors, are all seen as a breach of the rights and academic freedom of the universities. Constant government directives for increased graduate out-turn in the face of decreasing yearly financial allocation makes the universities look like one of the Federal Government’s Ministries.

Some internal changes have been taking place in the universities. Some universities are moving from the traditional pattern of teaching which entails formal lectures and tutorials (a particularly British system) by introducing the American seminar system. Even the calendar system of three terms has been changed for the two-semester system by most universities. The system of sessional examination is also being gradually replaced by the unit course system typical of the American university system. In effect, the new policy allows for liberalisation of the admission, tutorial and examination system in order to give the universities a broader base. (This, however, is a structural change rather than change in the content and quality of the education being provided.)

9.3 THE UNIVERSITY CURRICULUM AND MANPOWER NEEDS

The curriculum of the Nigerian universities suffer from extreme academic orientation (which starts from the primary school). Most universities still operate the single honours degree which is too narrow to allow for broad specialisation for the higher degrees. (See table at the
end of this chapter for a check-list of subjects of study in the universities.) Whereas the provision of these subjects to form the curriculum is not bad, the disturbing thing is that Nigerian universities tend to have excessive diversification of academic programmes, and, as a result, tend to stretch their resources over all the academic groupings. In addition to the pressure of excessive diversification on resources, it is not unlikely that there is potentially considerable under-utilisation of some academic programmes in the entire university system.

A consequence of this is that there is an unjustifiable duplication of expensive capital equipment. And also, these may not even be provided in sufficient quantities to warrant that students have maximal utilisation. This in turn inhibits academic efficiency and effectiveness which means that the curriculum becomes poorly executed and the students leave the universities poorly prepared.

It has been mentioned earlier that the Third National Development Plan (1975-80) is very important to higher education in Nigeria in the sense that it defined particularly the goals of higher education and its role in nation-building. In the document 'National Policy on Education' it was held that higher education alone has the onerous responsibility of encouraging national awareness and unity by improving the quality of instruction it provides. But the universities or other institutions of higher learning cannot act in isolation - what happens in these institutions is a direct reflection of what happens in the society at large. Thus,
the needs of the educational system (represented in this case by the institutions of higher learning) and societal needs must harmonise before a free, dynamic and self-reliant nation can even be thought of.

Having said this, it is interesting to note the extent of development achieved in these institutions of higher learning. As Leonard Bloom and Howard Woodhouse described it, "the values of scholarship, of research and of intellectual independence have been nearly destroyed by bureaucratic ineptitude and lack of imagination. The social, economic and political needs of a changing society have been insincerely acknowledged and effectively ignored." This is demonstrated by the method of imparting knowledge that is adopted in these institutions. Instruction is frozen into old-fashioned teaching methods whereby students are filled with facts (at the discretion of the lecturer) and these facts are regurgitated back during examinations. Because this is the method most favoured by the universities, it is reflected back on the other levels of the education system, thus creating a stagnation of the whole system.

The national policy on education stressed the need for science and technology to become the major priorities of the Nigerian higher education. But this has not yet been implemented in the institutions of higher learning because they are fearful of change and therefore resistant to it. As a matter of fact, the universities are incapable of initiating change. That is why nobody shows concern when there are insufficient materials, inadequate equipment and
few competent and committed teachers and technicians. It is common that students attend 'theoretical practicals' as a result of this situation.

For a long time, Nigerians have developed the habit of blaming the conservative, academic and narrow-based education system and curriculum as a colonial legacy. However, education (Western type) has been in Nigeria long enough for Nigeria to attempt a departure from this conservatism and develop its own system. The fact that this has not been done shows that the Nigerian society is not dynamic enough in itself to want to change. Another reason is its saturation in a conservative authoritarian social philosophy endemic in the African traditional societies (as observed in Chapter 4 of this study). Of this, Otoni Nduka wrote;

"In contrast (to the West), African traditional society lacks this tradition of reflective and critical thinking. It has developed a rich variety of 'philosophies' but failed to develop critical philosophy. It is a well known fact that deviation from the cultural norms based on these philosophies is usually severely frowned on."10

This gives little freedom to the students to develop self-confidence, which therefore means that they are receptive of everything that is handed to them. On a number of occasions, as a result of trying to find avenues to express their frustrations about the sort of education they receive
and the way the universities are being governed, students tend to do this in violent ways: attacking university buildings and destroying cars, etc.

There is a tide of dissatisfaction running not only in the university but also in the society as a whole regarding the whole education system and the consequence of this dissatisfaction must never be underestimated. Nigerian students today can 'soak' up knowledge and swot it up for examination later but this must not be mistaken as a permanent fixture.

All these problems of improper curriculum planning have a direct effect on manpower provision. What goes on in the universities meant that various parts of the Third Plan could not be implemented. The Plan estimated an extra 49,210\(^{11}\) high-level manpower (mostly in the technical sector). But the total university enrolment in 1978/9 session (just one year to the end of the Plan period) was less than 49,000 (see Table 9.3), with a combined graduate out-turn of about 45,500 (as Table 9.2 shows). Those with technical (and other related disciplines) qualification formed only 25% of this out-turn for that year. And although institutions like the Centre for Management Development and the Polytechnics could step up their various training programmes to accelerate management education and training; the Industrial Training Fund (ITF) to increase the scope of its activities while the Federal and State Governments could intensify in-service or on-the-job training, a big restraint upon all these expansions is also a matter of manpower.
Another problem to this manpower shortage is manpower utility. In Nigeria, many highly trained people are in the wrong jobs: jobs which do not employ their skills. (For example, doctors are given or made to do administrative jobs in the hospitals.) Others are also demonstrably under-used as, for example, engineers doing a little more than supervising labour or directing projects from air-conditioned offices. Manpower needs and shortages will continue to mount and dependence on technical personnel from abroad will continue as long as these attitudes are maintained. Also, there is need to shake-up the curriculum by giving it more meaning and content and also limiting it strictly to what we need to ensure our country's development.

9.4 ENROLMENT TRENDS IN NIGERIAN UNIVERSITIES

The three major factors that determine the general level of educational development in any society, according to Taylor, are: motivation, finance and manpower. In Nigeria, the problem is not so much how to generate the spirit of motivation among the people but how to control or 'streamline' it within available resources and facilities. The high level of motivation (especially at the higher education level) is supported by the yearly increase in the applications for first degree places. According to Briggs, only 12.6% of a total of 115,000 got university places in 1978, while in 1979, 15.5% out of a total of 114,397 candidates were offered places. These figures reveal candidate/place ratios of about 8:1 and 7:1 respectively for the two years.
In 1977, the year preceding admissions through the Joint Admissions and Matriculation Board (JAMB), only 12.9% of 96,884 applicants were admitted. This also shows a candidate/place ratio of about 8:1 (which was identical to the ratio through JAMB. From these figures, one can conclude that out of the three factors identified by Taylor (above), two constitute the main concern in the Nigerian university system - finance for the expansion of facilities, and manpower for their operation in order to satisfy the aspirations of the applicants.

