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Adebisi

DYSFUNCTIONALITIES OF NIGERIAN EDUCATION IN RELATION TO POST-INDEPENDENCE AIMS OF SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

by

Ayoola Adebisi, B.A. (London)

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McGill University
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background to the Study

Since the first thesis on Nigerian education by a Nigerian was completed in 1946, several others have followed in quick succession.[1] These studies critically examined the education system from the points of view of the qualification of its teaching staff, the effectiveness of its administration, the adequacy of its curricula and of the instructional methods used, the suitability of its facilities, the extent of its support by the Nigerian public, and the abilities and attitudes of its students. Most of these studies found that the Nigerian education system was a wholesale "export" of the types of education that enjoyed the most esteem in Europe, particularly in England, and which was only just adequate in supplying the needs of the Christian missions for teachers and preachers and of the colonial government for clerks and workers for the subordinate ranks of the administration. The content,

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[1] Some of these theses, most of them for American Universities, are listed in the bibliography.

intent and extent of colonial education in Nigeria thus received severe criticism; and proposals for reforms included a drastic overhauling of curriculum programmes and methods, and a reconsideration of the aims of education for an independent Nigeria. The conclusions of these earlier studies have recently been confirmed by the Ashby Commission Report (1960),[2] and by the Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa (May, 1961),[3] and today, the eyes of professionals, administrators and laymen are wide open to these defects.

The immediate effect of all these studies since Nigerian independence has been alarming. More than ever before, education is regarded as an essential instrument in a national social, economic and political policy. To it has been assigned the duties of uniting the country by integrating the variety of tribes and babel of tongues, and of training for maximum use all the available human resources. Nationalist feelings now begin to realize that the exported system of education and, more especially, the way of life that accompanied it, has been alienating

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[2]Nigeria Federal Ministry of Education, Investment in Education. The Report of the Commission on Post-School Certificate and Higher Education in Nigeria. Lagos, 1960.

[3]UNESCO, Final Report of Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa. Addis Ababa, 1961.

the educands from the mass of their people instead of being a steady modifying and shaping force of indigenous culture. All the same, there has been a growing desire for more and better education, and Nigerian governments have strained their limited budgets to provide more schools at every level, more teachers to staff these schools, and more materials and services to enrich educational experiences. Today, there is free and universal (but not compulsory) primary education for all children - except in Northern Nigeria. Attempts are being made to build schools where even the remotest villagers can reach them. Legislators make immediate school expansion a vote-catching visible political achievement; missionary churches make it a soul-winning venture. Yet, the needs in education are still enormous. There are material needs for school buildings, textbooks and equipment; and the needs for more and better trained teachers, for revision and adaptation of teaching methods and curricula, and for financing and planning have never been more felt than now.

In this dilemma, Nigerian politicians look anxiously on technologically advanced countries to help in the required massive educational expansion and to assist in building an educational system that would raise the levels of Nigerian prosperity. In spite of all these attempts,

nothing has been done since independence to refashion the educational system, and to steer it away from British structures and British standards. Of course, the now outdated British technological, industrial or political prestige is still admired in Nigerian political and policy-making quarters. No attempt has been made to see how much resources could be saved through better organization, greater efficiency, and lower expenditures instead of crying and "begging" for foreign aid and assistance. Foreign aid itself is hardly ever conducive to wholesome national development. Even while unemployment and under-employment exist side by side with an acute shortage of skilled manpower, no planning has considered formulating appropriate priorities for the balanced expansion of education.

Aims and Purpose of the Study

The major aim of this study is to investigate in strictly contemporary, rather than historical, terms the relationships between education and development in Nigeria. Ruscoe defines "functionality" as an expression of the degree of relatedness between education and other aspects of life. According to him, "eufunctionality" and "dysfunctionality" are the two opposite extremes on the scale of functionality, the former designating a one-to-one positive, and the latter a one-to-one negative

relationship between societal goals and the goals of education.[4] This writer uses "dysfunctionality" to denote varying degrees of malfunctioning of Nigerian education in relation to the country's post-independence goals of social, economic and political development. He does not, therefore, assume the mathematical exactitude of a one-to-one negative relationship. According to Foster, dysfunctionality may be used with respect to the subjective anticipations of individuals in terms of explicit ends sought from particular institutions.[5] This is what this study attempts to do. The Nigerian educational system is viewed as an instrument designed to promote the country's plans for development. Thus, as Foster does for Ghana,[6] this study objectively examines the educational system in Nigeria with a view to discovering its functions - whether observable, anticipated or expected, or even unintended and unrecognized. The incoherences or lack of agreement between the actual objective functioning of the system and the functions expected of it have been called

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[4]G. C. Ruscoe, Dysfunctionality in Jamaican Education (Ann Arbour: University of Michigan School of Education, 1963), p. 4.

[5]P. J. Foster, "The Transfer of Educational Institutions: The Ghanaian Case Study" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Education, University of Chicago, 1962), p. 15.

[6]Ibid.

"dysfunctionalities." In a country where the masses are illiterate and where democratically elected governments represent the general will, it may be easily assumed (as this study does) that the official policy of all governments represents the general agreement as to what all Nigerians perceive as the functions of education and the aims of development.

In this study, education is considered as an investment, a way of developing Nigeria's vast and growing human resources to achieve national aims of economic, social and political development. Solving educational problems means solving many others at the same time. Children drop out of school, not only because they are not brilliant, but because they cannot pay their way, or because their parents need them to help at home or in the fields. Parents specifically send their children to school in order that they can get jobs. For them, this is a type of investment, for even though primary education is free in almost all regions, the income foregone by parents by way of the children's labour in the family farms is great. Thus, one way of justifying the efficiency and adequacy of the school system is the extent to which it promotes adequate returns on the parents' investments. Therefore, one point of view upheld by this study is that highlighted by an editorial of <u>The London Times</u>:

> Any reform in Nigerian education which will satisfy the aspirations of her people must be strictly utilitarian. . . . It must involve a final break with traditional British colonial educational policy which we still strictly adhere to, and which has been founded basically on the same ideals of liberal education which have prevailed in Britain but which are increasingly recognized to be of limited application in underdeveloped countries.[7]

Nigeria's needs are many and varied, and the needs of education must be balanced against the other demands of water resource utilization, housing, health, and irrigation, to name only a few. To be sure, Nigeria has had more than a decade of development planning, but these have been essentially "development schemes" devoted largely to "building up the standard basic social services and economic requirements in order to lay sound foundations for future progress."[8] The projects and activities that the governments undertook were not chosen with a view to how well they related to one another and to the governments' over-all economic purposes. As Schatz points out, "the various programs were undertaken largely in order to tackle specific targets, and without serious attention either to the relation of the projects to one another and to over-all economic goals, or to resource

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[7] The Times (London), "A Massive Need," October 4, 1960, p. 13.

[8] Federal Government of Nigeria, A Revised Plan of Development and Welfare for Nigeria, 1951-56 (Lagos: Government Printer, 1951).

requirements and availabilities.[9] And, in fact, education was considered important only on its own merit, and not as an integral part of the over-all economic programme.

This study holds that education and economic development are almost inseparable. Economic development involves pulling more and more people out of the subsistence economy into the market economy; it involves prestige, status, as well as a salary and wage structure based on performance rather than on family and political connections and influences; it also requires bridging tribal, cultural, and sectional differences and local loyalties, giving way to a free intra-national social, geographical and occupational mobility. All these are what an adequate educational system could, and should, do. On the other hand, economic development involves a rapid technological revolution and large-scale industrialization which will create employment opportunities to absorb the growing number of young people that are coming out of school. This thesis, therefore, takes a completely novel approach. It seeks to analyze the Nigerian educational system strictly in terms of economic criteria, and to propose reforms. For example, some of the questions it attempts to answer include:

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[9]S. P. Schatz, "The Influence of Planning on Development: The Nigerian Experience," Social Research, XXVII (Winter, 1960), pp. 451-68.

Are scarce resources being too unfairly diverted from other programmes of importance to economic progress (e.g., health, labour conditions, food production, housing) to education? In other words, is educational expansion consistent with the resources of the nation?

What forms of education are going to contribute in which ways towards meeting the targets of Nigeria's Development Plans?

Do we have a balanced investment in primary, secondary, technical, and higher levels of education? If not, which levels should claim first priorities in yielding required returns on educational investments?

Is education supplying necessary grades of manpower? Do we have a necessary co-ordination between educational institutions and business and employment agencies?

How do we balance social and cultural needs, and political pressure with their economic implications?

Are the administrative and supervisory machinery and control channels of education the types that can easily eliminate waste?

Nigerian governments have let education and the economy grow too much according to impulses of private initiative. They should have directed all private enterprises into some desired pattern. The present writer holds the view

that such humble submissions as this thesis may go a long way to avert future problems as well as solve present ones.

Organization of the Thesis

The second chapter of this thesis brings into focus what the study considers the proper and essential role of education in Nigeria. Here, education is taken as an all-embracing term, including formal schooling, informal education (acculturation), on-the-job training, apprenticeship, and all other means of improving efficiency. Throughout the study, an assumption is made that formal education in Nigeria is largely equated with investment, and this section considers the role of education in relation to economic growth, social change, and political development. This chapter, therefore, forms the major background criteria against which the dysfunctionalities of the present educational system are considered and evaluated. To use Foster's words, it is more or less, the "contextual framework of functionality."[10] Chapter III analyses and discusses the major dysfunctionalities of Nigerian education. Chapter IV attempts to pidgeonhole the dysfunctionalities in the previous chapter into their possible causes. It attempts to destroy many

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[10]P. J. Foster, op. cit., p. 19.

mistaken notions which have led to further faults of no less magnitude than those they sought to eliminate - a major aim of this undertaking. The present writer considers Chapter V his major contribution to the question under study. Here, workable and practicable reforms are suggested and appropriate priorities are formulated.

Limitations and Methods of the Study

The survey and evaluation of African or Nigerian education is not new, and a considerable volume of literature currently in print was gone through in the preparation of this work. However, a consideration of Nigerian (or African) education in the light of planning for economic, social and political development is relatively new. This fact gives this work something of the character, and the possible defects, of a pioneer. Some of the statistical materials used in this study are adapted from Nigerian government publications, particularly the Annual Digest of Education Statistics published by the Federal Ministry of Education, Lagos; Annual Abstract of Education Statistics by the Statistics Division of the Ministry of Economic Planning and Community Development, Ibadan, Western Nigeria; and from UNESCO publications, especially the World Survey of Education. If more statistical and other illustrations come from the Western than other Regions, it is because

the writer is from the West and has a better and more personal knowledge of that Region than of the others.

Sir Eric Ashby, Frederick Harbison, Philip Foster, John Vaizey, Thomas Balogh, Archibald Callaway, W. Arthur Lewis, Adam Curle, and James O'Connell are particularly well informed, and they have been very outspoken about dysfunctionalities in Nigerian (or Ghanaian) education. The present writer has also found a remarkable parallel for Nigeria in the writings of these men and several other contributors to educational planning and economic development in underdeveloped areas of the world, particularly South-East Asia, Latin America and Africa. Where particular references are made to any of their works, they have been acknowledged (with thanks) in a way usual to a study of this kind. In some parts, a comparative method of approach is used to elucidate some points. For example, comparisons between Nigeria, other African countries, and even more advanced countries, are often made to show how certain postulations have worked out in practice in different systems. The writer does not in any way pretend that this thesis is a contribution of his single self; it is largely a specific application to Nigeria and to Nigerian conditions, of studies and researches as well as assertions and postulations by various scholars on underdeveloped or, rather, developing areas.

Social values, cultural patterns and traditional economic institutions in Nigeria are difficult to perceive and to understand by foreigners, especially those without sound sociological and anthropological training, and who do not speak local languages. It is this factor that gives the present study a new significance, written as it is, by a Nigerian who is a product of the rural culture, but who is also familiar with what goes on in the urban centres where he received most of his later education. At least, he brings into the study years of experience much richer than tours of only a week or two, or at most, one or two years, by the so-called "experts" on Nigerian education. More than these, it is an evaluation made after a closer familiarity with a different system of education, and a two-year study of educational administrative structures, processes and practices, as well as comparative education, that is, studies of several educational systems, under specialist professors.

A word about the experience and background which the writer brings to this task is also pertinent here. Born in a colonial Nigeria, he lived and schooled through the years of that country's struggles for independence. His father was a traditional (informal) schoolmaster, an Ifa priest, and the writer was the "luckier" of two brothers, who managed to escape initiation into the Ifa cult in exchange for his dead grandfather - just because

one kolanut slice turned upwards instead of downwards.[11] His primary and secondary education were received in American Baptist Mission Schools where attempts were made to sugar the pills of British idealist educational philosophy by American "Deweyism." At the London University "Special Relationship" College of Ibadan, he read for an Honours B.A. degree in Geography with Economics as a subsidiary subject, his special option being Economic Geography. In the preparation of this work, he draws freely, therefore, on this background as well as on his particular knowledge of and familiarity with Nigerian conditions, and on his teaching experiences.

Definition of Terms

It is essential at this stage to define the use of certain terminologies, some of which may be strange, particularly to North American readers.

Investment and Consumption Education: Education is consumption when it is valued in itself, or for the sake of an enhancement of enjoyment of life. It is investment when it is thought of as contributing significantly to man's productivity and, hence, to economic growth and development. So conceived, education yields a

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[11]This is the traditional way of consulting the Ifa oracle. For a "Yes" answer on any question, two of four kolanut slices must face upwards and the other two downwards. Any other arrangement gives a "No" answer.

return to the individual, to his family and his neighbours, to his nation and to the world at large. According to Vaizey, if education is regarded as consumption, then it can be reduced at times of economic stringency with no long-term effects on the economy; but if it is investment, it means that more should be spent on it than people at present really want, for in the long run, it affects the rate of economic growth.[12]

Primary Education is the equivalent of North American Elementary Education. In Eastern, Western and Mid-Western Nigeria, the entry age is 6+, and the course lasts six years: Primary Classes I-VI. In these regions, it is free and universal. In the Federal Territory of Lagos, the entry age is 5+ and the course lasts eight years, consisting of Infant Classes I and II and Primary Classes I-VI. Here, primary education is free, universal and also compulsory. In Northern Nigeria, the entry age is 6+ and the course lasts seven years, consisting of Primary Classes I-VII. Primary schools everywhere pursue an approved syllabus and at the end of the course, a first School Leaving Certificate examination is taken by the graduating pupils. This examination has no relationship with secondary school entrance, as all Secondary

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[12]J. Vaizey, The Economics of Education (London: Faber and Faber, 1962), pp. 26-27.

Schools conduct their own entrance examinations. The First School Leaving Certificate originally signified a standard of achievement for prospective employers. Today, the economy no longer has need for primary school leavers with mere literacy but no skills, and complaints everywhere indicate a debasement of primary education. Actually, it is not the quality of such education that is lower; it is the value of it that has decreased, especially on the employment market.

Secondary Education includes any formal education above the primary school and below the university levels. Secondary General Education includes secondary grammar schools, secondary commercial schools, and secondary modern schools; and Secondary Technical and Vocational Education includes Technical Institutes, Trade Centres and Craft Centres.

Secondary Grammar Schools are generally recognized and approved to provide five- or six-year courses leading to the West African School Certificate examination (equivalent of Junior Matriculation in Canada). Some, however, are unrecognized, and they prepare their students for the G.C.E. "O" Level examinations. A few of the approved grammar schools offer a further two-year course leading to the Higher School Certificate examination of Cambridge University. Some grammar schools have a

technical bias, laying stress on the physical sciences, and on technical subjects like Technical Drawing, Metal Work and Woodwork. Pupils enter grammar schools upon passing entrance examinations in English, Arithmetic and General Knowledge (including in some mission schools, religious content) being graduating pupils of primary schools "who are under five feet and not more than 14 years of age." These schools generally charge fees, and they are mostly single-sex and boarding schools.

Secondary Commercial Schools are similar to grammar schools, but they offer a curriculum biased towards such commercial subjects as book-keeping, accounting, shorthand and typing. They prepare their students for either the West African School Certificate or the Royal Society of Arts examinations.

Secondary Modern Schools offer a three-year post-primary course, and are a significant and peculiar feature of Western and Mid-Western Nigeria. The courses are less academic and more practical than those of the grammar schools. Pupils, fee-paying and non-boarding, are prepared for the Secondary Modern School Certificate examination. In Eastern Nigeria and Lagos, modern schools offer two-year courses, biased towards Domestic Science (Home Economics) and open to girls only.

Secondary Technical and Vocational Schools,

generally trades, crafts and industrial training institutions, prepare their students for a variety of certificates and diplomas such as the City and Guilds of London Institute Certificates.

Teacher-Training Education: Most teachers are trained in normal schools called Teacher Training Colleges.

1. Grade III Teacher Training Colleges offer a two-year course for students who have either successfully completed a secondary modern school course or have taught for at least two years after obtaining the First School Leaving Certificate. They prepare teachers for the junior classes of primary schools. Grade III Colleges have been discontinued in Eastern, Western and Mid-Western Nigeria.
2. Preliminary Teacher Training Colleges are features of Eastern and Northern Nigeria, offering a one-year course to would-be teachers after primary education.
3. Grade II Teacher Training Colleges offer either:
   a. A Four-year course to primary school graduates who have had at least two years of teaching or a three- or four-year course for successful secondary modern school graduates in Western Nigeria.
   b. A two-year course for holders of Grade III Teachers' Certificate who have subsequently taught for two or more years.

c. A two-year course for holders of the West African School Certificate.

Holders of Grade II Teachers' Certificate are qualified to teach all classes in primary schools, in Grade III Teachers' Colleges, and in lower forms of secondary schools.

4. A Teachers' Grade I Certificate is gained through:
   a. Completion of a one-year post-grade II certificate course in a Rural Science Centre.
   b. A pass in two teaching subjects in the G.C.E. "A" Level examination after a Grade II training. The Grade I certificate is awarded after such teachers have satisfied Inspectors of Education in practical teaching.
5. Advanced Teacher Training Colleges now in Lagos, Western, Mid-Western and Eastern Nigeria offer a three-year course to West African School Certificate and Grade II Teachers' Certificate holders, leading to the award of a National Teachers' Certificate. The graduates teach in either secondary schools or in Grade II Colleges.
6. Universities offer Bachelor's degree courses in education, one-year post-graduate certificate courses in education, and one- or two-year diploma courses in education and physical education.

Uncertificated teachers refer to teachers without any professional training, irrespective of their academic background, and to teachers with professional training who failed the final examination and, therefore, did not obtain the certificate.