In just over a decade, enrolment in Nigerian universities grew from 3,800 in 1963 to about 50,000 in 1979. This shows an annual average rate of growth of about 5.8% for the period. The figures for about two decades running from 1960/61 to 1982/83 are shown in Table 9.3. The years between 1960/61 and 1975/76 witnessed a tremendous increase in enrolment. (The drop in enrolment between 1966/67 and 1970/71 resulted from the Civil War; and this meant that figures for University of Nigeria, Nsukka, were excluded.) Enrolment figures, however, steadied from 1975/76 to 1977/78. The fact that there was only a 4.3% increase in enrolment in 1978/79 resulted from the centralisation of admissions through JAMB (as stated earlier).

Judged in terms of absolute numbers and relative growth, and compared to such developing countries as Brazil where phenomenal increases in enrolment had been witnessed, one can say admission into Nigerian universities is far behind. University enrolment figures in Brazil leapt from 142,386 in
### TABLE 9.3: ENROLMENT IN NIGERIAN UNIVERSITIES, 1960-1984

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Enrolment</th>
<th>% Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960/61</td>
<td>1,395</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965/66</td>
<td>7,700</td>
<td>452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970/71</td>
<td>14,371</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975/76</td>
<td>32,286</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976/77</td>
<td>39,732</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977/78</td>
<td>46,684</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978/79</td>
<td>48,698</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979/80</td>
<td>57,742</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980/81</td>
<td>69,725</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981/82</td>
<td>82,952</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982/83</td>
<td>92,116</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983/84</td>
<td>101,945</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sources:**
- NUC (1980), pp.44-46;
- NUC (1983), Total Enrolment by Faculty and by Academic Year 1962/3 - 1982-3.
1964 to 836,469 in 1973; a massive 487% increase in less than a decade and an annual average percentage rate of growth of 21.9%, as analysed by Haar in his study of the politics of higher education in Brazil. What makes this particular study interesting is the fact that Brazil achieved this level of growth after the introduction of a unified matriculation examination, the 'Vestibular Simultaneo' in 1971. In establishing the Joint Admissions and Matriculation Board (JAMB), Nigeria aimed not only to improve on the performance of offering more university places to the candidates but also to eliminate the problem of duplication of offers to candidates which arises when individual universities conducted their admission examinations.

However, increases in enrolment figures could not match those of Brazil for reasons of resources and facilities (as stated above). Nevertheless, modest increases have been maintained from 1979/80. In keeping with this growing trend, the National Universities Commission (NUC) made the following projections of enrolment for the universities for the 1980s, as shown in Table 9.4. The enrolment of about 50,000 in 1978/79, according to Guobadia, represents about 0.06% of the country's population or a 3% participation rate in university education by the relevant school age group. If the country kept to this index, Guobadia continued, then the tendency was that a total of 120,000 university students would be expected in 1984/85 (although this exceeded the NUC's projection of 108,720 for the same year by 11,280),
**TABLE 9.4 : NUC's PROJECTIONS OF ENROLMENT IN UNIVERSITIES IN NIGERIA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Estimates</th>
<th>% Increase</th>
<th>Absolute</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1978/79</td>
<td>53,009</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>± 3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979/80</td>
<td>63,650</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>± 7,675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980/81</td>
<td>74,200</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>± 6,810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981/82</td>
<td>83,150</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>± 2,515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982/83</td>
<td>91,700</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>± 1,733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983/84</td>
<td>100,900</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984/85</td>
<td>108,720</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990/91</td>
<td>300,000*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Based on three per cent participation rate.

N.A. Not available/applicable.

**SOURCE:** NUC (1978), p.75.
300,000 in the 1990/91 session.

When one carefully examines the admission trends and the projections based on them, one finds that the level of motivation amongst Nigerians for higher education still remains high. Under these circumstances, the problem which arises is that of finance and the facilities needed to take care of this upsurge; this therefore leads us to the question of the pattern of funding the universities and the staffing constraints.

9.5 THE PATTERN OF FUNDING AND THE ISSUE OF STAFF CONSTRAINTS

There is a general consensus that one of the major causes of decline (which will be discussed later in this chapter) is the fact that funding to the universities has not matched the tremendous expansion which the universities have experienced recently. In the same token, rising inflation and its effect on the cost of goods and services on which the normal university function depends have surpassed the funds made available to the universities.

The National Universities Commission (NUC), a statutory organ whose functions are identical to those of the University Grants Committee in the United Kingdom, has the onerous responsibility for the disbursement of federally-allocated funds to Federal-owned universities in Nigeria. Statistics from the NUC show that the actual government provision of funds has consistently fallen short of what was projected. Table 9.5 shows the trend of funding from 1971 to 1982.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NUC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recommended Expenditure</td>
<td>34.2</td>
<td>54.8</td>
<td>76.8</td>
<td>115.9</td>
<td>160.7</td>
<td>186.8</td>
<td>204.5</td>
<td>221.6</td>
<td>233.6</td>
<td>290.3</td>
<td>343.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Universities Income</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>50.6</td>
<td>74.5</td>
<td>105.9</td>
<td>149.3</td>
<td>168.8</td>
<td>180.3</td>
<td>140.0</td>
<td>185.0</td>
<td>260.9</td>
<td>288.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shortfall</td>
<td>+3.9 surplus</td>
<td>-4.2</td>
<td>-2.3</td>
<td>-10.0</td>
<td>-11.4</td>
<td>-18.0</td>
<td>-24.2</td>
<td>-81.6</td>
<td>-48.6</td>
<td>-83.4</td>
<td>-55.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual as % of recommended</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>-8.3</td>
<td>-3.1</td>
<td>-9.4</td>
<td>-7.6</td>
<td>-10.7</td>
<td>-13.4</td>
<td>-58.3</td>
<td>-26.3</td>
<td>-40.3</td>
<td>-19.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCES:** NUC (1978), Table 33, p.76; NUC (1983), Nigerian Federal Universities Recurrent Grants 1978/83.
According to the table, in 1971/72 the universities received 3.9 million Naira or 10.2% more than the NUC recommended. Unfortunately, receipts of allocations by universities have shown a drastic down-turn since then and, especially in the 1978/79 academic year whereby the universities received N81.6 million or 58.3% less than their recommended expenditure and this in the face of expansion both structurally (i.e. increased number of universities) and in enrolment figures. Associated with the increased enrolment is the increase in the diversity of academic programme and staff population both of which tend to exert a lot of pressure on the limited resources. This shows that monetary allocations to the universities has ignored the problems of inflation and enrolment figures.

This situation has been blamed (as have many others) on the depressed state of the Nigerian economy resulting from the effects of the world-wide oil glut. As Nigeria's economy depends solely on oil (over 90% of foreign exchange is earned through oil), the effects of the oil glut are telling more on Nigeria than ever before. This writer accepts this explanation with a lot of reservation, because one observes that even during the so-called 'boom' years (see Table 9.5), i.e. prior to 1978/79, the financial allocations made to the universities still fell short of the universities' expectations.

As blame is loaded on the economy for some of the funding problems, one must be quick to add that the universities are not without blame also. With regards to strategic planning, there is, according to Odudeye, an "apparent inconsistency
and the absence of a rational criteria for funding."^{19}

For example, in a comparison of recurrent expenditure of University of Ilorin (Nigeria) and Lancaster University (Britain) between 1976 and 1980, it was discovered that while there was a consistent growth in expenditure in Lancaster University during this period, that of Ilorin University showed a fluctuating pattern (see Table 9.6).

Noticeable also is the fact that the Nigerian university depends on the government for over 90% of its recurrent expenditure, as Table 9.7 shows. One observes the obvious absence of income generated through research as well. Although this excessive dependence on government for funds is a feature of the British university (80%), one appreciates the fact that Lancaster University generates a total of 16% of its revenue from fees (9%) and research grants (7%).

The inadequacy of the government funding to the Nigerian universities was what the Cookey Commission Report found disfavour with:

"... in the 1970s resources devoted to university education in countries such as the USA, USSR, West Germany, Brazil and Singapore annually constituted 1-4 per cent of their gross national product. In sharp contrast the approved annual allocations to the Nigerian universities during the 1970s and the projected annual allocations during the 1981-85 plan period constitute less than 1 per cent of the country's gross national income. Judged by the experience
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Expenditure (in million)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in US$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ilorin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976/77</td>
<td>12.2979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977/78</td>
<td>25.9140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978/79</td>
<td>9.1204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979/80</td>
<td>12.6203</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Oduleye (1985), Table II.
TABLE 9.7: INCOME SOURCES (% of Total)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Lancaster University (1975/76)^a</th>
<th>Ilorin University (1979/80)^b</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Government grants</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Student tuition and fees</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Research grants</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Sales and services</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Endowments and gifts</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


(b) University of Ilorin, Estimates, 1980-81.
of other countries, therefore, it could be seen that there is still much greater scope for additional funding to the Nigerian University System than has actually been achieved to date."^{20}

One would observe from the above information and tables (9.5, 9.6 and 9.7) that even if it is possible to increase the level of funding to the Nigerian University System in the developed countries (represented here by Lancaster University), it is unlikely that even this level will result in an 'output' similar to that of the developed world's University System.

In view of the above, it will not be wrong to suggest that the universities received less finances than they expected from the government not because higher education is not important (the expansion or increase in the number of universities in the country, especially universities of technology in order to develop indigenous technological manpower to meet the challenges of development testifies to the fact that the government recognises the importance of higher education). But in a country where only 15%^{21} of the population is literate compared to 66% for Tanzania and 99% for the USA, the government realises that economic development cannot be achieved with a predominantly illiterate population. Therefore UPE was launched to educate the children, and secondary schools provided to give the children a chance to improve themselves by learning some skills. In the face of these, it shows that important as it is,
university education is not on the governments' priority lists. And so, unless the other two levels (primary and secondary) are substantially developed, any uncontrolled expansion of university facilities on a free-wheeling basis in the future will be dangerous financially since funds and facilities for a proper maintenance will be difficult to provide. This gloomy picture was highlighted by Ukeje and Aisiku in their analysis of the structure and administration of Nigerian education within the contemporary African system.

Closely related to this problem of funding is the question of staffing. The level of the provision of academic staff in the universities between 1965 and 1982 is shown in Table 9.8. Altogether, average up-to-date figures of staffing in the universities show that about 30% of the staff are foreigners. In 1965/66, understandably because of the fact that there were not enough trained indigenous people to man the universities, expatriates constituted 53% of the teaching staff. Fortunately, it never went above this mark. In 1970/71, this figure dropped to almost 30%. From then up to 1982, the figures varied from 28% to 21%. It is interesting that the distribution of these foreign staff is not even among the universities. Because of their educational backwardness, the States of the North (and some few others in the South, e.g. Cross Rivers, Rivers) need the services of these expatriate staff more; therefore there is a greater concentration of them in this region (the North). Interesting also is the fact that the expatriate staff are mostly found in the science and
### Table 9.8: Academic Staff in Nigerian Universities, 1965-1984

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Staff</td>
<td>1,208</td>
<td>2,255</td>
<td>4,055</td>
<td>5,058</td>
<td>5,190</td>
<td>5,575</td>
<td>5,759</td>
<td>6,391</td>
<td>7,980</td>
<td>8,630</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Expatriate</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Cuobadia (1980), "University Planning in the 80's", p.46.  
technologically-based disciplines although a few are also found in the arts and social sciences.

However, as Enachowo pointed out, it is necessary to emphasise that the proportion of expatriates to Nigerian staff is not a sufficient indicator of the nature of the staff problem because even in cases where there is enough local manpower, one still finds expatriate staff that are acquired through international staff exchange programmes.

Methods of recruitment of members of staff differ from one university to the other. However, the NUC has a general policy of calculating staff projection and allocation on a ratio pattern based on different disciplines. On this basis, therefore, the current indices are a student/staff ratio of 10:1 for science, 15:1 in the arts and related disciplines and 7:1 for human medicine.

9.6 THE CURRENT SCOPE OF EXPANSION

As shown in the beginning of this chapter, university education in Nigeria has witnessed a phenomenal growth/expansion. With only one University College in 1948 and over 28 now (25 years after independence), shows a development in the right direction; especially for proponents of growth and expansion who are quick to point out that now more applicants can gain admission into the universities and will therefore be able to satisfy their life-long desire to obtain a university degree. However, in view of the difficult financial and staffing problems, as discussed above, one is tempted to ask: Why expand at all? Probably one answer to
the question may be that since education has become a very good policy that attracts support from the people, each successive government in Nigeria has often resolved to use it for this purpose. The establishment of universities therefore has been paramount on each State executive's priority list. This may explain why States such as Rivers, Ondo, Anambra, Imo and Bendel have established universities where federal types already exist. Also, in establishing the new federal universities (i.e. the Universities of Technology established between 1980 and 1983), it seems the most important factor was their location.