CHAPTER II

THE PROPER ROLE OF EDUCATION IN NIGERIA

Is the Nigerian educational system dysfunctional? We cannot possibly view the educational system out of context. As Ulich says, weaknesses and strengths in any educational system are themselves variables which have to be redefined for each culture and each school system.[1] In the same way, any analysis of dysfunctionalities and proposals for educational reforms must be based on actual and factual evaluations of what is or should be the functions of education in Nigeria. Schools everywhere exist to provide cultural enrichment for individual children as well as economic growth and development of society through the provision of skills and knowledge to all children. Thus, the schools, as an organization, are often designed to achieve certain ends and purposes. The aim of education and of development in Nigeria must be to build, in the words of the Ashby Commission:

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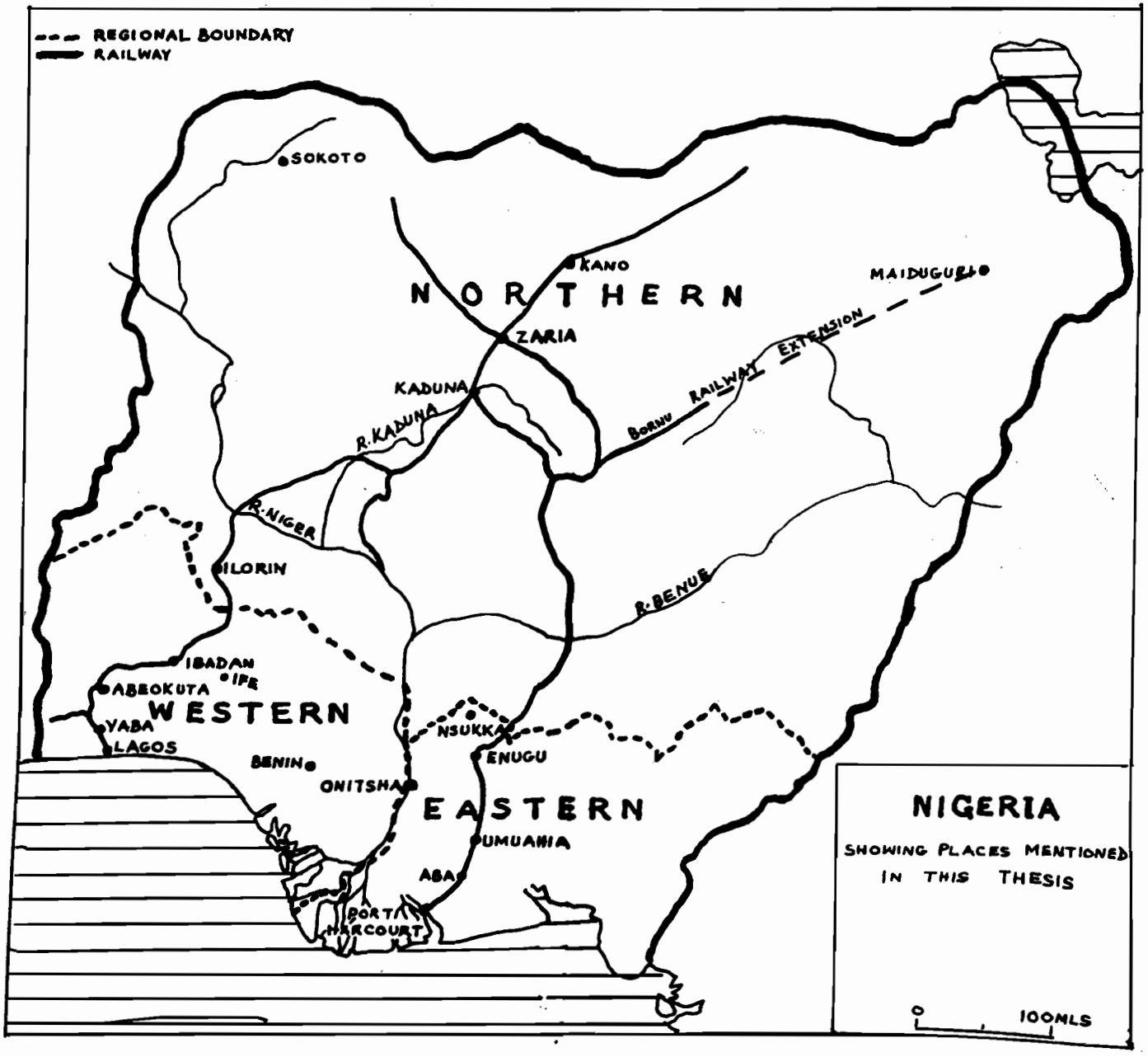
[1]R. Ulich, "Government and Schools Abroad: A Comparison," Current History, XL (June, 1961), pp. 321-26.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ILORIN
R. BENUE
IBADAN
IFE
ABEOKUTA
WESTERN
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LAGOS
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NSUKKA
ENUGU
EASTERN
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PORT HARCOURT
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SHOWING PLACES MENTIONED IN THIS THESIS
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Figure 1.

> . . . a nation . . . with industries, oil and a well-developed agriculture; intimately associated with other free African countries on either side of its borders; a voice to be listened to in the Christian and the Moslem worlds; with its traditions in art preserved and fostered and with the beginnings of its own literature; a nation which is taking its place in a technological civilization, with its own airways, its organs of mass-communication, its research institutes.2

By examining the Nigerian situation, its economic development plans, its desires for social change and its political ambitions, we may be better able to evaluate and redefine the objective functioning of Nigerian education.

The Nigerian Situation

The Nigerian situation, like the post-war educational system of Japan as vividly depicted by Shimbori,[3] and the Ghanaian system as glaringly analyzed by Foster[4] can be viewed as an experiment in educational importation or implantation, which often meets sure and certain, if

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[2]Nigeria Federal Ministry of Education, Investment in Education. The Report of the Commission on Post-School Certificate and Higher Education in Nigeria. Lagos, 1960, p. 3.

[3]M. Shimbori, "The Fate of Postwar Educational Reform in Japan," The School Review, LXVIII (Summer, 1960), pp. 228-41.

[4]P. J. Foster, "The Transfer of Educational Institutions: The Ghanaian Case Study" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Education, University of Chicago, 1962).

not violent reactions, once the foreign controls weaken or disappear. Nigerian education seems to have survived several criticisms, and today, there are no bold attempts to steer away from the colonial educational structures and directions. (According to Foster, this "survival" is because the highly academic types of education have been essentially functional in relation to one or more aspects of social structure.[5]) It supplied enough manpower to staff subordinate colonial administrative posts; it broke down traditional social stratifications for good, substituting an educated élite class for traditional rulers and chiefs; it also sharpened the general appetite and demand for more and better education as a means to social and occupational upward mobility. Whatever elements of dysfunctionality there are today have resulted from newer functions of the schools since independence.

Britain and most of the Western world developed by simple, short lock-step stages now widely publicized by Rostow in his The Stages of Economic Growth.[6] Their experience showed the world that both skills and capital were essential to economic growth. In the 19th century, Japan came along to demonstrate that technology was not

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[5] Ibid., p. 20.

[6] W. W. Rostow, The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto (London: Cambridge University Press, 1964).

hereditary and was communicable, even very quickly. The early 20th century brought Russia into the limelight with the fact that it was possible to telescope development within a relatively short period of time, without necessarily undergoing Rostow's five stages of economic growth, and without an abundance of natural resources. Russia's was a development through adaptation of foreign models (as was Japan's), and through a countrywide planning. A top priority was also given to heavy industries. Yet more recently was the Chinese experience that boosted the role of cheap labour as a form of capital. As a late developer, therefore, Nigeria has a variety of models and a wealth of data about pitfalls to avoid. While she can conveniently avoid a Meiji Restoration or a Russian or Chinese Revolution (which Egypt could not), it is yet to be seen through this study whether or not she can avoid a massive educational revolution (rather than mere reforms) on her way to development.

Nigeria, as well as many other countries in Africa south of the Sahara, is largely a British creation. Even the name "Nigeria" was British - a name coined out of the name of the River Niger. A large area, about 350,000 square miles was carved out of the West Coast of Africa and ruled by the British for about 75 years. This area was occupied by several tribes many of which were constantly

at war with one another. Many of these tribes had advanced cultures and traditional educational systems dating back several centuries, and of course, the mighty Emirates of Northern Nigeria and the Yoruba kingdoms of Western Nigeria had relatively advanced systems of government. Many of Nigeria's current social, political and economic problems stem from this background. Thus today, Nigeria is a multi-tribal and multi-ethnic society, but not a multi-racial one, most tribes being either of the negroid or hamitic stock. Though there is no racial tension of the type associated with most parts of Africa south of the Zambesi, the tribal diversity is important inasmuch as it denotes linguistic difference.[7] There are several intertribal cultural differences that impede communication, reduce mobility within economic and geographical space, and prevent social and political solidarity essential to economic growth. The English language has been developed as an official and commercial language, but it is spoken by such a small minority of the population (either in Queen's English form or in

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[7]There are about 230 distinct languages and dialects spoken throughout Nigeria, some by as many as five or more million people, and others by only a few hundred. See J. J. Spengler, "Population Movements and Economic Development in Nigeria," The Nigerian Political Scene, ed., R. O. Tilman and T. Cole (Durham: Duke University Press, 1962), Chapter 7.

local pidgin varieties) that it can hardly be regarded as a lingua franca.

The British colonial administration knew next to nothing about Nigerian sociological background and traditional tribal life, and in an attempt to maintain peace and order necessary for their economic exploitation, they set up, in the name of indirect rule, local chiefs as little dictators over the people.[8] The much-talked-of British export of parliamentary democracy has not found a rich market in Nigeria. Federalism, which seemed to work well in the 1950's, has been progressively crumbling down under the heavy weight of local and tribal loyalties and prejudices since the withdrawal of the overmastering hands of "big brother" Britain.[9] Curle rightly observes that the extended-family group, tribalism and regionalism all militate against the development and efficiency of the national administration, and of organizations national

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[8]It will be unrealistic to ascribe humanitarian motives alone to 19th century European colonization of Africa. There was no attempt at balanced economic growth and development; education was resigned to Christian missions; and colonial "masters" silenced the people while European mercantilist interests exploited the natural resources to feed home industrial establishments.

[9]The present "broad-based" government, formed after the December, 1964 elections, was one last attempt to paper over the deep and wide cracks of regional and tribal differences. The Council of Ministers wastefully has 80 members in a 312-member house, including members of almost every party, and unlike Western democracies, it has no visible opposition.

in scope through which alone major developments can be brought about.[10] And while this exists, the British-bequeathed constitution gives more power to the Federal Government instead of developing healthy rivalries through strong regional governments. (The regions are far more homogeneous tribal-wise.) In the last analysis, political parties are tribal parties "warring" against one another or allying at will against common "foes." Legislators are voted for and charged with the duties of channelling state services to the benefit of their particular families, tribes or regions. The large family groups or the tribal units are more or less miniature welfare states; the authority of the family heads or the tribal chiefs is derived from social and traditional sanctions; and individuals who move out of the closely-knit group into urban and industrial locations still have their hearts and personal sentiments "back home." Yet, instead of developing these small communities into semi-autonomous municipalities, futile efforts are being made to divert their loyalties to far away (in an age of poorly developed transport and communications) regional and federal governments, even when the concept of this "democratic" government was not understood by the illiterate masses. Thus, to date

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[10] A. Curle, "The Role of Education in Underdeveloped Societies," The New Era in Home and School, XLII (May, 1961), pp. 87-98.

urbanization, nationalism, federationist movements (like political party alliances) as well as "universal" religions like Christianity and Islam have not done enough to cut across tribal lines and dissipate tribalist feelings and sentiments.[11] Perhaps what is required at present is a one-party system with a strong executive but relatively weak legislative body, and with a wide popular support. This arrangement of government, under a charismatic leadership, will be able to strengthen national ties at the expense of local loyalties, clamp down on corruption, stop the over-payment of legislators and senior civil servants as well as the wastage of government revenues in building unproductive "palaces," thus enforcing a much needed system of austerity.

According to the 1963 census, Nigeria's population was 55.6 million, more than one-fifth of the population of Africa south of the Sahara, and about one-seventh of the population of the whole continent. This figure more than doubles that of the nearest political entity (Egypt, with a population of 26 million). If these figures are correct, the rate of growth of the population

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[11]As for religion, Northern Nigeria's population is 73 per cent Moslem, 2.7 per cent Christian, and 2.4 per cent "others," that is, pagans, animists, etc. Corresponding percentages for other regions are: Western, 32.4, 36.2 and 31.4; Eastern, 0.3, 50.1 and 49.6. See Spengler, op. cit., p. 177.

is much in excess of 3 per cent per annum.[12] Much of this population increase can be explained by a high birth rate and a greatly reduced death rate due to basic improvements in health and sanitation, and of course, the accuracy of earlier censuses, when enumeration motives were generally linked with taxation, cannot be guaranteed. The population is also very young - 55 per cent falling within the age group 15-59 and 41 per cent is less than 15 years of age. This means that the proportion of the population which is actually at work is small. The division of the country into four unequal regions[13] disregarded important natural geographical and ethnic boundaries, but even then, intra-national and interregional population movement, and hence a national integration, has been achieved only by economic incentives generated by an internal exchange economy between the southern forest areas and the northern grasslands. Of course, regional rivalries and regionalization are working

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[12]The 1952-53 population census put the figures at 32 million, and a UN projection puts the 1975 population of Nigeria at 42 million. There have been accusations and counter-accusations among political parties that the population figures were inflated for political ends.

[13]The 1963 population census gave Northern Nigeria a population of 29,758,875; Eastern, 12,394,462; Western, 10,265,846; Midwestern, 2,535,839; and Lagos (Federal Capital), 665,246. See Federal Nigeria, VII (September, 1964), p. 11.

against this at present. The Northern government, for example, would rather employ expatriates to its civil service posts than qualified southerners.[14]

With a population two and a half times that of the next largest African state, Nigeria has potentially a larger free trade area and greater opportunity for economic diversity than any other country in Africa. It also has a big internal market for industries whose smallest units must be large for economies of scale. Also, because of the large population, the overhead cost per capita of governmental and economic operations is also small. However, Nigeria does not abound in arable land and exploitable natural resources. Apart from the Niger Dam project under construction, the hydro-electric power potential is undeveloped, and manufactured goods contribute only 3.8 per cent of all exports, though this percentage may be increased soon by exports of semi-refined petroleum, newly discovered in many parts of Southern Nigeria. Nigeria thus depends largely on exports of cash crops for her external exchange earnings. In 1962, her total export earnings of £151.8 million

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[14]About 900 pensionable expatriate officers in this region at independence (October 1, 1960) were reduced to 640 in mid-1962, and of course, supplemented by a larger number of expatriates on contracts - at a time when graduate under-employment is already hitting the south. See Ken Post, The New States of West Africa, (Penguin Books, 1964), table on p. 137.

comprised groundnut products (27.1 per cent), cocoa (22 per cent), palm products (16.9 per cent) and crude petroleum (11 per cent). All these are vulnerable to fluctuations in world market prices. In comparison with most of her neighbours, Nigeria's exports are diversified, but demands for some of them are rather inelastic. Britain is her largest overseas market, supplying 46.4 per cent of her imports and receiving 46.4 per cent of her exports in 1962,[15] yet Britain has never been enthusiastic in promoting international agreements to stabilize primary commodity prices. Thus, Nigeria, with imports worth £167.2 million per annum, runs a deficit on her balance of payments. Nigeria's minerals, largely tin, columbite, limestone and coal, do not attract foreign capital (except her crude petroleum), and so she can hardly develop by exploitation (as can Congo Republic, Rhodesia, Zambia, South Africa, Ghana, and perhaps, Sierra Leone), or by exportation to supply foreign markets. She must develop, therefore, in a way less encouraging to large-scale foreign private investments, and her governments must be much more stable and must make more efforts than those of all other African countries to attract foreign government loans.

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[15] The figures in this section are computed from Nigeria Yearbook, 1964 (Lagos: The Times Press Ltd., 1963), pp. 149-53.

Agriculture accounts for over half of Nigeria's $78 gross national product per capita, and employs 59 per cent of the working population, most of whom are in the subsistence sector. Agricultural products make up about 85 per cent of all exports with livestock, fisheries and forestry another 10 per cent.[16] Nigerian leaders seem solidly committed to a programme of rapid industrialization, and for this, Nigeria has significant advantages including availability of raw materials, adequate supplies of labour, expanding supplies of electric power, improved communications, and a growing internal market. There are over 700 manufacturing plants in Nigeria today, most of them making use of largely local raw materials and producing for the home market. But, unfortunately, they are largely capital intensive, altogether employing only 1 per cent of the people, while acute unemployment problems are besetting the economy.[17]

What all these examples go to show is that Nigeria's most important resource is her people whose skills and talents must be developed to the full. This is a job for

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[16] F. Harbison, "Human Resources and Economic Development in Nigeria," in Tilman and Cole (eds.) op. cit. Chapter 8.

[17] The Michelin tyre factory at Port Harcourt represents a £2.3 million investment but employs only 300 Nigerians; the Jos Plateau tin mines employ only 200; the Guiness Brewery at Ikeja (£2 m.) employs 400, and the Match and the Tobacco factories at Ilorin each costs £1.4 m. and employs 200 Nigerians.

education - including formal schooling, on-the-job training and adult education.

Education and Nigerian Economic Growth

From the foregoing analysis of the Nigerian situation, it is easy to see that Nigeria today faces many pressing problems, some more or less peculiar to itself, others similar to those faced by most underdeveloped countries of the world. Its income per head of population is among the lowest anywhere in the world; there is the ever-increasing danger of overpopulation, at least in relation to employment opportunities. The country is predominantly agricultural, yet agricultural methods are backward. Even then, large scale mechanization would not solve its agricultural problems as it would only release more people from the land than other sectors of the economy can absorb. Of course, introduction of the plough would break soft the fragile tropical soils only to be washed away by torrential downpours of rain. There are the problems of shortage of foreign exchange, which limits the possibility of importing capital equipment, and the low average productivity of labour. There is the need for a rapid rate of industrialization and the absorption of more and more people into wage and salary

occupations.[18] To a large extent, this will lead to the development of a balanced economy and reduce the reliance on uncertain export expectations which do not encourage long-term development planning. The elimination of unemployment and under-employment is particularly essential. Thus, the Nigerian governments are deeply concerned especially about the long-term problems of educating their people; building up their capital assets; increasing the productivity of labour; diversifying the economy; broadening and strengthening governmental services; redistributing the population - from over-populated to underpopulated areas and from urban to rural areas; developing an entrepreneurial class; and improving the general standards of living. In all these, education should claim first priority, not only because it takes a much longer time to show its effects on the economy, but also because it can be utilized deliberately and effectively as a primary instrument for the achievement of the over-all economic goals. As Platt says, the output of education is an educated manpower which performs the productive operations of the economic system, consumes its goods and services, and creates and regenerates its culture.[19]

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[18] Up to 1957, only about 1.4 per cent of Nigerian population were in wage and salary occupations. See Post, op. cit., p. 115.