The establishment of universities in itself is good in the sense that it helps reduce pressure for admission on the existing ones. Good, that is, if the whole country is not under conditions of abject financial severity. Because of this, one questions the strategy adopted by both the State and Federal Government to establish more universities because it fails to confirm whether the primary objective is the provision of places for expansion and growth is pursued solely through the replication and duplication of facilities. One therefore agrees strongly with D'Aeth when he says, "emphasis is on expansion and not on innovation". 26

This policy of uncontrolled expansion has gross implication on resources. As already pointed out, the present dwindling resources are not enough to cope with the universities' needs since individual universities in Nigeria hardly generate their own revenue on a large enough scale (see Table 9.7). The
result will be that universities will be operated in a perpetual state of deterioration where the only concern that can barely be satisfied will be teaching without facilities as the case already is in University of Ibadan:

"... Without doubt, the most affected of all the facilities is the Faculty of Science. For several months now, we have been expected to run a Physics laboratory without electricity, perform Biology and Zoology experiments without water, and get accurate readings from microscopes blinded by use and age. The result of all this is a Chemistry lab that cannot produce distilled water, and hundreds of "Science graduates" lacking the benefit of practical demonstrations ... and so the ivory tower crumbles more with every passing minute ..."^27

With conditions like these, one would say the proliferation of universities has been ill-timed. As the institutions continue to suffer from lack of equipment, the effect of this on the quality of education obtained will be traumatic. Education should help people to adjust properly to their environment; what will actually happen in Nigeria's institutions of higher learning as a result of this expansion will be a direct anti-thesis of that concept.

Growth in terms of numbers would continue to be seen since individuals can now establish private universities, but negative growth will also materialise as the case was when
private individuals were allowed to open secondary modern schools in the Western Region in the 1950s. In the same manner, the burgeoning of new institutions is sure to cause a differential ranking between universities as the public make up their minds as to which is the better or worse university. This criteria would likely go as far as affecting employers' perception. With the unhappy Indian experience28 to learn from, and the deteriorating standard of some of the older universities as a result of neglect and insufficient funding by the government, these signs of danger should not be neglected.

9.7 A PHASE OF NEGATIVE GROWTH?

The problems outlined above indicate that Nigerian institutions of higher learning are undergoing very difficult times, one of which is the difficult financial conditions. Despite the increase in the number of these institutions, in recent years, it is somehow obvious that succeeding Nigerian governments have not always given the best of priorities to tertiary education. Societal pressures on the universities have increased as they have almost failed to produce the sort of manpower the country needs to achieve economic growth. Calling this a "phase of negative growth", the university administrators appear to be largely unprepared for and are making inadequate responses to this decline as the pattern of management has remained essentially unchanged since the creation of the first university in 1948.
Nigerian universities attribute these deteriorating conditions to three things:

(a) Appeals made to the government to reduce the pressure on the universities to increase enrolment of students and at the same time to increase and stabilise financial allocations.

(b) The continuous attempts to acquire consultancy services that use the professional expertise of staff in order to generate revenue internally.

(c) The freezing of vacant positions.

The major factor noticeable in these responses is the fact that university administrators look at these deteriorating conditions as being externally induced and therefore tend to be outward looking rather than self-examining in their responses. There has been no attempt to examine the structural organisation of universities and their management to try and make them more efficient and cost-effective without compromising the objectives of the institutions or jeopardising the career prospects of the staff. The convergence of the responses (referred to above) of almost all of the Nigerian universities to the present situation, says Oduleye, "is indicative of conservatism and paucity of innovation in administration ... the responses are ... retroactive rather than anticipatory". Although an effective strategy for coping with decline is difficult to develop, the fact that the pattern of management of Nigerian universities has remained the same for over 30 years, despite major environmental changes, suggests
that a re-examination or re-organisation is absolutely necessary. How much self-examination has taken place in the Nigerian universities to try and stop the decline which they are undergoing? Or, what are the identifiable causes of this decline? Answers to these and other questions will be the focus of the following sections of this chapter.

9.7.1 CAUSES OF DECLINE

Because of the differences in their location and the circumstances under which they are established, it is not often very easy to find the direct causes of the decline of Nigerian universities. However, a common feature of the Nigerian education system is the absence of reliable statistics. This, according to Taiwo, could have been responsible for the wide disparity between projected school registration under the UPE and the actual registration just two years after the launching of the programme. Also, in a review of the progress made in the Nigerian education system since the submission of the Ashby Commission Report, Asiwaju emphasised the difficulty of historical analysis for the same reason. This situation is applicable even to tertiary education in the country. (The problem of inaccurate statistics has also been referred to in Chapter 2, sub-section 2.2, of this study.) Since this problem of unreliable data sweeps across the spectrum of the Nigerian education system, it will be wrong to say it is a catalyst of decline only in the universities. There are issues, however, which particularly affect universities only. The problem of
curriculum and how it affects manpower supply has been discussed above; so also has the method of funding by the government to the universities.

But in view of the extent of desperation that confronts the universities the decline in Nigerian universities can no longer be explained entirely in terms of inadequate funding. As stated earlier, the university administration has a lot of soul-searching to do. It is therefore proposed that deficiencies in management, excessive and increasing burden of a social welfare role are also major factors contributing to this decline.

9.7.1.1 DISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES

In the face of limited resources, the softer option for any institution often is to adjust the pattern of allocation so that all the departments benefit from the distribution. While this is true, a careful and well planned approach is often necessary in order not to compromise the primary objectives of that institution at the expense of less important secondary goals.

In Table 9.9 we see the relative apportionment of recurrent revenue between seven expenditure categories for the University of Ilorin in 1979/80, and for comparison for Lancaster University (1975/76). (It ought to be re-emphasised that although comparative figures are not available, it is unlikely that the pattern of functional allocation by the University of Ilorin will be substantially different from those of other Nigerian universities, especially since there

9.39
### TABLE 9.9: FUNCTIONAL ALLOCATION OF RECURRENT REVENUE (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expenditure Category</th>
<th>Lancaster University (1975-76)(^a)</th>
<th>Ilorin University (1981-82)(^b)</th>
<th>Ilorin University (1982-83)(^c)</th>
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**SOURCES:**

(a) Daniels (1980), Table 18.

(b) University of Ilorin (1982), Statutory Senate Report to the Visitation Panel.

(c) University of Ilorin, Estimates, 1982/83. (This may differ from actual expenditure.)
appears to be National Universities Commission (NUC) guidelines to all universities on this. If this assumption is valid, then it means that broad generalisations can be made on the basis of the Ilorin statistics which will be applicable to the entire Nigerian university system.)

While the primary function of universities (i.e. teaching and research) takes about 62% of the British universities' recurrent revenue, Nigerian universities spend only about 40% on this aspect. The disparity in instruction-related expenditure between Nigerian universities and the British universities becomes more obvious when one groups together categories 1, 2 and 3 of the table. For the British universities, this totals 72%, while that for the Nigerian universities is a mere 37% in 1981/82 and 36.5% in 1982/83. The effect of this on the efficiency and effectiveness of academic function is obvious. This bears a greater burden of decline compared with supportive functions whose allocations even increase in the face of scarcity. Why, one would ask, does this happen in a country that is struggling to find a way of changing both its social and economic situation? One very identifiable reason is over-establishment.

9.7.1.2 OVER-ESTABLISHMENT AND EXCESSIVE WELFARE ROLE

Due to the fact that political pressure is often brought to bear on universities, and because universities demonstrate their inability to resist this pressure, it is often assumed (and wrongly so) that a university's expansion is limitless. The people and government of Nigeria are so overwhelmed by
numerical growth in their educational institutions (see Chapter 7) that this assumption comes to them almost naturally. For instance, since its establishment in 1962, Ahmadu Bello University's student enrolment has increased continuously. In 1979/80, according to the ABU Digest, its enrolment was about 9,700. This limitless growth is a feature of all Nigerian universities. Certainly, unplanned growth which is not accompanied by a synchronization of enrolment and resources is a major cause of decline. Even when resources are available, there is theoretically a boundary beyond which growth can only be achieved in real terms at the expense of unit cost. This hypothesis is compatible with the law of diminishing returns which is illustrated by a demand and cost curve in Figure 9.1:

"The point at which the cost curve (CC) intersects the benefit curve (DD) defines the equilibrium position, the amount of expenditure (OE) at which the incremental benefits are equal to the incremental costs ... Deviation from this point indicates that higher education is over-extended (costs exceed benefits) or that it is under-developed (benefits exceed costs)."35

In the case of Nigeria, with growing yearly increases in enrolment figures in all the universities, the picture is clear that costs tip the balance of benefits.

Closely related to this issue of limitless growth as a cause of decline is the welfare role which the universities have assumed. One example of such welfare role that exerts pressure on recurrent and capital revenue of the universities
FIGURE 9.1: DEMAND/COST CURVE FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

is investment in staff housing (particularly senior staff). For example, all senior staff of Ahmadu Bello University (ABU) in 1979/80 'qualify' for university housing; about 48% of these occupy university-owned houses (on campus), 6% housed in university-rented houses off-campus; and the remaining 46% granted rent subsidies (which comes directly from recurrent revenue). It will be noted that although staff pay a rent for university accommodation, this is usually very small and far below the market value of the property. This means that aside from furnishing these housing units, the universities highly subsidise the rent to the staff.

Student accommodation is another example of the universities' welfare role. This, like staff housing, is also highly subsidised to the students. Students pay ninety naira (N90) per session on accommodation (including bedding, gas and electricity, cleaning, laundry, etc.). Attempts to increase this led to raucous demonstrations on most campuses because the students were against what they called the "commercialisation" of education. In 1979/80, for instance, ABU provided 86% of its students with on-campus accommodation. The proportion for the other universities is also very high. However, the argument against this is (and as Enahwo also stated) that while some degree of on-campus residence can promote the academic development of a university, a high degree may raise the unit cost of education substantially without necessarily increasing overall academic performance.
9.8 CONCLUSION

From the above information and especially data therefore, it becomes obvious that Nigeria's higher education is now going through the most difficult period since its history. While grappling with financial problems, it is also faced with having to cope with more institutions which puts a strain on the meagre resources. An objective appraisal of educational trends in Nigeria's universities therefore shows that the establishment of more universities and the graduates who are (more or less) knowledgeable mainly in the 'facts' which their lecturers were able to hand down to them means that the country's manpower problems would continue for a long time to come.

While one appreciates the fact that lack of adequate funding may be responsible for the poor conditions generally, the university administration is another major factor to the decline. The fact that after 36 years the pattern of university education in Nigeria has not changed is a major cause for concern. The universities would need to do a lot of 'house-clearing': they first of all need to re-examine their role as pace-setters, redefine their fundamental purpose and clarify the nature of the problems they are facing before they start pointing an accusing finger elsewhere.

In the face of the present financial crises, there is need for change. This writer suggests that the possible ways to achieve this change are:

1. To convert all the state universities to campuses of the older ones.
2. To discourage other states who have plans to establish universities from doing so and to stop the private individuals from going ahead with their plans as well. University education (and even Polytechnic and Advanced Teacher Education, for that matter) should be solely controlled and directed by the Federal Government.

3. To diversify methods of providing funds for the universities. In other words, the universities should undertake research contracts for private and even government firms in order to raise money, instead of depending solely on Federal Government allocations. State governments, especially those states with working industries like Kano, Lagos, Oyo, etc.) should contribute to the funding of the universities.

4. The universities of technology are too many for a start. These should be reduced to four: one at Bauchi to serve the North-East area and Kano and Plateau States; one at Minna for the North-West, North-Central and Kwara; one at Akure for the West and Mid-West areas and one at Owerri serving the East, South-East and Benue areas. Emphasis should be placed on how to equip (adequately) these universities and not on their numbers.

Finally, Nigeria has come a long way in trying to achieve some sort of development (both economic and educational) and to spoil all efforts now because of selfish, political glory will put us back to times and levels worse than when we even started.
*Note:

While this study is still being undertaken, Major-General Buhari became Nigeria's Head of State following a military coup that ousted the Civilian Government of President Shagari. It became necessary to this 'new' government to effect changes in the education sector for the smooth functioning of the educational institutions which suffered from disorganisation during the political era and in view of the problems of funding.

The most important change (particularly at the tertiary level) was the merger of four of the seven federal universities of technology (FUT) with the older conventional universities to save funds. In a move that agrees (almost to the letter) with the suggestion made by this writer (see *4 above), the federal universities of Minna, Akure and Owerri survived the government axe. The FUT at Abeokuta was made a campus of the 22-year-old University of Lagos; FUT Makurdi was merged with the 10-year-old University of Jos; FUT Yola was merged with the University of Maiduguri (10-years-old), while FUT Bauchi became a campus of Ahmadu Bello University (ABU) Zaria. Although this merger does not involve the physical movement of students and equipment, it is still a laudable step to ensure that instead of excessive duplication of facilities and resource wastage, it prepares the ground for the establishment of 'centres of excellence' (incorporated into the Fourth National Development Plan, 1981-85) by which selected academic programmes will be deliberately emphasised in selected universities.
SUMMARY:

In this section, we first of all looked at primary education in Nigeria - its development and growth - with particular reference to the UPE. We pointed out that the UPE or democratization of education, which derives from the concept of the right to education as being one of the basic human rights, is essential to all social progress as well as to the development of the individual. We also maintained that the development of education does not take place in isolation. It is subject to the often decisive influence of phenomena and facts such as demographic trends, economy, the environment, social, cultural and political factors. In the particular case of Nigeria these factors, either singly or collectively contributed to the numerous problems which the UPE Scheme ran into.