[19] W. J. Platt, "Education - Rich Problems and Poor Markets," Management Science, VIII (July, 1962), pp. 408-418.

In measuring the economic growth of nations, several criteria (for example, natural resources, material capital, holdings of foreign exchange) had been used in the past; but according to Harbison, the real wealth of nations is best measured by the skills, knowledge and capacities of their human resources.[20] Harbison and Myers, in their study of 75 countries, found that there is a close relationship between a country's educational development and its economic productivity. Using an indicator of educational development that is based on enrolment in secondary schools and universities, they found the coefficient of correlation between educational level and the gross national product (GNP) per capita as .888.[21] Curle says, "it is not usually the absence of resources which makes for poverty but a failure - largely attributable to social causes - to develop them. . . ."[22] In Drucker's opinion, the development of educated people is the most important capital formation, and their number, quality and utilization form the meaningful index of the

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[20]F. Harbison, "A Strategy for Aid to Foreign Education," College Board Review, LV (Winter, 1964-65), pp. 13-17.

[21]F. Harbison and C. A. Myers, Education, Manpower and Economic Growth (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964), p. 40.

[22]Curle, op. cit., p. 87.

wealth-producing capacity of a country.[23] Phillips advises that for quick economic growth with small resources, underdeveloped countries (like Nigeria) should regard education as an investment in human resources, that is, an activity which increases the effectiveness of the human factor in production.[24] Thus, economic growth and development is largely dependent on a country's capacity to produce, not just on its natural resources (for if so, Scandinavian countries should have been among the poorest), nor on capital resources alone (otherwise, the oil-producing Middle-East countries and Venezuela should have been among the most developed), nor just on abundant labour supply[25] (as Asia would have been among the richest).

That education plays an important role in increasing national income has been shown not only by the English

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[23]P. F. Drucker, "The Educational Revolution," in Education, Economy and Society, A. H. Halsey, J. Floud and C. A. Anderson (eds.) (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1961), p. 19.

[24]H. M. Phillips, "Investment in People," The UNESCO Courier (October, 1964), p. 9.

[25]China's development was largely consequent upon the organization of an all-out programme to train and mobilize manpower since 1949. Today, the country has 100 million students in school - more than the combined totals of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. Ninety per cent of its 250,000 scientists and engineers have been trained since 1949. See F. Harbison, "Education for Development," Scientific American, CCIX (September, 1963), pp. 140-47.

economist, Vaizey,[26] but also by his American colleagues, namely Schultz, Becker, Benson, Weisbord and Denison who have attempted to calculate the part of the increase in American national productivity over the years which can be attributed to investment in human resources.[27] That there is an ever-increasing demand for more and better education among the Nigerian population, and that Nigerian governments devote a large part of their annual budgets to education[28] show that the role of education in supplying skilled manpower for the economy and in raising the general standard of living is everywhere recognized. We therefore need not elaborate much on this here. However, Nigerian education will be adjudged dysfunctional if, while consuming such a large outlay of public funds, it does not relate to the development potentialities of the country. It means that educational policy does not reflect appropriate priorities which would provide an optimum of human wants at the least possible expense.

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[26]Especially in his The Economics of Education (London: Faber and Faber, 1962).

[27]See the contributions of these economists in The Journal of Political Economy, LXX (October, 1962), Part II.

[28]The Eastern Regional government is currently spending 48 per cent of its budget on education, the Western Region, 45 per cent, and the North, 27 per cent. That this amounts to only 1.9 per cent of GNP means that not enough of national income is at present tapped by taxation.

The amount of money and resources invested in any level of education should be just so much that no increase in returns can be achieved by transferring some of the investment to another level, or even to another sector of the economy outside of education.

According to the Ashby Report, about 31,200 persons of high level and 53,900 of intermediate manpower cadres are required by 1970. The senior category should include at least 20,000 university graduates made up of 8,500 graduate teachers, 5,000 engineers, 1,200 agricultural, forestry and fishery specialists, 300 veterinarians, 2,500 doctors, 500 scientists for research institutes, and 2,000 others.[29] Educational expansion must be in the direction of meeting this skilled manpower demand. Food production can be expected to increase as a result of more intensive instruction in the agricultural sciences, and this instruction will be greatly facilitated if farming populations are made literate. Illiteracy naturally limits the receptivity of rural population to the transmission of new knowledge and the introduction of new practices necessary for agricultural development. To be functional, Nigerian education must not only reach rural dwellers, but must also aim at improving their

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[29]F. Harbison, "High Level Manpower for Nigeria's Future," in Investment in Education, the Report of the Commission on Post-School Certificate and Higher Education in Nigeria, Lagos, 1960, pp. 50-72.

productivity. On the other hand, it is dysfunctional if it benefits rural children only to make them escape into urban areas in search of less earthy jobs than farming.

Education in Nigeria must not commit itself to narrow specialization in an age in which large numbers of jobs are rapidly becoming obsolete. It must seek to provide an adequate background in fundamental disciplines, not just "the tricks of the trade." Pratt and Loveridge[30] assert that the more education a person has, the less training he will need to make him capable to undertake a given job; and the more education is used in place of training, the less will be the underemployment of skilled manpower owing to obsolescence of skills, because the costs of readaptation will be reduced. Moreover, by virtue of his ability to use general principles in relating problems arising in different areas of skill, the man with a broad education is more likely to move into the high level grades of manpower. He is also more likely to assimilate training efficiently and to do so in a manner which would not limit his outlook. Moreover, if the government wants indigenous banks to have a foothold in the economy, if it wants indigenous small retail traders to replace expatriate firms who may then

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[30]S. Pratt and A. J. Loveridge, "Training Programmes and Manpower Planning," Teacher Education, IV (February, 1964), pp. 177-89.

concentrate on wholesale distribution, the schools must teach subjects like banking, commerce, wise purchasing decisions, and salesmanship. If the government wants to encourage private investment in industry, the schools must dispel the prevalent ideas of quick returns to investments. If the schools conform to foreign models and fail to serve the Nigerian economy, then education is dysfunctional.

Are all institutions at all levels adapted to the tasks they are to undertake? Is the utmost care taken to discover talents, to eliminate wastes at all levels, and to ensure that the most effective use is made of trained manpower when it enters the field of employment? Employed manpower must not be under- or over-educated for the jobs they are doing. Are positive measures taken to ensure that no talents are discouraged or left undeveloped through poor teaching methods, shortage of school accommodation or early drop-out from the school system? Whatever the magnitude of our educational expenditure, we can hardly obtain full value for it unless these conditions are assured.

However, education is not the single key to economic growth. Japan, for example, devotes a higher proportion of central and local public funds to education than any other country in the world (21.4 per cent

in 1960 compared with her closest rival, Italy's 15.2 per cent in 1959). The percentage of the GNP devoted to education rose from 2.4 in 1915 to 3.4 in 1925, 5.5 in 1955 and 5.2 in 1959. In 1960, 10.2 per cent of her college-age youth were in college, a figure probably exceeded only by the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.[31] Yet, its GNP per capita is only about $300, far below the advanced countries which average $1,100.[32] Similarly, Egypt, India and Thailand rank high in education and relatively low in GNP per capita. On the other hand, countries like Saudi Arabia, Liberia and Venezuela are low in education and relatively higher in GNP. These countries show that many factors other than education enter into a country's economic progress, for example, natural resources, foreign markets and outside assistance. Nevertheless, Israel has demonstrated to the world that a small country with limited natural resources can develop faster if it has a well-educated and motivated population. At least, today, Israel is an exporter of capital and technology to many African countries, including Nigeria. Therefore, the functionality of Nigerian education can be judged by the extent to which educational planning is conceived of

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[31] UNESCO, Basic Facts and Figures, 1961 (Paris/ Geneva, 1962), pp. 72-79.

[32] See table in Harbison and Myers, op. cit., p. 48.

as part of the general economic programme; it can be evaluated by the extent to which it attempts to meet the economic goals in accordance with national priorities and available resources. After all, it is pointless to build a school system unless there are jobs for the graduates to go to and capital equipment for them to work with.[33] As a UNESCO study points out:

> If provision for education and training of the nationals of any country is not built into every project, not included as an integral part of every plan, not taken for granted as a part of every step forward, the ultimate goals can never be reached.[34]

Education and Social Change in Nigeria

Education is essentially a social service and must compete for limited funds with other basic social services like public health, economic development, and maintenance of law and order. Benham points out that social overhead capital investments like irrigation schemes might permit two crops a year instead of one (especially in Northern Nigeria with its markedly seasonal rainfall); a new road

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[33] J. Vaizey, "Education in African Economic Growth," in Economic Development for Africa South of the Sahara, ed. E. A. G. Robinson (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1964), pp. 340-55.

[34] UNESCO, Education and Agricultural Development, Freedom from Hunger Campaign Basic Study No. 15 (Paris, 1963), p. 12.

or railway (like the Bornu Railway Extension in North-Eastern Nigeria) might open up markets to a large group of farmers; and a hydro-electric scheme (like the Kainji Dam on the River Niger) might supply cheap electric power to a large area. All these ventures give relatively surer and quicker returns to investment than education.[35] However, education is not just an economic investment; it is also a social service which enriches the life of the community, trains people for life and for livelihood, builds character, and raises mental stature of the educands. Thus, for Nigerian education to be functional, it must fit into the Nigerian social milieu, taking root in the Nigerian society, and affecting for good the social structure and cultural facets.

Do products of Nigerian schools absorb economically dysfunctional attitudes merely by passing through school? Are they contemptuous of white-collar jobs? Do they conceive of themselves as a class apart from and superior to the masses of their own people merely because they possess the paper qualifications and, possibly, the status and economic security to which these entitle them? A socially functional educational system in Nigeria would not overlook the value of indigenous types of education. As Jahn

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[35]F. Benham, "Education and Economic Development in the Underdeveloped Countries," International Affairs, XXXV (April, 1959), pp. 181-87.

writes, "only where man feels himself to be heir and successor to the past has he the strength for a new beginning."[36] Little should be thought of an education and a way of life which estranges the educated Nigerian from his people, making him look down on the way of his fathers, regarding everything as pagan, primitive and superstitious. According to Mondlane, it is important for African education to point to African "old roots" in order to equip African children with enough cultural experience to be able to cope with the radically changed influences around them without losing their identity.[37] Africa requires not only an intellectual but also a cultural self-respect.

Curle observes that an illiterate society clings to customs, traditions and outmoded practices; it resists the forces of change which stimulate the acquisition of new knowledge and new skills.[38] The significance of an education programme under such a situation lies in its general raising of the human level, and in drawing people away from social and intellectual

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[36]J. Jahn, Muntu, The New African Culture (New York: Grove Press, 1961), p. 18.

[37]E. C. Mondlane, "Old Roots in African Education," in America's Emerging Role in Overseas Education, ed. C. W. Hunnicutt (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1962), pp. 109-17.

[38]Curle, op. cit., p. 92.

attitudes which make all growth impossible. In other words, an effective Nigerian education would not only be closely allied to the Nigerian culture from which it grows, but would steadily modify and reshape the culture along desirable lines. No useful purpose is served if Nigerian education merely eliminates traditional social élites by substituting an educated power élite which merely seeks to perpetuate its own kind. For example, if "Etons" and "Harrows" are built, nobody but the rich can afford to send their children there. For a perfect functionality, social mobility must be complete and for no reason whatsoever should the social advancement of people in less privileged ranks of society be made difficult. According to Vaizey, social mobility is particularly important from the point of view of productivity, because the more fluid a society, the more likely it is that the conventional economic institutions are operating without institutional handicaps of one kind or another.[39]

The question of national heterogeneity (that is, a mixture of tribes, languages and religions) has been mentioned. The integration of these diverse elements is not easy, considering the fact that many adjacent tribes

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[39]J. Vaizey, "Comparative Notes on Economic Growth and Social Change in Education," Comparative Education Review, V (June, 1961), pp. 7-12.

were traditional enemies, having fought each other regularly right up to the beginning of the 20th century. On this social structure has been superimposed further divisions of society on the basis of inequalities of wealth, opportunity, power, education and influence. Free and universal schooling, however, is expected to bring cultural homogeneity thereby creating a unified and harmonious society out of heterogeneous tribal and religious elements. By so doing, national loyalty will predominate above local and tribal loyalties, and politicians will cease to be "mere" politicians, siphoning government revenues or economic aid funds into their Swiss bank accounts, or diverting government services to their clan or tribal areas, or even opposing development programmes because they would disturb their vested interests. Then, social expenditure on education can be directed towards reducing social inequalities by improving access to educational facilities of children of poor parents, of rural children, and of the children from big families. The schools may be integrated with the family on the one hand and the state on the other - but not the Church or the mosque - as this would break open religious differences among the population.

Is Nigerian education brought down to the societal grass roots? Then, societal roles will be acquired

because of conduct, effort and personal competencies, and not distributed on the basis of sex, age, family or tribe. Economic and political decisions will no longer reflect personal prejudices or obligations. Socio-political determinants of wage structures will give way to competitive market prices, and individuals will be remunerated on the basis of their worth and productivity, not influenced by kinship, class or family relationships. More than these, life, death, illness, fortune and misfortune will be regarded as sometimes avertable factors, not always beyond the control of man. Any educated Nigerian would then be able to explain the environment around him in terms of elementary science, thereby destroying his helplessness which gives him a built-in sense of impotence and drives him to a strong-hearted belief in destiny. He would acquire notions of causality without necessarily looking up to adults who would explain phenomena around him in terms of "the arms of the unknown gods" or "supernatural interventions." The essential element of this type of education is not really an "education for heaven," but an education to make this world a better place, an education for development.

Education and Nigerian Political Development

It is important that Nigerian education should keep pace with her political development and aspirations. Nigeria is not only an independent state; it is a member of several international organizations. By her size in area and in population, she stands to be respected in the councils of the Organization of African States. She must not play the puppet, therefore, to more developed countries, "begging" for money and personnel she can conveniently provide on her own through sheer efficiency and better management. First and foremost, therefore, Nigerian educational administrative agencies must be effective and efficient. It is important for a truly Nigerian education to note that development is not necessarily tied to peculiar institutional and political conditions. Foreign educational models have to be adapted to Nigerian conditions, not just copied. On the other hand, Nigerian education must not foster a narrow nationalism. Foreign personnel and foreign aid must be utilized where no ideological strings are attached; educational showcases must not be built merely for national prestige; and students might be sent abroad for training where this might be cheaper than building schools and finding teachers for them at home. Education must aid in the difficult task of nation building, and must

help in safeguarding Nigeria's political independence by averting the dominance of stronger nations.

Though Nigeria is understandably silent about international politics, particularly the Cold War or the East-West struggle for supremacy, she is much concerned with and vocal about Pan-Africanism. The 19th century European scramble for Africa divided the continent into British, French, German, Belgian and Portuguese spheres of influence with important cultural, economic and political consequences. Between any two African countries, particularly those once ruled by different metropolitan imperialistic powers, there is no cultural communication. The Yorubas of Dahomey are as far apart from the Yorubas of Nigeria as are the French of Languedoc. Each country remains more or less in economic isolation, maintaining her direct trade relationship with the former metropole. Only 1 per cent of Nigeria's foreign trade is with the rest of Africa. Currencies are exchanged with difficulty; and transport facilities, whether roads, railways, or harbours, have been designed for political and not for economic convenience. Now that most of Africa is independent of foreign powers, continued political isolation would be an obstacle to the removal of other barriers. By teaching African languages and African cultures, and by starting research into African social

problems and institutions, the education system of Nigeria would be building up truly African personalities. The question of a West African Common Market which looks like a practical impossibility would be attained within a short period of time, and the stabilization of export crop prices would be better attained in this way. Moreover, Nigerian nationals would be better able to bring the fruits of the experience of other countries of similar geographic or social climates to bear on local problems.

On the local scene, the education system must teach all Nigerian citizens the basic skill of literacy so that they may vote with at least modest discrimination. It is in this way that a responsible government, together with a stable system for justice and order, may be established. This must be functional literacy which enhances the significance of books, newspapers and similar media for the transmission of information, an important essential for the continued existence of a competitive market economy and the maintenance of a political democracy. This means the education must reach not only school-age children but also employed adults. The education system must teach habits of involvement and responsibility so that Nigerians would not be prone to leave all aspects of economic development as the exclusive responsibility of the state or the politicians. If possible, education

must also assist in developing a lingua franca without which it will be difficult to establish a stable government or a viable economy. It is not only essential to build a democratic government, it is also vital to keep it stable. Thus, the schools should teach the essential skills which would keep her graduates employed. The problem of the educated unemployed is a threat to political stability.

Summary

Thus far, we have examined the Nigerian situation and have attempted to postulate what types of education would quickly effect her economic, social and political development. As the Ashby Report predicts, Nigerians are already foregoing other things they want so that every available penny can be "invested" in education.[40] However, as this chapter shows, for this investment to yield a profitable return commensurate with its size, education would have to be closely related to the country's plans for rapid economic growth through industrialization and modernization of agriculture. It must integrate the country and effect a desirable social change, breaking off accepted social habits that are inimical to progress,

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[40]Nigeria Federal Ministry of Education, Investment in Education. The Report of the Commission on Post-School Certificate and Higher Education in Nigeria. Lagos, 1960.

and promoting scientific thinking and scientific attitudes without necessarily losing that which makes distinctive African personalities. Above all, education must help in building a healthy democracy and a truly Nigerian, African and world citizenship. These are the modus operandi for a functional educational system of an independent Nigeria.

CHAPTER III

MAJOR DYSFUNCTIONALITIES IN NIGERIAN EDUCATION

In Chapter II, we attempted to lay down a scale of functionality against which we can evaluate Nigerian education. Here, we shall put every aspect of the education system to this test: the administration and organization of the system; its curricular emphases; its planning and the implementation of this planning; and the structure of the education, that is, its distribution between the sexes and in geographical space, and the shape of the educational pyramid. While we are not blind to the merits of the system, however, this chapter specifically seeks to highlight the dysfunctionalities with a view to proposing urgent reforms. This writer feels that a state of perfect functionality of the education system in relation to social, economic and political development objectives is not unattainable; and if so, it is worth attempting. The major dysfunctionalities of Nigerian education have been classified into the following: waste of human and material resources, emphasis on wrong types

of education, imbalances in the education system, and the status given to teachers and to the teaching profession.