We went on to look into the provision of secondary education (that is, secondary grammar, commercial, technical and teacher training). We noted that the problems encountered in the provision of secondary education are caused not only by the poor state of the economy but also by the lack of trained and qualified teachers. Also the curriculum is not up to the task which the society requires of it. On the road to economic growth a society needs relevant basic, functional education. This means that the curriculum has to instil dependability and integrity and impart relevant skills. But also at the same time the structure of the economy must make adequate demands for these skills. Thus we pointed out that in the absence of the above, the Nigerian secondary education is still basically grammar-centred.
Next, the Section looked at higher education in Nigeria and noted the general statement in the curriculum, administration and admission policies since this level was introduced in Nigeria. Students still pass through the system 'half-baked' - they learn by rote and regurgitate their lecture notes during examinations and, eventually when they graduate, they create unemployment problems in the Society mainly because they have not acquired the relevant skills necessary for building an economically strong society. We noted generally that socio-economic changes and the speed of technological progress call for greater professional and social mobility. This is evident not only in developed countries but also in developing ones. It should therefore undoubtedly influence not only education policies and the fixing of the initial level of pre-employment instruction but also the nature of education. Education, for it to be useful, must be polyvalent and in many cases its content re-defined in depth. Here the link between education and the working world and particularly the introduction of productive work into the educational process as an element of the contemporary general culture and an essential factor in preparing for active life and mobility, acquire their full significance.

Finally, on the whole we noted that Nigeria now possesses a system of education which though bedecked with problems, certainly possesses the potential to develop to serve the needs of the Nigerian society. The future well-being of the education system and its success as a social institution serving the interests of the individual and the interests of the community as a whole are dependent upon the development of understanding, cooperation and harmony between the various parts of the interested parties.
CHAPTER 9

REFERENCES


7. Ibid.


24. Ibid.
DIRECTORY TO SUBJECTS OF STUDY

(Compiled from information supplied by the Committee of Vice-Chancellors of Nigerian Universities)

The table below lists subjects that can be studied at one or more of the Nigerian universities:

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CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION

The history of educational development in Nigeria dates back to 1842. Viewed within the African context, this was indeed an early start. In retrospect, however, the early attempts to give some direction to educational development in Nigeria contained a number of deficiencies. First, the school was conceived as a factory for producing clerks and personnel for the local colonial administration and educational institutions and not primarily as a factor in economic and social development. Second, although the early approach to planning adopted can be regarded now as one based on "manpower needs", in the final analysis no planning principle really emerged as the final determinant was the amount of money the colonial office was able and willing to dole out to educate its Nigerian subjects.

Incidentally, throughout this period, the importance of education was stressed both by the nationalists and the colonial administration.

Paralleling this increased awareness of the importance of education for a nation preparing for political independence, was the growing interest in the concept of education as a means of ensuring social and financial security for the individual and the view of education as one of the surest investments for a new State. That is why the Ashby Commission which was set-up to assess the country's educational needs at the post-secondary level, not only emphasized the "investment" approach but actually called its Report "Investment in Education."

The tendency was then to view
education in post-independence Nigeria as investment the same way that African societies generally tend to see the education of the individual.

In considering this view of education, two questions seem to be critical: If education is seen as investment, what is the rate of flow of increments to the stock of the human capital at the different levels, and how far have the educational plans in post-independence Nigeria reflected this investment – decision theory? In other words, using the conventional methods, what are the rates-of-return to education at the principal levels in Nigeria and how far do these rates relate to the priorities in the country's educational plans?

It was against this background that in Section I of this study, we examined (within a theoretical framework) what development might mean for a great majority of people in the Third World countries, the problems encountered in the hope of achieving this development, and most importantly, in what ways education has helped to promote development. An attempt was also made to look at the Nigerian education system in its societal context in relation to other sub-systems in the society.

In Section II, an attempt was made to trace in a very wide and broad perspective the stages through which education in Nigeria has passed and the problems encountered in the course of that development. In Section III, we looked at the problems of reforming the education system in order to make it meet development needs more precisely and efficiently.
An examination of the planned and actual development of Nigeria's education reveals that the orders of priority implicit in the plans have in fact been inverted during the process of implementation. The greatest activity was in the area of primary education which not only claimed staggering proportions of education budgets but also remained the "actual" top priority during the process of implementation. This was particularly so in the West, East and the Federal territory (Lagos) where for political reasons large-scale expansion of the primary education was embarked upon.

The ultimate goal of the over-spending was the attainment of 100% enrolment ratio set for example, by the West in 1959. Yet by 1975 no state in Nigeria attained the goal. Thus the priority entailed during implementation as far as primary education was concerned contradicted those implied in the plans for the same educational level which indicate greater caution in expenditure on the expansion of primary education. The social and political imperativeness of primary education overwhelmed the arguments for economic development.

On primary education therefore, it was evident from the study that Nigerian governments have undoubtedly been over-investing in primary education particularly in the past twenty-five years during which emphasis has been more along the lines established at the UNESCO Conferences held at Addis Ababa and Nairobi which called for quantitative expansion with vigorous strides in the direction of qualitative improvement. At the primary level this emphasis sees primary education
more as a political programme (as stated above) than as a level of education to be tied in to the nation's economic and social development. It is in the writer's considered opinion that while primary education can be considered as a long-term investment without quick returns but in its place raises the literacy percentage of a given population, it nevertheless does not give a developing country, such as Nigeria, the badly needed cadres it requires to ensure a quick take-off of its economy and technological development. Generalized access to education must take into consideration some of the social problems that result from that strategy or from an unbalanced educational development.

It should not be assumed that widespread provision of primary school facilities have no advantages. Apart from raising national literacy population as noted earlier, primary education can improve the quality of the future labour force provided it preserves its own quality. Primary school leavers can become good traders, tailors and so on and if properly introduced to farming, they can be made 'change agents' to innovate new crops, and put new agricultural methods into practice. To achieve this it would be necessary first to preserve the quality of primary education; second to discourage the primary school leaver's search for jobs where they do not exist; third to encourage more primary school leavers to enter professions, particularly at the non-formal education sector, and finally acknowledge the primary school leavers as the nation's immediate change-agents both in the villages and in agricultural — or indeed — rural development.

10.4
If this solution is found appealing, the government would have to check their inherent urban bias in the provision of social services and improve social services in rural areas. No amount of appeal would stop human beings (including the much lamponed primary school leavers) from moving to places where their social comfort is assured.

As regards secondary education, there is a general belief for one reason or another that investment in secondary education yields higher returns or at least better returns than achieved by investment in primary education. The sort of analysis that is presented in this study has contradicted this general belief. While we do not wish to draw gospel truths from this simplified analysis, the answer may be found generally in the high cost of secondary education vis-a-vis the low benefits attached to this educational level in the employment market. And also from the point of view of cost-benefit analysis, University or higher education level also attracts lower rates of return.