Waste of Human and Material Resources

Through Multi-ownership of Schools

In Nigeria today, the full responsibility for planning, implementing and financing educational policy is in the hands of Regional Governments. It is the responsibility of Regional Ministries of Education, directly responsible to Ministers of Education, who are political figures and members of Regional Cabinets. Each Ministry is directed by a Permanent Secretary who is a civil servant and the symbol of continuity in educational policy and decision making. There are also Regional Boards of Education on which the Nigerian Union of Teachers, Voluntary Agencies and private schools are represented. Each Ministry controls education through a system of Local Education Authorities (like England's). In the Western Region alone, there are about 48 divisional and district councils appointed as local education authorities to handle administration of primary and secondary modern schools. In almost all cases, the educational programme is handled by a committee of the local government councils. Secondary grammar schools and teacher training institutions are managed by Boards of Governors on which the Regional

Governments, Voluntary Agencies and local government councils are represented. Expenses for these schools are borne jointly by the Regional Governments and by local authorities, the latter empowered to levy education taxes on the tax-paying adult population. The Regional Governments are responsible for maintenance of standards of education which are controlled through the system of grants and inspection.

The Federal Government retains interest through a Federal Ministry of Education in two Federal Universities (Ibadan and Lagos), the Federal Emergency Science School and the Advanced Teacher Training College in Lagos, and it also provides secondary education in the Federal Territory of Lagos. A Federal Advisory Service gives professional advice and assistance as required by the regional authorities, and the Federal Government co-operates with the Regional Governments in setting up machinery to co-ordinate application for foreign aid and to administer it on the basis of genuine need. Federal aid is provided for expanding and co-ordinating vocational and technical as well as agricultural and veterinary education, and bursaries and scholarships are given annually to deserving students in all regions. By its huge grants to all Nigerian universities, the Federal Government ensures that the five universities are

autonomous, national in outlook, and that the faculty enjoy academic freedom.

To parallel and even duplicate this arrangement, the state recognizes the right of voluntary agencies (mostly religious bodies) to participate in providing education, and it gives financial support to such agencies. The Regional Governments pay the salaries of all teachers in voluntary agency schools, pay the schools a grant per student, and the costs of new buildings; and the expansion of existing buildings, if approved by the Ministries, is also financed by the Regional Governments. Thus, religious groups depend upon the governments for maintenance of their schools and in return accept the regulations and requirements established by the Ministries. These regulations and requirements have been primarily concerned with the physical plant of schools and the professional staff. The content of the curriculum has been determined by the examination system.

With this arrangement, Northern Nigeria had 33 secondary grammar schools recognized for the West African School Certificate examination in 1962. Of this number, four were government-owned, 14 were owned by local authorities, three were community schools, and the other 12 were owned by Christian missions. In the same year, Eastern Region had 78 under this category, four owned by

the Regional Government, four by local authorities, four by communities, 14 by private individuals, and the others by Christian missions. Of the private schools, eight were in Onitsha province alone, the rest in Calabar, Enugu and Owerri provinces where the density of population was highest. Western Region had 116 such schools, four government-owned, 25 owned by local authorities, 17 were private, and the others belonged to Christian and Muslim missions. The Federal Territory's 16 schools included two government, one private and 13 Christian and Muslim schools. Most of the country's 201 secondary grammar schools, not yet recognized for the School Certificate examination, were owned by voluntary agencies and other private bodies.[1] Table 1 shows the proprietorship of schools in Western Nigeria in 1963.

This organization of educational administration and control is defective in many ways. The Ministries of Education, the central lights of reason in a denominationalized system, are not staffed adequately enough to make serious studies or to plan new developments. They are packed full of clerical assistants most of whom are only just learning on the job after a literary secondary education. There is a serious shortage of higher

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[1]Federal Ministry of Education, Annual Digest of Education Statistics, II (Series No. 1, 1962), pp. 79-89.

TABLE 1

PROPRIETORSHIP OF SCHOOLS IN WESTERN REGION, 1963

	Number of Schools Owned[a]				
	Primary Schools	Secondary Modern Schools	Secondary Grammar Schools	Grade III Colleges	Grade II Colleges
Government	8 (0.1)	-	5 (2.4)	-	3 (8.6)
Local Authority	1724 (27.4)	126 (18.0)	42 (19.8)	22 (41.4)	6 (17.1)
Church Missionary Society	1523 (24.2)	164 (23.5)	46 (21.7)	7 (13.2)	7 (20.0)
Roman Catholic Mission	1082 (17.2)	171 (24.4)	47 (22.2)	11 (20.8)	7 (20.0)
Methodist Mission	297 (4.7)	34 (4.9)	9 (4.2)	1 (1.9)	2 (5.7)
Baptist Mission	381 (6.0)	35 (5.0)	11 (5.2)	2 (3.8)	3 (8.6)
African Church Mission	325 (5.1)	32 (4.6)	4 (1.9)	2 (3.8)	2 (5.7)
Moslem Missions	438 (6.9)	42 (6.0)	13 (6.1)	5 (9.4)	3 (8.6)
Other Missions	425 (6.7)	55 (7.9)	8 (3.8)	3 (5.7)	2 (5.7)
Private	-	40 (5.7)	27 (12.7)	-	-
Other Public Schools	108 (1.7)	-	-	-	-
Total	6311 (100)	699 (100)	212 (100)	53 (100)	35 (100)

[a]Figures in parentheses refer to percentages

Source: Western Nigeria Ministry of Economic Planning and Community Development (Statistics Division), Annual Abstract of Education Statistics, 1962 & 1963 Combined (Ibadan: Government Printer, n.d.).

administrative cadres, especially those trained in educational administration. There is a frequent transfer of highly qualified teaching staff into the administrative echelons, but while this robs the schools of the services of these experienced teachers, it gives the new officials only routine operational duties in a system where communications are antiquated and inefficient. Soon, these officials lose all contacts with teaching, and in the words of MacKinnon, they become apt "to look upon pupils as statistics, classroom procedure as machines, and theory as practice."[2] Moreover, annual or accumulated leaves by senior officials may mean an abrupt cessation of planning activity until such officials resume duty again. Many ministries of education are too much concerned with the very few schools they directly administer as "models," rather than with the entire system they oversee, and of course, sometimes over-equipped with men and resources, the Government Schools become prestige schools like Eton and Harrow of England - exclusive preserves of sons and daughters of the privileged. Here is a case where children of people who are most able to pay fees receive sounder education at highly subsidized costs to their parents. This pattern is open to charges

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[2]F. MacKinnon, "Government and Education," in Canadian Education Today, ed. Joseph Katz (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1956), p. 216.

of a narrow élite trying to perpetuate itself to the exclusion of many unprivileged children who are, therefore, wasted talents.

Church-controlled schools in Nigeria have a long history dating back to the early days of colonization. Britain, at the head of a large empire, could not provide enough money and adequate personnel for herself and all her colonies; her colonial administrators did not understand Nigerian cultures and languages enough to provide them with an adequate education system. She was only too pleased to delegate the initiative and the burden of educational provision and control to the churches and missionaries. The missionaries were trained in preaching and evangelism, not in how much to invest in education, what educational priorities to follow in a given state of economy, and what technology and organization to use for economic management. Church schools persisted throughout the colonial era because they were successful or functional enough to produce a hard core of educated individuals who have maintained law and order, and who have carried to a successful completion the difficult task of moving from a colonial state to an independent country. When judged against the criteria of post-independence aims of social, economic and political development, however, missionary-provided education is

very much dysfunctional. Economically, it is a wasteful, an expensive and an inadequate system; socially, it does not provide equity and conformity with consumer preferences; and politically, it has built too much of a loyalty to the British educational system and way of life, a loyalty that blinds the eyes of political decision-makers to its inefficiency, and one that inhibits the working of Nigeria's neutral foreign policy.

The cost of providing education in Nigeria is very high. About 40 per cent of the total regional budgets has gone into it every year since independence. This does not include tuition fees paid by secondary school students, and the contributions of people through the churches and through community levies. Besides, communities also give their labour free to provide school buildings and other services, and because the total cost of education is greater than the governments can democratically raise through taxation, a lot of foreign aid has also gone into education. In Nigeria, where there is no law against child labour, and where primary and secondary school attendance is not compulsory, the earnings foregone by students are extremely high. All these call for a realistic appraisal by educational planners and policy makers.

Undoubtedly, denominationalism has fragmented the Nigerian school system to a detrimental degree.[3] It is true there has been a phenomenal expansion of the whole educational system shortly before and since independence, with grammar school enrolment in Western Region alone trebling from 11,000 to 35,000 in the period 1955-63, and teacher training college numbers rising from 6,600 to 14,000 in the same period, but this expansion is far too haphazard. At present, the governments spread their limited budgets among large numbers of small schools - a total of 15,586 primary and 1,156 secondary schools in 1962 - with an average of 182 pupils per primary and 169 per secondary school. Such small schools can hardly attain a scale of operation which provides an opportunity for ideal specialization in instruction and administration. Nothing short of a very expensive practical and vocational education is good enough to prepare children for the job

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[3]The findings of Cheal do not speak in favour of over-denominationalism and more privileges to private schools. According to his study of the Canadian situation, the greater the degree of denominationalism (and hence fractionalism) in provincial school systems, the lower the achievements of pupils in provincial examinations, and the lower the teachers' salaries and qualifications. He also associates denominationalism with several other negative attributes like perpetuation of small school districts and small schools, hence an inefficient use of resources and a restricted educational programme. See J. Cheal, "Counting the Cost of Canada's Denominational School Systems," The School Review, LXXII (Spring, 1964), pp. 100-115.

market - a service which small schools can hardly perform economically. The fact that Nigeria's towns and cities are now pregnant with unemployed school leavers shows that while the economy is far from saturated with manpower, it has no place for secondary school leavers, whose school certificate credentials read passes only in English, Latin, Bible, Greek and History, let alone primary school leavers, who are only literate enough to read the scriptures. Apart from the narrow range of curriculum offered, 52 of Western Nigeria's total of less than 120 secondary grammar schools which offered candidates for the School Certificate examination in 1963 did so after preparing the children for six years (instead of the usual five years). It is usual that some of the students had previously spent one to three years in secondary modern schools and others had spent a minimum of one year in preparatory schools after graduating from primary schools. All these 52 were either voluntary agency or private schools, and all but eight of them were founded before 1957, and at least three before 1948.

That school units are small may not look so wasteful until one considers the fact that an under-utilized graduate teacher in one school cannot teach in another school next door because that school belongs to another agency or mission. An Anglican teacher once earned as

much as £30 each month for teaching English Literature to a sixth-form class in a Baptist School in the same town during a few of his free periods. Of course, his regular salary and this extra "tip" came from the same government purse, and his university education sponsorship for the Anglican mission was financed by that same government. A Supervisor of Schools may travel over 100 miles, mileage paid, to visit an isolated school; he has no right to go into other schools in that area because they are controlled by other missions. Hawkridge cites the example of two grammar schools, each with about 300 pupils going to school certificate, standing on adjacent sites - and belonging to the same voluntary agency. Staffing and laboratory and library accommodation problems plague both schools.[4] It seems that small, uneconomic school units have become an ideal. Apart from wastage through lack of interschool services, research facilities and mobility of specialist teachers, a large percentage of the education budget (9.4 per cent in 1962-63) goes to pay the salaries of administrative hierarchies of governments, duplicated by those of the many voluntary agencies. Many hard-earned shillings and pounds could have been saved here to provide the quality of education

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[4]D. G. Hawkridge, "From Salisbury to Ibadan and Back," West African Journal of Education, VIII (June, 1964), pp. 119-20.

necessary to equip primary school children for employment or to provide more secondary school places.

It is obvious that in most parts of Nigeria, government grants to education are often diverted to church accounts, and teachers have to make good without their salaries for months. In places like Lagos, Ibadan, Aba, Onitsha and Benin, several private proprietors with strong profit motives have moved into the lucrative educational business for which there is much unmet demand. These private schools have phenomenally large student intakes, and they keep the investment per student as low as possible for the sake of the balance-sheet. Moreover, salaries and qualifications of teachers are "supervised" by the governments, but not their service conditions, and a powerful national teachers' union is difficult to organize as teachers owe loyalties to different employers with different service conditions. There is no pension scheme for most voluntary agency teachers, and merit rarely gets a chance of recognition as promotion on the salary scale is virtually absent. Gaps separate salaries of graduate teachers in voluntary agency schools from those of similar qualifications in the public service. Under such conditions professionalization and professional growth are absent among teachers. And, because well-trained people are much in demand in many other occupations in which salaries,

promotions and other conditions of service are better than in teaching, many qualified teachers continually leave the schools in search of more money and greater status and prestige.

There is a lot of waste through competition instead of co-operation. According to Shaplin, regional rivalries and a conflict of interest between Federal and Regional Governments in the educational sphere have led to the development of a larger number of Nigerian universities than can reasonably be supported by the country and by international aid.[5] He is probably referring to the enrolment capacities of the universities which are in excess of the actual enrolments, especially so in the newer universities. Most students who are offered places prefer older universities or accept foreign scholarships to overseas universities. A large percentage cannot take their places because of financial difficulties. However, there is a large number of willing students who are left out because the universities think they are not adequately prepared - due to no fault of theirs. They have attended under-staffed and under-equipped schools.

About 36 squabbling voluntary agencies are in

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[5]J. T. Shaplin, "The Realities of Ashby's Vision," Universities Quarterly, XV (June, 1961), pp. 229-37.

control of education; and as Christian churches move further away from ecumenism, Nigerian education continues to suffer through "the arguments of Victorian Christianity" and Europe-based Reformation. Generally speaking, voluntary agency schools are regarded as "public schools" since they receive government grants and are not permitted to refuse any child on account of his or her faith, but because several of these agencies really compete one against the other, they do introduce the profit motive. In the case of mission schools, these profits are not economic profits, but profits reckoned in terms of the number of souls converted. Some mission schools actually lessen the cost of their secondary schools to attract students, but instead, they give low quality, purely literary education, taught by unqualified staff. Of course, the unwary and often illiterate parents cannot easily equate absolute costs with the quality of education given.

The bickering and competition among voluntary agencies take various other forms. Schools do not know what is going on in other neighbouring schools as there is a tendency for each school to guard its secrets jealously. The possibility of bulk purchases of equipment, books, materials for uniforms, standard designs of buildings, and forms of co-operative use of expensive

audio-visual aids is largely out of the question. Inexperienced school administrators who have no communications with more experienced or better trained ones may decide to allocate school funds to fine furniture for the staff room instead of more books for an inadequate library. Prospective students and their parents often judge the quality of schools by their successes in public examinations, with the result that "wise" principals often tighten their promotion policies, especially to the senior class. Too much attention is being paid to school buildings, and little to what goes on inside them, at a time when foreign journalists who have visited West Africa write about "palaces in every capital, television stations sprouting in poverty-stricken nations, and newly-installed traffic lights on streets that can safely be crossed with eyes closed."[6] Each school has its own set of uniforms including ties and expensive blazers, and these in a hot tropical country. Each school conducts its entrance examination, giving candidates unstandardized tests which often result in faulty selection and hence a waste of talents. Proprietors attract staff away from other schools by special inducements outside basic salaries, like car

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[6]D. Hapgood, "Africa's New Elites," Harper's Magazine, CCVII (December, 1963), pp. 43-49.

loans and cash ranging from £30 to £270 for Nigerian and £78 to £200 for expatriate teachers.[7] The Ajayi Commission also observes that some school principals who are members of parliament, and who are granted car advances and consolidated allowances by either the Federal or Regional Governments, are also receiving car basic allowances from their respective schools in respect of the same cars.[8]

The Nigerian denominational school system can be justified if it is what the people want and what they are willing to pay for. Then, it can be said, in the words of Miner, to conform with consumer preferences.[9] In the Netherlands, parents' wishes are paramount, and independent organizations run with state subsidies some 80 per cent of the country's nursery schools, 70 per cent of the primary schools, and 60 per cent of education thereafter

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[7]With an inducement allowance of £150 for single and £250 for married teachers, 10 per cent of basic salary contract addition, and a furlough passage allowance which amounts to £200 or return tourist class passage for each of self, wife and up to three children, expatriates are already well-provided for as they are twice as expensive as their Nigerian counterparts. See Western Nigeria Government, Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Rise in Fees Charged by Public Secondary Grammar Schools and Teacher Training Colleges in Western Nigeria (Western Nigeria Official Document No. 11, 1963), p. 16.

[8]Ibid., p. 24.

[9]J. Miner, Social and Economic Factors in Spending for Public Education (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1963), p. 24.

(excluding the university). Dutch parents even have the right to educate their children at home if they so desire. Uniformity is maintained by a rigid state system of supervision by trained inspectors.[10] But it is an expensive system. The Netherlands devote about 30 per cent of its national budget and 5.2 per cent of its national income to education; in Nigeria it is 1.9 per cent of a much smaller national income for a much larger population. In Nigeria today, denominational schools do not necessarily exist to bring up children in the religious beliefs of their parents; otherwise, in a country where 44 per cent of the population is Muslim and 22 per cent Christian, Christian churches will not be controlling 95 per cent of all primary schools and over 75 per cent of all secondary schools. In Northern Nigeria, especially, where Muslims are 73 per cent of the population and Christians only 2.7 per cent, the latter control at least 80 per cent of primary and about 60 per cent of secondary schools. This cannot be explained simply by saying Muslims are indifferent about the control of education. Is shows that religion is not what the Nigerian wants from the schools. The mere fact that the mission schools are packed full of children is no

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[10] The Times Educational Supplement (London), "Parents' Wishes Paramount: The Dutch Way," November 20, 1964, p. 916.

indication that parents prefer the schools to state controlled schools. Often, these are the only schools available. The Nigerian society is a markedly immobile one spatially, as many social considerations tie people down to the villages in which they were born, and though pupils often travel far away from home to attend secondary schools of their choice (wasting much money in transportation and living in boarding houses), at the primary school level parents are often forced to send their children to the only available nearby mission school for want of anything else. The less than sufficient public investment in education in Nigeria is a result of apathy, parents having a feeling of non-involvement in the schools their children attend.

Thus, on the basis of economic efficiency, social equity and conformity with consumer preferences, the multi-ownership of Nigerian schools is dysfunctional. It is a wasteful competition that produces sameness, not a desirable variety, as no mission can rise above the centrally conducted external examinations. It amounts to nothing more than a waste of human and material resources. The sad thing about it all is that Ministries of Education still maintain a non-rigid system of control inherited from the old British administration.