If the heavy investment in the different levels of education does not correspond with the rate of returns (and since the value a country attaches to an educated person is decided more by what it is prepared to pay the individual for his education rather than by what his education costs) one wonders whether the approaches which most African countries in general, and Nigeria in particular, are in the present circumstances pursuing in educational planning do not call for serious questioning.
Closely related to investment is the problem of change. It has been learned from experience that it is difficult to reform school systems without necessarily changing people's perceptions and attitudes. This is because school systems are not easily manipulated to meet changing needs and goals; it involves not only the re-orientation of students, but also the provision of equipment, training of teachers and convincing the population of the need for change.

Even though emphasis has been put (throughout this study) on the belief that education plays a vital role in promoting development (both social and economic), the educational planners and educationists in Nigeria have still not been sufficiently prepared to demonstrate this. An impression has been created in the minds of the people that education can achieve great things and people assume that this potential can still be made manifest without any effort on their part and certainly without too much financial involvement. Consequently, therefore, the education system has grown largely in isolation.

The demands for more and better education by all post-colonial societies is a standard accompaniment of the development process and Nigeria is certainly not an exception in this respect. However, we also know that the magnitude of the task differs from country to country. Nigeria is striving for technological and economic break-through like every country on the African continent and its determination to break free of dependence upon a foreign labour force in order to indigenise the Nigerian manpower has become more of an obsession. But these obsessions are nothing to go by if they are not followed up by physical commitment by the people. Obviously, in order for Nigeria to turn out the people it needs to take care of its economy, it first of all has to create the solid foundations of an educational system at both lower and higher levels and here, as emphatically put by Guy Arnold, "it yet has a long way to go". 1

A lot has been said by governments and planners about how ill-suited and inappropriate the Nigerian educational system is to Nigeria's needs. Still planners easily find
some justification there for continuing to keep the system in its inert state. In other words, Nigerians are still waiting for more objective and dramatic change in the education system. Conferences on education are being held every now and then and commissions set up to look into the appalling state of the education system. Perhaps the most important document is the National Policy on Education. Although it proposed so many 'good' changes, these have been found difficult to implement. For example, with only two Technical Teachers' Colleges in the country, it is doubtful that enough teachers would be trained for the 'transfer' from an academic to a vocation-orientated curriculum in schools. In spite of the way the people and government have condemned it, most of the existing educational pattern still remains British-Colonial, with lots of emphasis on white-collar instead of technical jobs; whereas the real need, in a purely developmental sense is for more technical orientation.

Nigeria is also faced with a very large illiteracy rate (85%) in spite of its elaborate UPE scheme, and a very high drop-out rate which simply means that a vast amount of potential skills are being wasted. In addition to this, is the problem of imbalance in educational provisions which still lingers in spite of government's attempts to solve it. Coupled with the fact that the gap between those with formal education and those without is so wide is, enough indication that the country has more problems to solve first of all before achieving manpower independence.
The condition of schools (i.e. poor staffing, inadequate equipment, etc.) has been fully discussed. And, with the present economic crisis facing the country, it is very unlikely that very much change would be seen in the foreseeable future. The new policy which promises to improve the situation does not, unfortunately, have any magical powers and in any case it has not even been fully implemented (at least that is the case in some states who are still doubtful that the solution lies in implementing the policy).

The first three years of the secondary level in the new policy is expected to be free in order to give more people the opportunity to broaden their horizon. However, from experience we know that it will be free only in tuition. Where the government used to provide textbooks, stationery and uniforms, this will be stopped completely. This, therefore, means that the cost to parents would be extremely high.

Secondary education has not been adequately developed as the primary education and although the numbers of such schools have increased since the civilian government came into force in 1979, this increase is just in the number of the structures and not in facilities and staff. As a result, the sector is all the more backward and under-developed.

In Chapter 9 (9.1), educational imbalance was discussed in very great detail (especially as regards university education). Education and its provision are very sensitive issues everywhere in the world and therefore they need proper and careful handling. And in a situation where there exists
a wide range of cultural diversity, as is the case in Nigeria, the problem is wider and when this is allowed to grow, it can cause a lot of tensions. Admittedly, whilst common experience of schooling of the parties involved may not necessarily bring them together effectively, we know that to educate identifiable groups disproportionately is sure to create misunderstanding and exacerbate political tensions.

In other words, whilst it would be true to say that schools have played unifying roles, it can equally be said that they have also played a divisive role. Thus, because education constitutes the principal means of access to the benefits offered by national development, it has made things like unequal provision look more significant.

According to an article in West Africa, "Of all the divisions in Nigeria, that caused by differing levels of education is the most serious". This inequality in educational provision between the North and South (with the South being more on the advantageous side) is one of the reasons why JAMB was established and a nation-wide UPE scheme was launched in 1976. In spite of this, the problem is still in full command of the situation. A look at Map 7.1 shows that while the ten Northern States are recording 0-5% student population in the primary schools in relation to their combined population of 29.8 million, the Southern States record 10-14% of their population of 25.86 million. Map 7.1 also shows the extent of secondary education in the 19 States.
In 1972, for example, the Federal Commissioner for education lamented that the gap between the North and South in terms of educational provision:

"... is so wide ... that roughly speaking, for every child in a primary school in the Northern States, there are four in the Southern States; for every boy or girl in a secondary school in the North, there are five in the South. And for every student in a post-secondary school in the North, there are six in the South."

Now, over a decade after this statement was made, the situation is still resisting 'change'. The South is not expected to stand still because demand for education continues to grow. Therefore, as the North tries to reach the standards attained by the South, the South moves ahead; and it looks as if the South would continue to stay ahead. To refer to Table 7.2, it shows that the Southern States primary school out-turn is 276,954 in 1975-6 compared to the Northern States 73,870. And in 1977-8, the South's primary school out-turn of 536,680 represented a 491.2% high over the North's 90,771 out-turn. And while States like Imo were admitting 30,600, Niger State had a secondary school intake of 1,828 in 1977-8.