Through Lack of Economic Objectives in Implementing Educational Planning

Waste of human and material resources can best be eliminated by national planning and the exercise of national controls. National planning in Nigeria has a history of at least 15 years, but none of the plans made so far has been carried through without wide diversions from original forecasts - even after allowing for unforeseen circumstances and the inaccurate statistics on which the forecasts were made. Most of the plans were entirely misdirected. The latest of these, the 1962-68 National Development Plan,[11] has almost reached half its span, and it has shown a gross under-investment in the development sector and over-investment in the social overhead and administrative sectors which are obviously the vote-catching sectors for politicians. Even within each sector, sub-sectors have seemingly fallen short of the target. In the social overhead sector, for example, water supplies, education and information have been given more than their due share of consideration at the expense

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[11]The plan was made by five American economists provided by the Ford Foundation and an Indian economist provided by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in addition to a small corps of capable Nigerian economists. See A. Rivkin, "Nigeria's National Development Plan: 1962-68," Current History, XLIII (December, 1962), 321-328.

of health, social welfare and town and country planning.[12]

Thus, in Nigeria, education has always been planned for, and in most cases, it takes a priority over other social services, but the money voted had never been spent with economic objectives in view, and the plans had not been followed to the letter once the unbiased planners handed them over to the executors. Table 2 shows a wide disparity between the planned and the actual capital expenditure for Western Nigeria in 1962-63. The figures hide the facts that the £451,000 for secondary grammar schools was spent on Aiyetoro Comprehensive School alone; that the money for technical and commercial education was spent only on the Technical College, Ibadan, where no commercial courses are offered; and that the money for teacher training was spent on three Advanced Teachers' Training Colleges - one at Ondo and two at Ibadan. There was no specific indication in the plan that these colleges would be built, and even now, there is little or no communication and no co-operation among them, though their purposes are related. They are being run by technical aid personnel from different countries and they have connections not with one another or to the Institutes of Education of Nigerian universities but with different

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[12]Federal Ministry of Economic Development, National Development Plan Progress Report, 1964, reported in West Africa, May 1, 1965, pp. 473-474 and May 8, 1965, p. 505.

TABLE 2

WESTERN NIGERIA: MINISTRY OF EDUCATION CAPITAL EXPENDITURE 1962-63 (First Progress Report of the 1962-68 Plan)

	Planned Capital Expenditure	Actual Capital Expenditure
Primary Schools	-	-
Secondary Grammar Schools	350,000	451,000
Handicrafts & Trade Centres	250,000	-
Technical & Commercial Institutes	150,000	350,000
Teacher Training Colleges	250,000	1,981,030
University of Ife	1,000,000	-
Modern Aid to Teaching	30,000	-
Scholarships	-	239,782
TOTAL	£2,030,000	£3,021,812

foreign universities. Moreover, despite the fact that the University of Ife now "lives" on a borrowed campus, no capital expenditure was made on it in 1962-63 because "there was no fund."[13]

The building of educational "show-cases" for purposes of national prestige rather than of sound educational, social or economic needs of the country goes

[13]Western Nigeria Ministry of Economic Planning and Community Development, Western Nigeria Development Plan, 1962-68: First Progress Report, 1963 (Ibadan: Government Printers, n.d.).

on unchecked, particularly in higher education. The Tananarive Conference on the Development of Higher Education in Africa puts the capital investment in educational buildings and equipment at the Ibadan University in 1960-61 at $5,200,000. With 1,136 students on roll in that year, this came to $4,578 per student. In the same year, the capital investment in residential buildings and equipment was $7,840,000 or $6,902 per student. The total capital investment for that year came to $13,040,000 or $11,480 per student.[14] These facts reveal two things: first, much more investment had gone into buildings - educational and residential - than to educational equipment, which was the essential factor in the development of human talent. For that year, only $580,000 was invested on educational equipment, which was just 18 per cent of what was spent on educational buildings or 4.45 per cent of all capital investment.[15] Secondly, much more money had been spent on the provision of residences for students than on educating them, when most of the students could have conveniently commuted.

The University of Ibadan was established as far

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[14]UNESCO, The Development of Higher Education in Africa, Report of the Conference on the Development of Higher Education in Africa, Tananarive, 3-12 September, 1962, p. 173.

[15]Ibid., p. 175.

back as 1948 and in spite of the country's urgent demand for high-level manpower, it has not expanded rapidly enough. New faculties and departments are being added at the rate of one or two a decade, and yet, capital investments do not seem to have decreased significantly. The enrolment capacity for 1967 has been estimated at only 3,000 with capital educational investment per student estimated at $3,400 and residential investment per student place (including investment in staff facilities) at $5,200.[16] Assuming that the present average annual current expenditure per student of $3,423[17] would not increase (and there is no evidence that it would not), the total investment per student in 1967 would come to $12,023. With this prohibitive cost of higher education per student, it is difficult to see how universities can expand as fast as the economy demands. And with all this, the universities continue the tradition of "locking up" all their students in residences where they would not be easily contaminated by the rest of society.

If Ibadan was built during the colonial era as a self-contained "city," a reason for its high cost in

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[16] Ibid., p. 174.

[17] Calculated as direct current expenditure per student $1,857, indirect $1,141, and expenditure on student provisions per student $424. Ibid., p. 178.

capital and recurrent expenses, the newer universities established since independence have not learned a lesson from its experience. They are all situated away from towns at locations where they have to maintain their own police, telephone exchange, sewage disposal, electric power stations, transport and other services. Lagos University is about to create an island within an island, draining much land from the lagoon; and the new site of the feeble University of Ife is now marked by pillars and pegs in acres of uncleared bush outside the ancient city of Ife. Lewis estimates that the cost of running an African university is three to five times that of any European university.[18] This is due to many factors including the abnormally high staff-student ratio averaging one to seven and reaching one to four in some faculties, in spite of the fact that teacher recruitment is difficult and expensive.[19] Besides, it has been too expensive training students in the professions at British and European standards, with annual direct current expenditure per medical student reaching $3,090 (compared

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[18] W. A. Lewis, "Priorities for Educational Expansion," in O.E.C.D., Policy Conference on Economic Growth and Investment in Education, Washington, 16-20 October, 1961, III, 35-49.

[19] The staff-student ratio at McGill University was 1:17.5 in 1961 and 1:16.4 in 1964, The Gazette (Montreal) May 5, 1965.

with an agricultural student's $2,860, a science student's $2,370 and an arts student's $1,040).[20] Yet, few people consider that instead of spending £4.9 million ($13.72 million) on training 200 doctors a year, as the 1962-68 National Plan proposes to do, it may be more economical and may supply a more urgent requirement faster, to spend that money on many more middle-grade medical cadres trained in preventive medicine.

A National Manpower Board, made up of representatives of the Regional Ministries of Education and Economic Development, the Federal Ministry of Labour, the Universities, industry and labour, had been established since 1962. This is the body officially commissioned to keep continuous track of emerging manpower needs and to gear the provision of educational opportunities to the development of the kinds of knowledge and skills that will fulfil these needs. Apparently faced with many difficulties including lack of a dependable population census, the Board is just struggling to compile a national register of students in an attempt to assess what exists. Moreover, the Board has inherited many attitudes and prejudices which work against its efforts to develop and utilize Nigerian manpower to the optimum.

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[20] UNESCO, The Development of Higher Education in Africa, Report of the Conference on the Development of Higher Education in Africa, Tananarive, 3-12 September, 1962, p. 179.

Nigerian governments and schools do strain their slim purses to finance the "expensive" terms necessary to attract foreign teachers of sufficient calibre, and the same effort is never directed towards the problem of retaining competent Nigerian teachers already on the job, increasing the fresh supply of qualified Nigerian teachers, and enabling unqualified teachers on the job to raise their levels of competence. Paper qualifications are "worshipped" like gods. Nigerian students scatter all over the world in search of knowledge and skills, but when they return, they face the Ministries' list of "approved" universities, measured on the scale of British standards. Apart from being a wrong way of picking the right people for the right jobs, it is a good way of scaring Nigerian graduates of American or Soviet Universities from returning home to serve. Certificates do not show what their owners can do; they do not even suggest that their owners know all that they need to at that level of education. More than these, politicians often ride in long cars and talk of "blue collar" orientation; senior civil servants sit behind mighty desks in air-conditioned offices and plan farm settlements for young Nigerians who have tasted the life of the towns; and of course, those who have "long legs," that is, the right "influences" and family connections, can always wear the "white collar."

The Nigerian National Manpower Board can, nevertheless, act like the Russian Central Gosplan Authorities which do their best to produce a running forecast of the probable demand for different types of skilled men and scholars for five years ahead, and determine the expansion programme of the universities and the schools on the basis of the figures.[21] At present, there is an over-emphasis on freedom of choice without guidance, and naturally, several students choose the "shortest cut to status and prestige" by studying arts and law.

Most foreign aid to educational and economic development in Nigeria has often come wrapped in ideological garbs and tied with political strings, and to safeguard her independence, Nigeria has to rely less on foreign aid and make more efforts at economy.[22] The cost of human effort of both students and teachers relative to material inputs is exceedingly high, and effort must be made to economize on the time and energy of students which are now wasted in unnecessary examinations and religious obsessions. Many graduate teachers, especially those in upper secondary schools, are grossly under-

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[21]See Lord Bowden, "A Trip to Russia," The Listener, October 22, 1964, p. 614.

[22]The largest single source of finance for the Nigerian Plan is foreign aid - £327 m, or 50 per cent of total expenditure. See West Africa, May 1, 1965, p. 473.

utilized just as are many senior civil servants and managers who spend their office hours talking, 'phoning and reading newspapers. If Ministries of Agriculture co-operate with Ministries of Education, rural school teachers can be used more effectively as agricultural extension officers than those who now do the job half-heartedly. Most school buildings, including the magnificent university campuses, are only used for 5 1/2 hours a day, five or six days a week for 39 weeks a year. Lagos primary schools have reached a solution to their pressure problem by using the same buildings for two shifts of children each day, and this can be done in many urban areas too. Buildings in most areas can also be used as adult education or community centres in the evenings and during school holidays.

Emphasis on Wrong Types of Education

Is the content of Nigerian education dysfunctional? Is there a "wrong" type of education? These questions call for an evaluation of the whole area of content of education, the methods by which instruction is given, and the roles these play or are likely to play in Nigeria's economic growth. Vaizey observes that a great deal of education, however cultural in content, may be harmful to

economic growth, or at least, need not necessarily promote it.[23] He and other economists are certainly biased towards subjects which appear to promote rational methods of thought, like mathematics and the natural sciences; towards subjects which break up accepted attitudes and superstitious traditions, like sociology and other social sciences; and towards practical subjects like crafts and elementary agricultural skills which specifically prepare children for gainful employment. Hanna feels that the school curriculum must be relevant to the dynamic national purpose and not merely a carry-over of decadent aspects of former statements of national purposes; otherwise, it results in miseducation or a wrong type of education as it becomes ineffective or even antagonistic to the newer purposes.[24]

According to the Uganda Education Commission of 1963, the test of a good curriculum is its relevance to the individual needs and capacities of the pupils; to their lives and further careers; to the demands of the national economy; and to the social, traditional and

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[23] J. Vaizey, "Economics of Education: Introduction," UNESCO International Social Science Journal, XIV, No. 4 (1962), 619-632.

[24] P. R. Hanna, "Conventional and Unconventional Education in Newly Developed Countries," in America's Emerging Role in Overseas Education, ed. C. W. Hunnicutt (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1962), pp. 21-40.

geographical setting in which the children live.[25] The Nigerian school curriculum at every level of education fails woefully when put to this test. There is no provision at all for individual differences. The official policy seems to be that expressed by the Banjo Commission:

> As far as we know there are hardly any children in our schools who could be described as morons. We believe, however, that there are some late-developers who show little promise in the early years of their primary school career. To meet the demands of the backward child, some streaming could be attempted by the imaginative teacher.[26]

Thus, primary schooling tends toward a formal, verbal and academic emphasis. Verbal instructions, well dotted with stories and legends, are acquired by the pupils by rote memory. Textbooks are rarely used, mainly because they are expensive or are not readily available, but also because they are not adequately adapted to the children's immediate environment. Yet, libraries are a luxury in a system that lays more emphasis on quantity than on quality. Religious teaching is dominant in most schools. In 1962, 56,102 of the 99,335 primary school teachers

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[25]Uganda Government, The Report of the Uganda Education Commission, 1963 (Entebbe: Government Printer, 1963), summarized as "Education in Uganda," in Oversea Quarterly, IV (March, 1964), 18-20.

[26]Western Nigeria Government, Report of the Commission Appointed to Review the Education System of Western Nigeria, 1960-61 (Ibadan: Government Printers, n.d.), p. 17.

(about 56.5 per cent) had no training of any type, and as many as 44,595 (44.9 per cent) had no schooling beyond the primary school themselves. These people cannot be expected to teach with any degree of imagination; neither can their crude self-made tests - in the absence of standardized ones - be predictive of general ability and educational potential of children. And the quality of supervisory services provided by missionary bodies who control most of the schools leaves much to be desired.

Like their British models, Nigerian primary schools prepare children for more schooling, not for employment, even though there are secondary school places available for less than 15 per cent of primary school leavers. Because children are not made to perceive education in the form and nature of inquiry; because they are not made to seek, instead of being passive recipients of knowledge doled to them by half-prepared teachers, they are neither well-prepared for life nor for future study. The continuous expansion of primary education since 1955 was based on the British principle that education is the fundamental right of all citizens and that it is socially desirable to extend education for its own sake. To lessen the total cost of providing primary education free to all children, the length of primary schooling was reduced to six years, first in the Western Region and now

in the East. With the rapid withdrawal of British and other foreign personnel due to Nigerianization, and with increased vacancies in the rapidly expanding state sector, Nigeria could not retain her more competent people as primary school teachers. The result was that the huge army of adolescents who were already burdened by having to learn in a new and foreign language were also taught by people who could hardly speak English fluently, and who could hardly impart to them any kind of technical knowledge that could enable them to increase production. In six years, what they receive does not even barely amount to functional literacy. Without a knowledge of rural science (in the form of elementary biology, soil chemistry and technical knowledge and use of implements and of crop management) the children perceive no status and prestige in agricultural work. They only see themselves made for the city and for the offices. These are the young unemployed people Callaway writes about:

> Most of these young people have very little qualification for many of the jobs they apply for. They are both young and untrained, whatever may be their potentiality for improvement.[27]

At the secondary school level, the problem becomes more acute. Secondary education during the colonial era

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[27]A. C. Callaway, "Unemployment Among African School Leavers," The Journal of Modern African Studies, I, No. 3 (1963), 351-371.

was developed, in the words of Jones, as a "handmaid to administration,"[28] aimed at training Africans for subordinate administrative and clerical positions in government and in business. It was concerned predominantly with those elements of curriculum, discipline and methods likely to contribute to character training, good citizenship and community service - as minor administrative duties could be learnt on the job. Of course, the colonial administrators themselves were almost all nurtured on ancient history and philosophy.[29] The emphasis has been literary, historical and traditional rather than scientific, technological and modern; the Latin language and ancient Roman history and literature have been stressed rather than the scientific basis of Roman civilization that produced roads, bridges, aqueducts, tunnels, organized merchant navies and military science. Where science was introduced, it was rather theoretical than practical. And this is still largely the case today. A large percentage of secondary school teachers are still expatriates who have been hired by

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[28]W. P. Jones, "Changing Approaches to Education in West Africa," in Africa and the U.S.: Images and Realities, 8th National Conference of the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO, Boston, October 22-26, 1961, pp. 27-42.

[29]A. Curle, Educational Strategy for Developing Societies (London: Tavistock Publications, 1963), p. 89.

their "face values," measured in terms of type and quality of their degrees and the universities they attended, and not in terms of their imaginative capacity to explore the relationship between their subjects and the Nigerian environment. The secondary school curriculum is largely determined by the requirements of Cambridge Overseas School Certificate examinations, and Nigerian children compete on what are in effect equal terms with English children who speak English as their mother tongue.

Secondary school graduates take the West African School Certificate examination after five or six years which is basically the same with what their English counterparts take, however much it may vary in details. This is their only door to either further education or reasonably paid employment. As success in this examination is important for the future of their pupils, many schools have tended to concentrate exclusively on examination subjects at the expense of a broader education. All secondary school work, including games,[30] is evaluated in terms of whether it will help the students in the examination. From past examinations and syllabuses sold by the West African Examinations Council

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[30]The game of cricket is popular because it is thought that it can promote quick thinking.

and local bookstores, the students know what is required in each subject and they expect the teacher to prepare them strictly along these lines. Over-all success in this examination has also been the yardstick of popularity of schools (as judged by the number taking their entrance examinations), and this fact is also unfortunately acknowledged by Ministries of Education and taken into consideration in upgrading schools for additional streams and for new courses and for providing grants for additional facilities. Thus, syllabuses and concentration of activity in schools are too often rooted in an alien tradition, not always relevant to the needs of Nigerian students or even the needs of the country. As would be expected, the competition is stiff, and the drop-out rate high (See Figures 2 to 5).

The classical education provided by Nigerian secondary schools has been grossly inadequate in promoting economic and social growth. Independent Nigeria is a net importer of modern technological devices from developed countries; she must produce trained men to handle complex machines and organizations. Because she competes in the same market with more advanced countries, cost competition demands the use of electronic computers and IBM machines - however surplus her labour supply might be; export crops must be more strictly graded; varieties of record keepers

Figure 2

GRAPH OF SURVIVAL RATES , NORTHERN NIGERIA

(Students Starting Primary 1 in 1950)

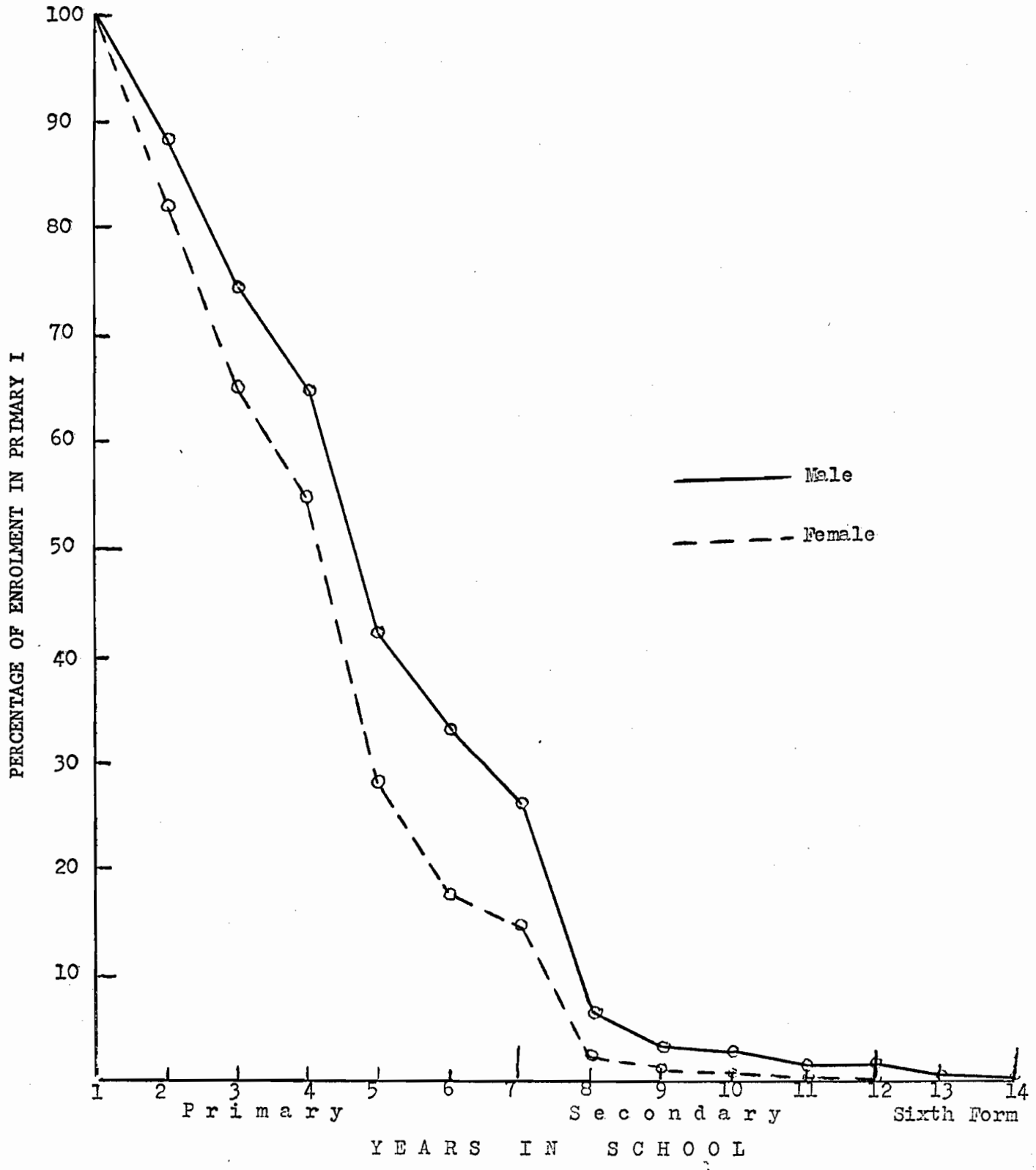


Figure 3

GRAPH OF SURVIVAL RATES, EASTERN NIGERIA

(Students Starting Primary 1 in 1950)

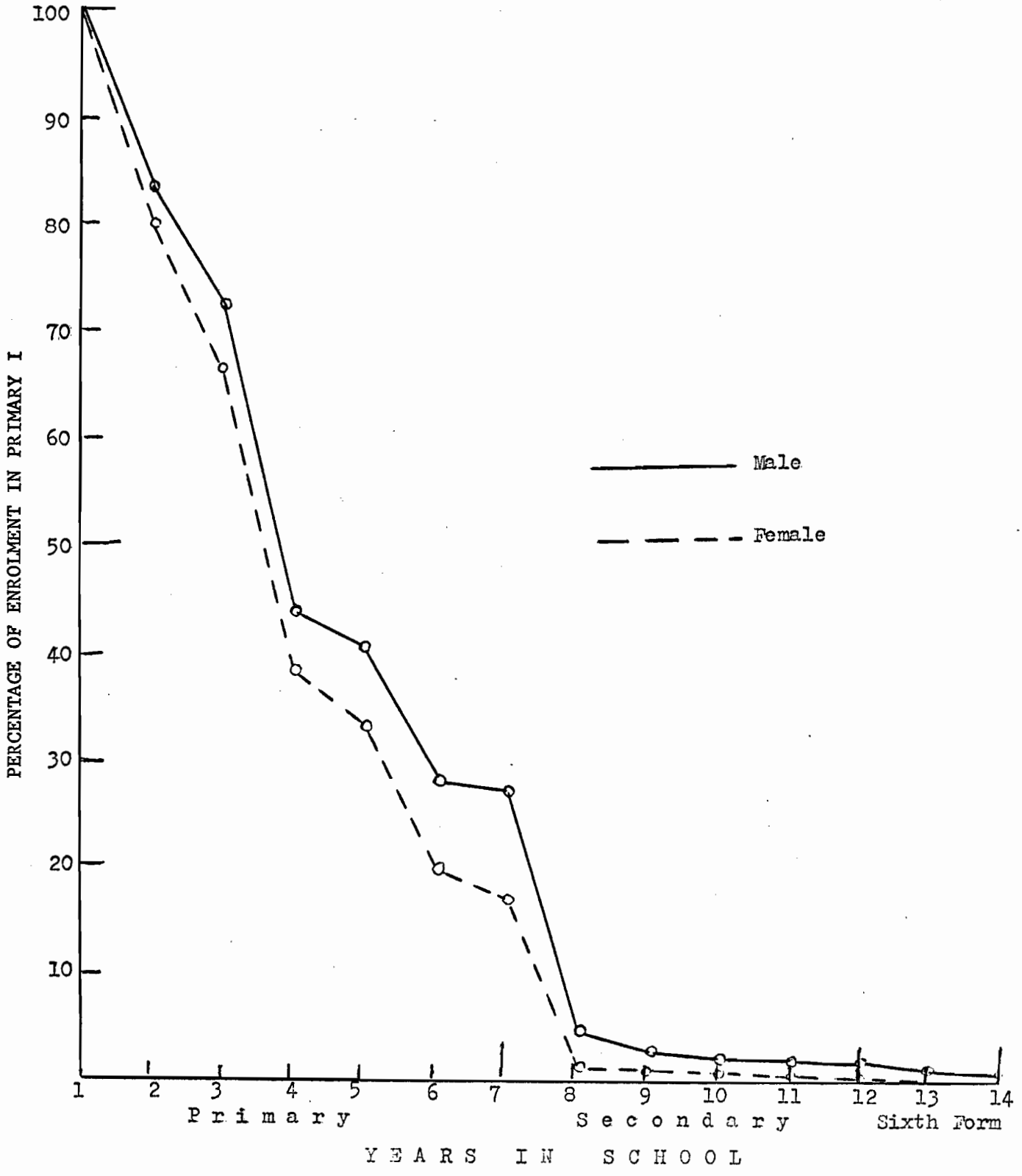


Figure 4

GRAPH OF SURVIVAL RATES, WESTERN NIGERIA

(Students Starting Primary 1 in 1951)

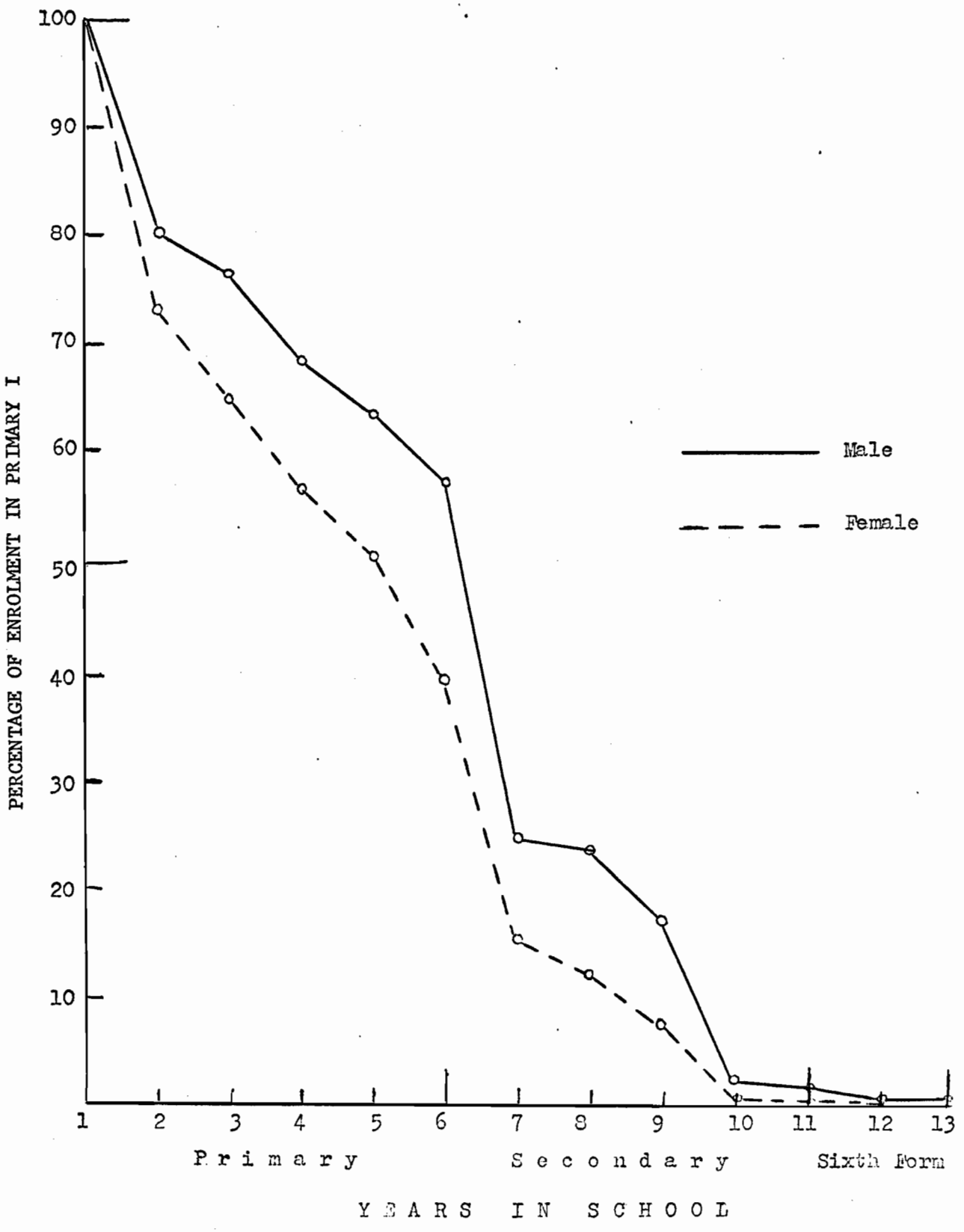
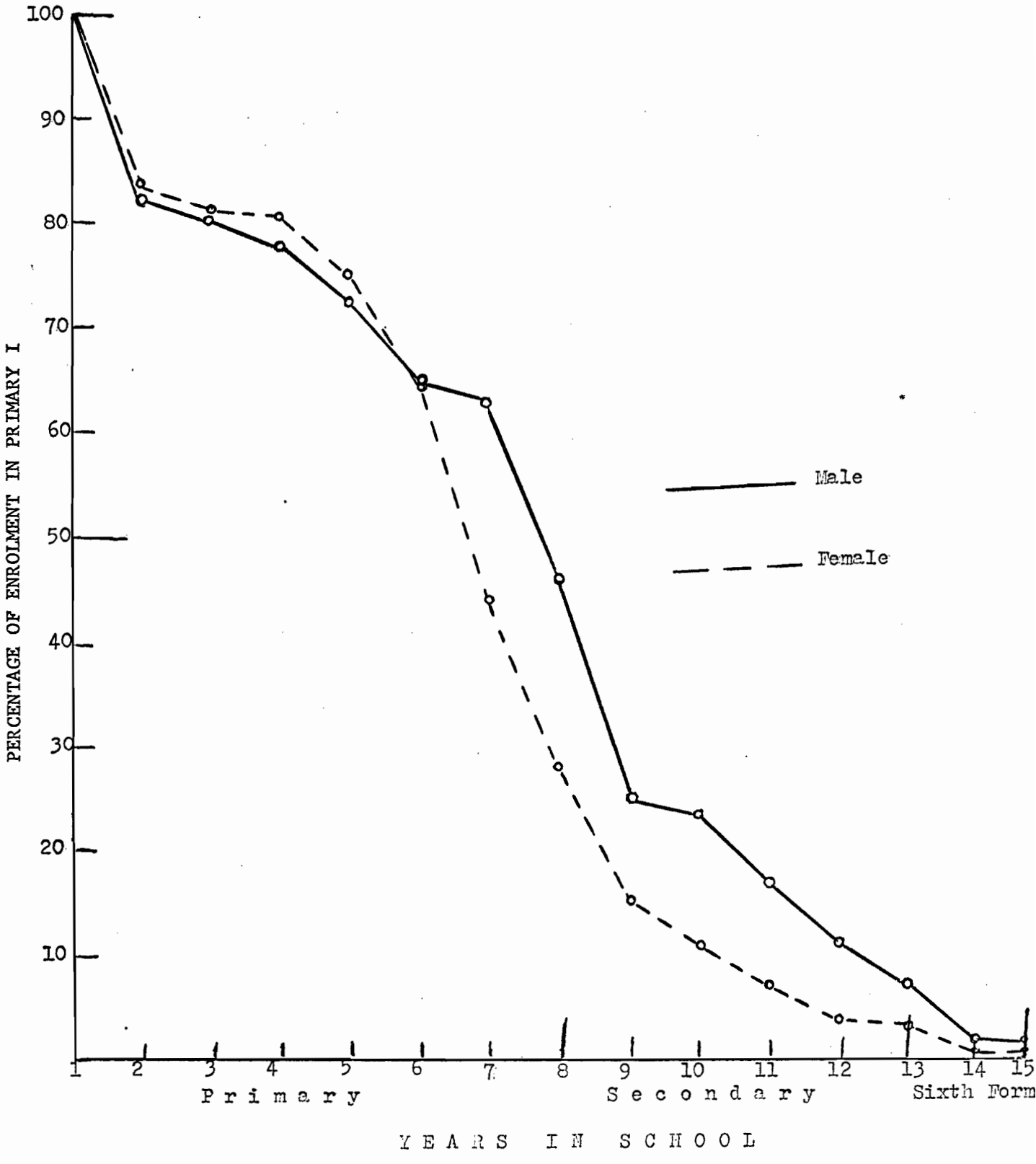


Figure 5

GRAPH OF SURVIVAL RATES , LAGOS TERRITORY

(Students Starting Primary 1 in 1949)



must respond to more sensitive communication networks. Unlike older nations, Nigeria is trying to build up capital and develop economically at a time when a wider distribution of schooling is also necessary for citizens to react to distant and complex events. Secondary schools are not only required to produce students to fill the universities; vocational, technical and agricultural skills are required for many who will go into skilled and semi-skilled positions in commerce, industry, the civil service, co-operative societies and rural development schemes, and in every facet of development. Thus, secondary education is no longer expected to be only an avenue into higher education catering to a narrow group of prospective intellectual élite; it should be a type and level of education with its own ends, serving a wider range of interests. Nigeria's devotion to rapid industrialization demands secondary school graduates trained as engineering and electrical technicians, and industrial designers properly grounded in applied science, modern languages, mathematics as well as the liberal arts. In other words, there is little room for the narrow specialization the sixth forms indulge in at present. Nigeria's development should be by labour-intensive methods, and it is a dysfunctional education that trains only the mind and not the hands.

Agricultural and technical education have been planned as an education apart from, and not really integrated into, the national system of secondary education. In most cases, the former is under the Ministry of Agriculture. This separation has implied lower status for the technical institutions and has led to over-specialization in skills which may soon become redundant. Due emphasis is not placed on flexibility and adaptability, on diversity of specialization and practical work. This boils down to learning sets of applied formulae which soon become obsolete, not learning to learn. If the attempt is to imitate Japan,[31] all efforts must be made to detect talents and aptitude and to direct or guide suitable students into these courses of study. As the Ashby Commission points out, the reason for the critical shortage of agricultural specialists and technicians is not the lack of places but rather the reluctance of

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[31]Japan comes readily to mind as a highly industrialized country based on poor physical capital and material resources and a non-scientific but strictly technological human resource. After laying a firm industrial and economic base, Japan now feels ready to turn to a purely scientific and more theoretical education, especially in as much as Japanese parents have become well-to-do enough to finance a less utilitarian education. The Japanese hypothesis was based on the fact that the Industrial Revolution started in Britain and most of Western Europe at a time when education had not developed into a big business, when knowledge and scientific research had not widened to the scale we know them today.

students to go into them.[32] Hence, in 1962, there were only 7,241 pupils in Nigeria's 32 technical and vocational institutions and only 7,026 in her 29 secondary commercial schools, as opposed to 76,602 in her 442 secondary grammar and 111,871 in her 685 secondary modern schools (Table 3).

TABLE 3

TYPE OF SCHOOLS AND PUPILS ENROLLED, 1962

	No.of Schools	No.of Pupils	Average Pupil/ School	Average Pupil/ Teacher
Primary	15,586	2,834,010	182	29
Secondary Modern	685	111,871	163	23
Secondary Grammar	442	76,602	174	17
Secondary Commercial	29	7,026	242	18
Trade & Craft Centres	28	4,638	166	16
Technical Institutes	4	2,603*	657	

* 1,444 of these were part-time students

The literary tradition and the university degree have become indelible symbols of prestige while technology, agriculture and other practical subjects at the sub-professional level have not won esteem. Often, only students who failed to gain admission into higher

[32]Federal Ministry of Education, Investment in Education, p. 21.

academic schools seek admission into trade, technical and agricultural schools, and these schools are consequently looked upon as "catch-basins for incompetents." Often, the students in these schools are given training only of a poor quality, and in most cases, not sufficiently relevant to the occupations which are likely to be available to the students. Sometimes, the range of offerings depends on what the teachers available can teach, not for what the students have aptitudes. What would later be of optimum use to the students or to the economy is hardly ever taken into consideration. Thus, in 1962 (Table 4), many more students were enrolled as electricians, fitter machinists and motor mechanics than as leather workers, wood workers, brick layers or even agricultural mechanics in a country where there was only one vehicle per 1,000 inhabitants and where the economy depended to a large extent on forest woods, hides and skins and agricultural products.

Higher education also is not immune from mis-education. In the 1958-59 academic year, 2,112 students were in higher education. This amounted to six students per 100,000 of population. The orientation of their study was 26.6 per cent in humanities, 5.9 per cent in education, 4.6 per cent in fine arts, 13.7 per cent in social sciences, 31.8 per cent in natural sciences,

TABLE 4

PUPILS ENROLLED IN VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS BY TYPE OF COURSE, 1962

A. Males

Motor Mechanics	392	Diesel Mechanics	80
Fitter Machinists	369	Motor Body Builders	75
Electricians	362	Wood Machinists	59
Cabinet-makers	249	Instrument Mechanics	38
Carpenters and Joiners	240	Agricultural Mechanics	18
Bricklayer/Masons	198	Leather Workers	12
Blacksmiths and Welders	189	Motor Vehicle Electricians	7
Radio/Telecommunication	171	Cabinet Makers/Draftsmen	-
Sheet Metal Workers	163	Woodwork/fitting	-
Painters & Decorators	148	Shipwright	-
Plumbers	95	Basic Course	-

B. Females

Housekeeper Matrons	57	Secretarial Course	18
Needlework & Embroidery	24	Copy Typists	16

Source: Federal Ministry of Education, Annual Digest of Education Statistics, II (Series No. 1, 1962), p. 49.