Drop-out rates also show, to some extent, the differences between the geographical areas. Figures in Table 10.1 permit comparison of selected States. The Onabamiro Report which arrived at the rates stressed that data are incomplete. Nevertheless, it suggested that drop-out rates have increased. From the viewpoint of efforts to bridge regional gaps, it
TABLE 10.1 : DROP-OUT RATES BETWEEN CLASS I (1976-7) AND CLASS II (1977-8) %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATE</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anambra</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bendel</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benue</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross River</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gongola</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaduna</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagos</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ogun</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ondo</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plateau</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


is also significant that Northern States appear to have much poorer retention rates than Southern ones. These wastages through drop-outs and failure rates warn that before the North tries to catch up, but vainly with the South, it ought to try and retain those who want to utilise and benefit from the education being provided.
So far, therefore, we have been examining some of the purposes which education and particularly the formal school system has been asked to serve in recent years and also how efficiently educational planning has been conducted. Emphasis was placed on the need for the re-examination of the roles which should be allocated to the various sectors of the education system and that whatever action is taken in respect of education must complement those actions taken directly on society. We have also seen that the education being provided has proved that it is not up to the task expected of it, and therefore needs an overall change to bring it up to the level necessary for present times. However, the question must be asked of how easy it is to make changes in the education system and even more so, in schools. It has been generally assumed by planners and policy-makers that the current weaknesses of the school system can easily be corrected by mere changes in the school system itself, curricula and methodology. Certainly, change cannot be so easily introduced; it entails quite a lot of problems. One can say this without hesitation because the current discussion regarding the reformation of the school is not new, but one that has been going on for a very long time, and despite many years of demanding and discussing change, this has made little or no impact on the school system because fundamentally it is still the same as it was before independence. This is not to say that enough effort has not been made, but that change in schools does not come easily in the sense that schools are not free agents able to
adjust (as educationists wish) to what they see as changes in social need and demand. Indeed, as stated earlier on, schools lag behind social change mainly because of the difficulty of reconciling divergent demands and because these demands have often been inappropriate to the nature of schooling. A number of factors are responsible for these.

The first, is that all the people concerned with education (parents, pupils, teachers, planners and administrators) have had their perceptions formed by what the school has been and done in the past. And because they see schools as places where certain things are done, they find it difficult to associate it with anything else. Therefore, any change that would be introduced must first of all overcome these perceptions, giving them new dimensions, to be wholly acceptable. Also, the education authority in the country is the largest and most costly single enterprise (in real terms, as observed earlier). As it has grown and become more complex, it has become more difficult to make substantial changes in it for fear that the whole structure would be destroyed, especially if the change fails to be effective. Another thing is that the massive expansion of schooling effected by the UPE programme and the demands it is making upon existing resources of finance, expertise and effort are so great as to leave little available for serious questioning of whether this is right or whether it should be re-orientated. Because of financial constraints, the curriculum reform, the training of teachers and the production of new materials have been so done to be as cheaply
as possible. This means that the same sort of schooling re-occurs (that which has already been criticised as inappropriate). There is therefore often more concern to maintain the standards of the past rather than with changing them or seeking new ways of achieving the desired quality.

Another factor rests with the people who work directly with the pupils, i.e. the teachers. The mistake is often made that teachers can easily be convinced of the need to change or will be able and willing to make the changes once they are shown how; that the teacher is some kind of universal man whose intellectual capacity, diversity of skills and motivation are equally matched. It must be recognised that the average teacher, rather than being a wonder-man, is an average teacher and, therefore, to the extent that he remains moderately trained, modestly qualified and activated by limited motivation, morale and status, he is likely to view innovation not with enthusiasm but suspicion. He is also likely to resent extra work, which may be required of him, (probably without extra remuneration) and to see proposals for change as a criticism of his work. This therefore suggests that since the best hope for change lies in the teacher in the sense that educational change must involve the teacher to be effective, this factor must be carefully thought of before any innovation is implemented.

While this factor is being considered, a number of structural issues ought to be considered as well. What is normally referred to as the school system, involves some inter-related systems: primary schools, secondary schools,
teacher training colleges, and the various tertiary institutions (ATCs, Polytechnics and Universities). Obviously, the product of one sub-system constitutes intake of another, thus primary schools feed secondary schools and teachers' colleges, which in turn feed the tertiary institutions. And in respect of teachers, the universities and ATCs feed the secondary schools, while the teachers' colleges feed the primary schools. For the various sub-systems to operate efficiently, therefore, they have to be kept in an appropriate balance with each other and some kinds of change may necessitate changing this balance. The UPE in Nigeria demonstrates this more clearly. It depends largely on the production of sufficient numbers of teachers from colleges. Such colleges have been increased in size and number and the staff needed for them has been drawing, to some extent, from the primary school system itself and also from the secondary school system which already faces major difficulties of obtaining qualified and experienced staff, especially in the area of Mathematics and Science.

It is partly as a result of the secondary schools' inability to staff the sixth forms efficiently that these have been stopped, which necessitates the provision of preliminary studies and the extension of the University programmes to four years, for which purpose they too must seek scarce staff.

However, the influence of the higher sub-systems upon the lower, especially in terms of curriculum, has been even more significant. University entrance requirements have
been a major constraint upon the development of the secondary school curriculum, whilst secondary school entrance examinations stressing the 'academic' and 'literary' skills have been the focus of primary school education, and have severely undermined attempts to diversify primary curricula and give practical and vocationally-oriented studies the status they need if the needs of the majority of primary school-leavers are to be met. In order for primary and secondary schools to develop more relevant curricula which will guarantee that skills are learned by the pupils and students, the universities must be prepared to accept students with a very different educational background from that to which they are accustomed. The new national policy on education probably provides the structural basis conducive to the development of a practical and vocationally-orientated curricula but if there is no corresponding change in the tertiary institutions to conform to this, then it means that students who are able to proceed to institutions of higher education would be faced with the problem of adjusting to new conditions altogether. This change would also require that teachers are trained with appropriate qualifications, and so the chain continues. This goes to show that innovation and especially its implementation is something that needs to be carefully thought out and planned. It is very important that change is made to take place and for the right reasons. In Nigeria today, change in the education system is certain to effect change in the society as a whole.
This brings us to the question of research. Often the lack of understanding of the innovation process and the interaction between various sectors of the education system and between the education system and its societal context beclouds our judgement of innovation as a whole. It is sad that issues such as these which need quite some amount of research are neglected; despite the growing number of universities and other bodies with research responsibilities. The need for fundamental research (i.e. studies, often long term, which are devoted to understanding broad and basic questions rather than to finding speedy answers to limited questions) cannot be over-emphasised. It is studies like these that will provide the people, students, parents, teachers, administrators, with the picture of the system as it actually is and therefore provide them with the basis on which they can decide for change. Often the research, which is mostly undertaken in the field of education, is usually for purposes of achieving higher degrees following up individual interests (and often) very ignorant of other areas of study. For the purpose of change, however, the research needed is one that has interdisciplinary approaches, conducted on a team basis and with a need to present the results to people in a form and language which they can readily understand.

In the final analysis, however, we must be prepared to accept that in order to make education's contribution to national development a real and lasting one, everyone must be involved. We must not distance ourselves and leave the work
to the educational planners alone. We must realise that the price we pay for having an illiterate populace is great indeed. With over 85% of Nigerians still illiterate, we cannot expect to have a sound political culture; we cannot expect people to understand even the simplest of economic problems and the need for small families, for instance. And, although the government has taken the initiative and given the basis for universal education, it is the duty of the few educated people to continue this struggle – the government or education planners alone cannot do it.
CHAPTER 10

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2. Ibid.

3. The population is based on the 1963 Census.


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