7.4 per cent in engineering, 8.9 per cent in medicine, and only 1.1 per cent in agriculture.[33] In 1962-63, the number of students rose to 3,866 - still a modest 0.07 per cent of the population - and of this number, 40.3 per cent were in science and technology with 31.2 per cent in the

[33] UNESCO, Education and Agricultural Development, Statistical Appendix, pp. 57-58.

humanities, law and the arts.[34] In the same year, higher education consumed 5 per cent of the total education budget. Unlike Latin American Universities with 433 full-time and 33 part-time lecturers and professors in 1961-62, that is, a staff-student ratio of 1:7.6, the quality of education given is very high - even higher than is sometimes necessary. The staff included at least 311 expatriates most of whom were striving to uphold foreign academic standards as a safeguard for their employment in a home university after some years of "apprenticeship" in Nigeria.

Until 1962, Ibadan, Nigeria's premier university, had been under a scheme of "special relationship" with the University of London, a relationship which committed it to the standards and curricula of London. The Ife, Lagos and Ahmadu Bello Universities have also, more or less, chosen the London or British model. The University of Nigeria at Nsukka, which chooses to be slightly different, is a transplant of Michigan State University - an American land grant college model transferred into the Nigerian soil. Nigerian universities, therefore, open their doors only to a handful of the academic élite who can satisfy foreign conditions of university entrance.

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[34] F. Harbison and C. A. Myers, Education, Manpower and Economic Growth (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1964), p. 45.

They put much emphasis on a thin stream of excellence and narrow specialization. In most of these colleges, students who take general degrees are looked down upon as mediocre; the fashion is the special or honours degrees which commit students to extreme specialization in single subjects. There is no room for flexibility, and students hardly have the chance of making changes in their subjects during the course of their undergraduate careers. All available courses require several years of pre-university training. According to Ashby, nearly half of the arts degrees (61 out of 125) awarded by Ibadan University in 1961 were for intensive study in one subject (including 10 in classics and 12 in English). Out of 450 arts graduates from Ibadan in the decade up to 1961, 215 were honours specialists.[35] This was the practice in England, but in Nigeria, these specializations often have no relevance to the posts the graduates go to as most of them despise teaching. The situation only creates a feeling of inferiority and sometimes of failure in students who cannot get into the honours schools.

In the last two years, however, attempts have been made to broaden the base of undergraduate curriculum. At Nsukka, all students whatever their specialty, study

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[35] E. Ashby, African Universities and Western Tradition (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964), p. 32.

natural sciences, social sciences, the humanities, and English before going on to specialize in any of 37 fields.[36] At Lagos, emphasis is placed on co-operation between faculties. The Faculty of Law provides courses in Commercial Law for Business and Social Studies students, and the latter also give courses in Business and Social Sciences to law students. Provision has been made for students to take courses outside their main field. All take a year's course in African History and Culture, and courses are also given in "Introduction to Modern Thought" for science students, and in "Introduction to Science and Technology" for non-science students. At least one year of French is required in some faculties.[37] Ibadan, the oldest and the most conservative, requires three subjects in the first year for degree courses, but still ties all students to a choice of only one school for the remaining two years (single honours) or to a choice of one of six combinations (for the B.A.) of two schools (double honours). Four of these six combinations still require a classical language, Greek or Latin, which apparently are

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[36] E. A. Ford, "Letter from Nigeria," School Life, XLVII (November, 1964), 5-9.

[37] "Nigeria's Federal Strength," West Africa, January 23, 1965, pp. 81-82.

irrelevant in solving the problems of Nigerian economic and social growth.[38]

By and large, however, university education is not regarded as a means to an end. As in Britain, education and culture are ends in themselves. Therefore, even though only two out of 75 graduates of Nigerian universities now go in for any kind of postgraduate research, the major emphasis has been to produce scholars and research workers. With an inevitable university expansion giving room to people with more varied backgrounds, university education in Nigeria would become even more dysfunctional in future years unless efforts are made to give wider, more general and more relevant courses to the majority whose university years are not the prelude to academic life. This writer agrees with Peterson that subjects like industrial relations, criminology, business administration or even international relations and institutions might be pursued by arts graduates with the prisons or the big corporations providing opportunities for practical work in the final year.[39] These courses have a potential relevance to post-independence careers.

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[38]University of Ibadan, General Information for Prospective Students, 1964-65 Session (Ibadan University Press, 1964), quoted in Ashby, op. cit., pp. 68-69.

[39]A. D. C. Peterson, "For A New Type of General Degree," The Observer (London), January 8, 1961.

Sometimes, many of the research projects in the colleges are not related to Nigeria's immediate needs. To date, much agricultural research has been concerned mainly with cash crops while the neglect of food crops of primary importance to the people has been startling. Even so, the results obtained in these institutions were not, in many cases, made immediately available to the population. They were regarded rather as the result of scientific endeavour per se, for publication in scholarly journals.

Apart from the fact that the Nigerian University graduates are not properly prepared to contribute substantially to the economic and social development of their society without a costly subsequent retraining on the job, the universities also do little to fit the graduates into society where they can make use of whatever they have learned; rather it isolates them as a privileged class. Undoubtedly, they are well educated, very often over-educated, for the jobs they do; but few of them have any proper sense of vocation, enough to repay the investment which society has made in them and in their education. For example, in 1962-63, only 237 students were enrolled in agriculture, and even then, the orientation of their education had been almost exclusively technical-biological, and had paid little attention to the economic and social problems of agriculture. Ashby wrote in 1961:

> Despite minor adjustments to suit local conditions, the curricula in West African universities are drawn up on the assumption that the African has no indigenous culture worth studying, and no organization of society worth the attention of undergraduates. We do not go so far as to advise Africans to despise their culture because it is degrading; we simply discourage them from paying serious attention to it by the device of excluding it from the requirements for a degree.[40]

The Nigerian graduate thus knows much more about the French Revolution, the European Economic Community or the geography of the English Lake District than about traditional African history and societies and the way the societies change under Western influence. This has the effect of alienating graduates from the mass of their people, and even casual visitors who meet Nigerians in "European posts" easily notice the inevitable gap between these intellectuals and the mass of the population - a gap which kinship and tribal loyalty, and even the extended-family system are struggling in vain to bridge.

In an attempt to keep in line with British and European practice, the education given to university students, even in professional fields like medicine and engineering, is not strictly related to Nigerian needs. Courses in medicine and engineering are given as first degrees and often consist of much basic science and little

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[40] E. Ashby, Patterns of Universities in Non-European Societies (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1961), 27 pp.

practical work. These professionals are not the people who can work with technicians who are just learning on the job - for they cannot just tell them what to do. As Lewis remarks, professionals are scarce (only three doctors per 100,000 people in 1958), and they thus work in greater isolation from one another. They therefore require more of an all-round competence. For example, an engineer looking after public works in an isolated area should be able to turn his hand to civil, mechanical and electrical tasks. He requires more practical knowledge of the various sides of his profession instead of mere theoretical basic science and narrow specialization the colleges now give him.[41] At Ibadan and Lagos, medical students are given very expensive and high-quality training in curative medicine when the country requires people trained in preventive and social medicine and child health. To none is a knowledge of social science, especially sociology, more essential than the Nigerian professional who works in an environment of rapid social change in which he is deeply involved. This fact is hardly considered in some Nigerian universities.

Thus, all levels of education in Nigeria pay attention to intellectual training and strictly academic

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[41]W. A. Lewis, "Education for Scientific Professions in the Poor Countries," Daedalus, XCI (Spring, 1962), 310-318.

orientation with little or no attention to individual differences. Obviously, the failure rates as well as the rate of drop-outs are very high. In any year, from 20 to 50 per cent of fifth- and sixth-formers fail their school leaving examinations, and many pass at a level too low to gain admission to higher institutions, considering the fact that secondary schools now prepare all their students for more schooling, and give them no specific skills for employment (see Table 5). Of course at Ibadan, where only about 300 graduate every year, the annual graduation lists carry names of several veteran undergraduates who are "given the degree after a third asking." And these count themselves luckier than the many others whom this goal completely eluded after years of hard work in and out of college.

Imbalances in the Educational System

Curle has prescribed education as the universal remedy for increasing the capabilities of the human agent in underdeveloped areas.[42] He condemns, however, not only wrong sorts of education, but also disproportionate amounts of education, which though not intrinsically

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[42]A. Curle, "The Role of Education in Underdeveloped Societies," The New Era in Home and School, XLII (May, 1961), 87-98.

TABLE 5

RESULTS OF EXAMINATIONS HELD BY SECONDARY GRAMMAR SCHOOLS, 1962

	North	East	West	Lagos	Nigeria
A. West African School Certificate					
Total number of candidates	874	3,589	3,891	742	9,096
% in Grade I	8.1	8.7	5.5	4.8	6.9
% in Grade II	21.5	24.7	17.3	12.1	20.2
% in Grade III	25.1	19.1	20.4	13.6	19.9
TOTAL % of Passes	54.7	52.5	43.2	30.5	47.0
B. Higher School Certificate					
Total number of candidates	67	329	297	69	762
% passes in 4 subjects	-	1.5	2.7	-	1.7
% passes in 3 subjects	29.9	43.2	39.7	59.4	41.9
% passes in 2 subjects	34.3	36.5	26.4	26.1	30.8
% Qualified for Higher Education	64.2	81.2	67.0	85.5	74.4

Notes: i. In West African School Certificate, only Grades I and II with at least "credits" in English language can proceed to higher education.
ii. In the Higher School Certificate (HSC), only candidates with two or more subjects gain direct admission to universities.

Source: Federal Ministry of Education, Annual Digest of Education Statistics, II, No. 1 (1962), 67-68.

undesirable, can be even more wasteful of human and economic resources than too little.[43] This is what Coombs calls "highly inefficient educational arrangements" which, according to him, can be downright wasteful and even counter-productive.[44] It has been shown that Nigerian education consumes large expenditures, and for these expenditures to be fully rewarding, the educational system must be perfectly functional not only in its content and methods, but also in its structure and quality.

The Ashby Commission in summarizing the Nigerian facilities for post-secondary education in the year of independence says:

> The chief deficiencies of the educational system are a lack of balance, both in its structure and in its geographical distribution. . . . In an ideal educational system, there is a balance between primary, secondary and post-secondary education. Each phase of education has the number of pupils or students appropriate to the kind of society which supports the system, [sic] in schools or colleges which are properly equipped and under teachers who have been properly trained.[45]

Nigerian education is far from this ideal. Within the country, the shortage of high-level manpower with

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[43]A. Curle, Educational Strategy for Developing Societies (London: Tavistock Publications, 1963), p. 82.

[44]P. H. Coombs, "Ways to Improve United States Foreign Educational Aid," in Education and Foreign Aid (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), p. 10.

[45]Federal Ministry of Education, Investment in Education, p. 4.

critical skills and competence exists side by side with the pressure of redundant or under-utilized manpower. The supply of unskilled and untrained manpower in urban areas exceeds all available employment opportunities. Often in the same office, there may be examples of people who are clearly over-educated as well as people who are under-educated for the jobs they are doing. All these suggest not only a lack of balance between educational levels but also a disequilibrium between rural and urban areas in educational provision; between the male and the female sexes; between education and other social services; between education and training; and between the schools and the employment agencies.

Imbalances between educational levels

Table 6 shows clearly that much more investment had been going into primary than to any other level of education, even as early as 1956. Secondary education - whether general or vocational - had received much less attention, with the result that the rapid increase in primary education was not paralleled by an increase in secondary school opportunities. At the moment, the Federal Territory of Lagos and Eastern and Western Nigeria have nearly achieved universal primary education in spite of a rapid population increase. It has, however, been an expansion which used up most of the

TABLE 6

RECURRENT EXPENDITURE BY LEVEL AND TYPE OF EDUCATION
1956-57 AND 1961-62
(Figures in percentages)

	Northern Government		Eastern Government		Western Government		Federal Government		Nigeria	
	'56-57	'61-62	'56-57	'61-62	'56-57	'61-62	'56-57	'61-62	'56-57	'61-62
Central Administration	5.4	12.6	2.9	6.6	13.5	9.1	13.5	12.5	8.1	9.4
Primary Education	49.6	37.4	70.8	62.7	69.9	65.0	28.2	22.3	64.4	53.7
General Secondary School	14.5	19.04	9.5	12.7	5.6	7.8	23.2	16.7	9.5	12.6
Vocational Education	4.8	9.5	1.9	3.2	2.1	1.7	32.4	5.0	3.7	4.1
Teacher Training	14.2	19.02	9.7	11.5	8.2	12.8	2.6	1.0	9.8	12.3
Higher Education	-	2.0	4.5	2.4	-	0.02	-	35.1	1.5	5.0
Other Education[a]	9.3	0.6	0.6	-	-	-	-	0.4	2.2	0.1
Other Expenditure[b]	2.2	0.5	0.2	0.9	0.7	3.7	-	1.1	0.8	1.3

a. Includes adult education, special education and Islamic education (Northern Nigeria).
b. Includes aids to students.

Sources: (1) UNESCO, World Survey of Education, III - Secondary Education, 1961, p. 1268.
(2) Federal Ministry of Education, Annual Digest of Education Statistics, II, No. 1 (1962), 72-75.

available limited resources (about two-thirds of the education budget), and seriously interfered with the training of the pupils to the minimum standards required for economic development. The Northern Region is also spending more than two-fifths of its education budget on less than 14 per cent of its school age children. The Region now plans to raise its primary school enrolment to 50 per cent of school age population by 1970 at whatever cost. In each region, a sizable slice of the remaining recurrent expenditure also went into teacher training, mostly for the primary school sector. Besides, erection of primary school buildings had also involved large capital expenditure.

It is one thing, however, to make free and compulsory primary education a target and a first priority in educational expansion and to spend over 60 per cent of the education budget on it at the expense of secondary and higher education, because provision of primary schools in remotest villages is a visible political achievement. It is another to think of its grave consequences. A vast number of primary school graduates, barely literate and technically untrained, flock to towns every year seeking clerical jobs that are non-existent. By 1967, there may be 500,000 unemployed school leavers in Eastern Region, 700,000 in the West.[46] Yates feels

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[46]"Nigeria Works It Out," The Economist, July 7, 1962, pp. 41-46.

that this undue expansion of the primary school must have induced a "forced" drop-out from secondary schools to staff the primary schools.[47] Even after completing secondary education, many girls could think of no better job for them than teaching, so that girls are especially prone to dropping out of secondary schools. Besides, the primary schools are over-crowded without any regard for the rational use of the limited number of competent teachers with the result that the governments' cherished policies of giving equal opportunities to the children of the rich and the poor is defeated. The children of the more well-to-do often receive private tuition or are sent to better private schools, sometimes as far away as England, while the literacy of gifted children of poor parents whose potentialities remained underdeveloped falls into disuse and is eventually lost. The average Nigerian parent is often quick to attribute the lack of, or unequal, educational opportunity to the desire of the people on top to dominate perpetually. He is forced to demand jobs, or at least, secondary school places for his children. The real dilemma is that governments can hardly risk re-introducing fees into primary schools or reducing the number of primary school places, and hence

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[47]Barbara Yates, "Structural Problems in Education in the Congo (Leopoldville)," Comparative Education Review, VII (October, 1963), 152-160.

the great need for better organization, greater efficiency and lower expenditures in order to provide something like an eight-year primary school equipped with terminal vocational courses, and/or greatly expanded secondary school places, possibly at subsidized costs.

As opportunities for employment, apprenticeship and technical training to primary school leavers are restricted, a heavy pressure exists at the transition from primary to secondary education, creating a bottle-neck. Selection to the secondary schools, therefore, unlike the situation in England, becomes not a question of passing prescribed examinations at 11 +, but one of ranking on a competitive scale. Several secondary schools prescribe 14 years of age or five feet in height as conditions for entry; others require personal interviews of all successful candidates, an occasion for a yet more rigorous selection examination.[48] The doors of secondary grammar schools are virtually closed to all but the urban children who have acquired a greater familiarity with the English language in answering entrance examination questions. In any case, only the children of the rich, who can afford the high costs, in most cases due to the

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[48]See, for example, A. K. Wareham, "Methods of Selection for the Government Secondary Grammar Schools in Eastern Nigeria," in Educational and Occupational Selection in West Africa, ed. A. Taylor (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 61-67.

prevalence of boarding schools, can attend grammar schools.[49] For lack of finances, not for lack of talent or motivation, several Western Nigerian primary school leavers have to go into secondary modern schools to receive education of a second-best nature. As a result, in 1962, there were about 360,000 pupils in the last year of the primary school, but only 10,415 of these (or 2.9 per cent) got places in secondary grammar schools in 1963, and 39,854 (or 11.1 per cent) of the others sought "refuge" in secondary modern schools. The remaining 86 per cent were potential job-seekers. The 1962-68 Plan aims at providing places for not less than ten per cent of the primary school leavers in the grammar schools by building additional schools and expanding the existing ones.

Since independence, higher education expansion has been held as a matter of national prestige, with each Regional Government maintaining its own university with federal aid. The Federal Government spent 35.1 per cent of its education funds at this level in 1961-62.

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[49] In 1963, only 18 of Western Nigeria's 212 secondary grammar schools had no boarding facilities, and in 59 of them boarding was compulsory for all students. Admittedly, boarding schools took children away from polygamous, illiterate and often crowded homes into better study environments, but the high cost can hardly be justified in a country that strives to develop all available human and material resources and where secondary education is not free to parents.

However, all the five universities now operate with unused capacities. Large lecture halls remain virtually empty, and students are over-lords in spacious and over-equipped single rooms in the residences. This is because of lack of sufficient applicants with minimum qualifications. Some colleges run preliminary courses for students with concessional entrance - those who can pass the competitive examinations. Altogether, there are only about six undergraduates per 100,000 population, and most high-level manpower posts in the economy are waiting to be filled by qualified Nigerians.

As it is, secondary education is the neglected "child" of educational investment in Nigeria, and this is unfortunate as secondary education functions more as an investment good at the present stage of Nigeria's economic, social and political development than either primary or even higher education (the latter because very high returns accrue to the individual students and their immediate families rather than to society as a whole). Secondary schools help to absorb a greater number of primary school graduates from the labour market; to release skilled workers into the economy, workers who are functionally literate and who can improve rapidly on the job; to feed back teachers into the primary schools to maintain and sustain the system; and

to provide enough candidates for higher education. Secondary education should claim a greater priority in Nigerian educational expansion to make the system more functional than at present.

Imbalance between education and other social services

In Coombs' view, educational planning must keep in view the external relations of education to the economy, to society, and to the needs of over-all national development. Any educational system that "goes it alone" - ignoring the economy's manpower requirements and the special needs of social development - is bound to be a poor investment for any nation endeavouring to modernize itself and to improve the living conditions and opportunities of all its citizens.[50] Manpower excesses and shortages are a consequence of structural imbalance in the education system, but they can also result from a low level of absorptive capacity of the economy. In Nigeria, for example, the problem of school-leaver unemployment stems not only from the youths' misdirected training but also from the short-run inability of the economy to absorb them. Unemployment affects mainly Southern Nigerian school-leavers rather than their Northern counterparts and hits severely primary and secondary modern school leavers. Secondary grammar school

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[50]Coombs, op. cit., p. 13.

graduates have also discovered that they must lower their job expectations and aspirations if they would be employed.

Educational expansion in Nigeria has been open to charges of dysfunctionality not just because standards seem to have fallen, but because the value of the education received has depreciated when judged against the jobs, the status and the prestige they can fetch the educand. In fact, there has been no real balance between employment opportunities and educational output; there has been no co-ordination between the employment agencies and the schools. Education, though really valued on its own, has never been thought of as a process of human capital formation to be balanced with material capital resources. As Ford realistically puts it, it is one thing to set a goal of X thousands entering higher educational institutions in 1977 (as the Addis Ababa Conference did in 1961) and to make room for X hundreds of thousands in primary schools at present and for X percentage of the primary school graduates in secondary schools by 1970. It is another thing, however, to ensure that enough jobs await the college graduates in 1980 as well as those who would graduate from primary schools in 1970 and the secondary schools in 1975 and 1977.[51] Those

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[51]Ford, op. cit.

who would graduate from now on must also be adequately catered for. Educational policies must work in harmony with those of economic development. Under the present conditions, Callaway says, politicians who are now harassed will be besieged in the future by jobless school leavers who are ever becoming numerous, and whose problem is causing a mounting pressure.[52]

At the moment, Nigerian Universities cherish their autonomous constitutions which deliberately detach them from the state, and while thousands of professional jobs are filled by expatriates because no qualified Nigerians are available, there are several unemployed or at least under-employed university graduates in some parts of the country. Harbison and Myers quote an unpublished man-power report of the Federal Government as saying that in 1962, each of four new universities was opening faculties of law despite the fact that there were 1,213 Nigerian lawyers in the country, half of whom were under-employed.[53] At Ibadan, the classics department, where people graduate in Latin, Greek and Ancient History and Roman Culture, is blooming; new crash diploma courses are being designed in Theology to meet the immediate needs of the Church, yet only 12 Nigerians graduate in agriculture each year!

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[52]Callaway, op. cit.

[53]Harbison and Myers, op. cit., p. 85.

The sad thing is that the 1962-68 National Development Plan says:

> Governments may govern, economists may plan, administrators may organize, but ultimately the execution of all plans, no matter how well designed and intentioned, depends upon the response of the people themselves.[54]

This policy places the formation of cadres at all levels relatively less on state activity and more on voluntary enterprise, including missionary and church bodies, in a country where at least 90 per cent are either stark illiterates or with only a non-functional education.

Table 7 shows a glaring conflict between *de jure* concept of educational planning in relation to other social services and economic development, and the *de facto* results. In the fiscal year in question (1962-63), the Western Region planned to spend much more money on the economic development sector than on social overhead capital. Trade and industry as well as primary production were given significant attention because of their great potentialities for employment of labour. Actual expenditures, however, showed these items lagging behind very badly, while much more was still spent on education than was planned. The more that is spent on education from regional budgets, the less there is left to spend on

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[54]Federal Ministry of Economic Development, Federation of Nigeria National Development Plan, 1962-68 (Lagos, Government Printers, n.d.), p. 5.

recurrent costs of further capital outlay that could provide employment for the education products.

TABLE 7

WESTERN NIGERIA: EDUCATION IN RELATION TO OTHER SOCIAL SERVICES, 1962-63

	Expenditures £ million	
	Planned	Actual
A. Social Overhead		
Water Supply	2.300	1.789
Education	2.030	3.022
Health	0.065	0.040
Town and Country Planning	2.230	0.590
Social Welfare	0.596	0.007
Information	0.021	-
Total	7.242	5.448
B. Economic Development		
Primary Production	3.108	1.367
Trade and Industry	4.528	0.666
Electricity	0.532	-
Transport	1.400	1.533
Total	9.568	3.566

Source: Western Nigeria Ministry of Economic Planning and Community Development, Western Nigeria Development Plan, 1962-68, First Progress Report, 1963 (Ibadan, Government Printers, n.d.).

One of the newest innovations in Britain is the partnership between industry and education, with the former carrying a considerable educational responsibility. It is recognized that industries are being constantly refreshed and revitalized by application of the results of scientific discovery and technical development, and industrialists recognize that the further education and effective training of their young recruits are vital to their continued progress. That is why a Ministry of Technology is created to ensure the application of scientific research to industry and of industrial experience to scientific research.[55] Such a co-operation between employing agencies and educational institutions is essential to make Nigerian education functional in relation to the requirements of industry and the economy.

Imbalance in geographical distribution

The great regional imbalance in educational facilities between the Southern Regions and the North has been mentioned. Within each region, however, there is still a startling maldistribution of educational opportunities between urban and rural areas. It is only in Western Nigeria that more than 40 per cent of the population live in towns of more than 5,000; in Eastern

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[55]W. Jackson, "The Partnership Between Industry and Education," Advancement of Science, XV (September, 1958), 128-139.

Nigeria, the percentage is about 14 and in the North, nine. That means the great majority of Nigerians live in villages which seem all the more scattered on account of scarcity of roads and the absence or irregularity of transport facilities. Education, even at the primary level, is still impossible for most Nigerians unless they are ready to travel great distances on foot daily or to leave their homes altogether - a solution which is more acceptable for boys but rarely for girls.

Admittedly, the question of educational provision in rural areas is a problem everywhere in the world. Rich and advanced countries like the United States have their "low income areas" which have lower than average educational facilities, and where the proportion of pupils who discontinue school attendance before graduating from elementary school is distressingly high. Such areas definitely need better schools.[56] Even in places like France and modern Japan, extreme centralization of educational administration and economic planning has failed to level out inequalities throughout the countries, especially in rural unevenly populated districts. In the latter, it is the isolated and remote places in the mountains and small islands with relatively low economic

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[56]W. S. Folksman, "Rural Problem Areas Need Better Schools," Agricultural Economics Research, XIII (October, 1961), 122-129.

and cultural status that suffer;[57] in the former, lycées in big towns enjoy superior advantages in number and quality of staff and benefit from state bounties more than others.[58] Certain characteristics of the Nigerian rural population, however, make the problem there graver. In Nigeria, about four-fifths of the population live in rural areas which are more or less equated with low-income, extremely large and uneducated families. These areas have no history of formal education, and in most parts, the only forms of traditional education that exist are those that initiate adolescents into religious cults. They are almost wholly within the subsistence sector of the economy, not producing anything for cash exchange; and the children, therefore, have no educational ambitions and aspirations. Many rural zones often coincide with ethnic boundaries, leading to charges of overt discrimination against ethnic minorities.[59] In such cases, socio-political goals work against those of economic efficiency, and resources may be spared from other

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[57]B. C. Duke, "American Education Reforms in Japan Twelve Years Later," Harvard Educational Review, XXXIV (Fall, 1964), 525-536.

[58]E. Weber, "Central Control of French Education," Current History, XL (June, 1961), 321-326.

[59]C. A. Anderson and P. J. Foster, "Discrimination and Inequality in Education," Sociology of Education, XXXVIII (Fall, 1964), 1-18.

investments to open small unequipped schools in remote corners of the country. In places like the new Mid-West Region, one village is cut off from another not just by lack of roads but also by differences in culture and language. Besides, channels through which news, public opinion, advertisements and attitudes circulate are non-existent, and hence, the isolation is much more than distances in miles.

The fact that urban and rural schools are jointly administered has the result that many questions pertaining to the work of rural schools remain inadequately investigated or often resolved incompletely after a long delay. For example, it has never been thought essential to organize the school year in rural areas in a way that holidays would coincide with the harvest period when the children's labour is essential on the farms. The regular rhythm and seasonality of the rains control the farming calendar, and school holidays can be made to fall in busy periods so that the children can help on the farms.

In most rural areas, primary schools have been built because it is here that politicians market for votes; so that today, the major problem of these areas is not a shortage of buildings but of teachers. Very often, people qualified to teach in rural areas often conglomerate in well-provided areas; they have been educated

in these better areas before schools came to the rural areas, and they do not want to go back to the country. As a result, there is a low level of education in rural areas. As Balogh observes, it is unlikely that this situation in the schools will be corrected simply by curriculum changes and school reforms in rural areas; it calls for rural renascence.[60] It might be wiser to invest first in transportation and communication and other basic necessities like water supply in rural areas before investing in schools. Of course, rural education can be concentrated in one central village accessible to a group of villages, and if savings are made on buildings and the use of local materials and community labour, transportation can be provided to convey pupils to these schools. With this arrangement, systematic inspection of the schools can be made, and meals, vocational training and vocational guidance can be provided to the rural children.

Imbalance between the sexes

The enrolment of girls at all levels of education is very low. Also, because of the policy of sexual segregation (fostered by missions), especially at the secondary level, girls' schools have suffered from lack of suitable teachers, and had always been graded on the

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[60] T. Balogh, "The Economics of Educational Planning: Sense and Nonsense," Comparative Education, I (October, 1964), 5-17.

same curricular standard with the boys' schools by external examinations. Girls' enrolment had increased in Eastern and Western Regions and in Lagos since the introduction of free primary schooling, but the drop-out rate has been very high. A survey of Women's Education in Western Nigeria made in 1963 revealed that female enrolment in primary schools rose from 25.4 per cent of the boys' enrolment to 33.9 per cent in 1955 and 38.9 per cent in 1960.[61] It was 69 per cent of the boys' enrolment in 1962 (Table 8), which shows that it had been increasing steadily every year. The survey showed, however, that of every 100 boys that registered in primary schools in 1955, at least 50 completed the six-year primary education in 1960; but for the girls, it was only 22. Much of the loss, the survey said, was between first and second year of the primary course. Understandably, when payment for uniforms, books, pencils and mid-day meals tended to impoverish some parents, it was the girls who were first stopped. Northern Nigeria is predominantly Muslim, and in this religion, women have a very low status. Thus, Northern parents hardly send their girls to school. In a country where education is,

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[61] "Women's Education in Western Nigeria," Extracts from the survey of Women's Education in Western Nigeria by the Nigerian Association of University Women, Ibadan Branch, 1963, Overseas Quarterly, III (December, 1963), 214-216.

TABLE 8

FEMALE EDUCATION AS PERCENTAGE OF MALE, 1962

A. Primary and Secondary Schools and Teacher Training

	North		East		West		Lagos		Nigeria	
	Tea-chers	Pupils	Tea-chers	Pupils	Tea-chers	Pupils	Tea-chers	Pupils	Tea-chers	Pupils
Primary Schools	17.2[a]	37.2[a]	29.3	63.5	27.0	69.0	98.5	97.5	28.2	62.7
Secondary General	26.9	13.3	22.8	22.0	22.1	39.9	49.0	56.5	23.8	36.0
Technical & Vocational	1.4	-	1.6	2.9	-	9.3	6.8	2.5	2.2	2.6
Teacher training	34.0	23.4	36.9	37.2	27.3	30.7	22.2	35.0	32.0	31.5

B. Higher Education

	Teachers[b]	Students
Ahmadu Bello University	-	3.4
Ibadan University	2.4	9.3
Ife University	-	9.9
Lagos University	9.1	5.3
Nsukka University	9.3	11.9

[a]17.2 represents female teachers as a percentage of male teachers; 37.2 represents female pupils as a percentage of male pupils.

[b]Nigerian lecturers and professors alone.

more than anything else, utilitarian, it is an extreme luxury to send girls to secondary schools, especially when few careers are open to women. Even then, very few women are attracted by these careers. In several quarters, women with careers are looked upon with suspicion by society as women who would be too self-assertive to be satisfactory housewives. And Nigerian society has no place yet for single women. Vocational and technical schools are almost completely closed to women except for a few who train as secretaries, copy typists, housekeeping matrons and needlework and embroidery workers.

In the last few years, however, especially in the southern regions, it has been lack of adequate opportunity that has kept back many girls. In Western Nigeria, for example, the secondary modern school with its three-year course, offers an opportunity for girls who desire only a brief secondary education, who are attracted by the vocational courses offered by some of the schools, who contemplate certain specialized courses such as nursing, teaching, who have limited funds, or who cannot gain admission to secondary grammar schools for lack of places.[62] Almost all secondary modern schools are day schools. Besides, almost every town has one, so that the majority of the students attend schools from their homes. These

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[62] Ibid.

are added attractions for mothers who need their girls' help in their home-keeping duties. In 1963, for example, there were 37,749 girls (51 per cent of boys) in the secondary modern schools of Western Nigeria as opposed to 8,280 (27 per cent) in grammar schools.

Obviously, there is the need to find practical means of expanding educational facilities and of giving girls equal access to these facilities, but there is also the need to encourage girls and their parents to make full use of them. Women should have a significant place in vocational, technical and professional training schools. The Nigerian educational system would, however, continue to exclude girls unless certain things are done outside the educational system to correct the situation. The importance of women in the development process and of their potential as women must be appreciated; employment opportunities for women must be increased and non-discriminatory policies adopted; and, of course, the education and training of girls has to be organized realistically in relation to available employment opportunities.

Status of Teachers and the Teaching Profession

Teacher Training is one of the most vital parts of any educational system. It is very important that the right kind of people be selected and given the necessary skills and knowledge for the job before being awarded the professional qualification of "certified teacher." Education in Nigeria as an industry is the largest single employer of labour. In 1962, there were 12,246 teachers in post-primary institutions teaching 233,910 students - an average of 14.9 students per teacher. These figures, however, conceal the fact that the qualifications of the teachers are generally lower than would be expected in post-primary education. Only 1,500 of these teachers were graduates, with or without teaching qualifications. This drops the ratio to one qualified teacher to 155.9 pupils.[63] One can easily point to the inadequacy and insufficiency of training prospects as a reason for the low qualifications of teachers of post-primary students, but an often quickly forgotten fact is that the vocation of teaching has not yet attained professional status, despite the fact that one-third of Nigerian leaders had at one time been teachers.

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[63]Nigerian Union of Teachers, The Teachers' Case. Memorandum prepared for presentation to The National Joint Negotiating Council on the Remuneration and Conditions of Service, Gradings, etc. of Teachers (Yaba, 1964), p. 20.

There is no minimum entry qualification into the profession, not just in academic terms, but in practical proof of interest in children. As a result, it is not often the right kind of people that are attracted to the job. Because the fees paid in training colleges are very low, many people offer themselves for training as the colleges are the post-primary institutions they can afford. Many such people stream out of the profession as soon as other opportunities present themselves. Many women see teacher training as a gateway to the marriage market. At present, Nigerian educational authorities retain most teachers only by making those accepted for training sign an undertaking to repay the whole or a large proportion of the cost of their training should they decide to leave within, say, five years. Often, it is two years' service for a year of training. This prevents the development of a sense of obligation; it boils down to a compulsory service which does not allow for professionalization of staff. At the primary school level, especially, supervisors and inspectors are often satisfied with anyone who knows a little more than the pupils he or she teaches and who can direct a class of 30 or more children in reading, writing and reciting stories and fables. Mission schools are too much concerned with securing teachers acceptable to their religious faiths, and to them, teachers are good enough as long as they are good Christians and good tithers.

If we consider salaries as an index of status, teachers rank lower than members of other professions, especially civil servants.[64] That is why several teachers, including principals of schools, spend so much of their time in local or national politics to supplement their purses. For many others, teaching is only a stepping stone to a better job. Such are the teachers who exploit the advantages of free week-ends and long holidays to study by correspondence and in the evenings for higher academic qualifications which equip them for other jobs or professions. Young university graduates with drive and enthusiasm look down on a profession in which seniority and experience, rather than skill and enterprise is often the grounds for promotion; others prefer the better pension benefits and additional allowances, the higher maximum salaries and greater promotion prospects of the civil service and other private employment. Thus, apart from the fact that the schools cannot attract enough of the able young men and women as teachers, they also are not able to hold experienced ones. And this is an age

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[64] Lewis calculated the average salary of a Nigerian primary school teacher as seven times the per capita national income. Therefore, using his calculations, it would appear that universal primary education would consume 4 per cent of the national income. In the U.S., school teachers receive only 0.8 times the per capita national income. Compared with civil servants, however, Nigerian teachers are grossly underpaid. W. A. Lewis, in Social and Economic Studies, X (June, 1961), 113-127.

when automation, computers, global intercourse and space exploration demand a higher level of education for more people who should also be learning many more facts more thoroughly and as fast as possible.[65]

As Table 9 shows, there were 287 training colleges in Nigeria in 1962 scattered throughout the country, and many of these were small and ill-equipped. A large proportion of the teacher-trainers have had little experience in teaching little children themselves. Each of these colleges also had a principal and a vice-principal, both of whom do little teaching and claim responsibility allowances over and above their basic salaries. Some mission colleges do refuse government grants in order to be free to exclude non-adherents of their faith, and because they emphasize religious indoctrination in their schools, they sacrifice all else to prepare their teachers-in-training in the foundations of their religious tenets and how to impart these to children. Thus, many of these colleges are missing the magnificent opportunity they have to make teaching into a real profession with adequate professional training and qualifications. Some other institutions, not specifically owned by a religious body, set about teaching their trainees instead of training

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[65]A. S. Wittlin, "The Teacher," Daedalus, XCII (Fall, 1963), 745-751.

TABLE 9

STAFF AND STUDENTS IN TEACHER TRAINING INSTITUTIONS, 1962

	North	East	West	Lagos	Nigeria
No. of Training Colleges	52	133	97	5	287
Average staff per college	8.3	5.8	8.2	14.2	7.2
Average pupils per college	122	84	134	147	109
Average pupils per teacher	14.7	14.6	16.4	10.3	15.1

them. Instead of developing in them a practical ability and an understanding of children, all they do is to improve their academic knowledge. Since independence, some three-year post-school certificate Colleges of Education have been established which award Nigerian Certificates of Education, qualifying holders to teach in junior classes of secondary schools. These colleges are competing with the universities for the pool of well-qualified secondary school graduates, and it is too soon to tell whether teachers prepared by the programme will move on to higher paying positions outside of education.

Generally, the standard of teacher training varies from region to region, and even from college to college. Subjects like English, Arithmetic and Principles and Practice of Education are "external papers," that is,

centrally-set papers handled by the West African Examinations Council. Other papers are set by the Ministry of Education in each region. In subjects like Physical Education, Practical Agriculture, Craft and Needlework, Domestic Science and Practice Teaching, a few "examiners" go from school to school trying to judge parity of standards and to grade passes and failures. Perhaps the teacher training programme could have been more functional if there were a central committee responsible for all training college programmes, one that sets its own independent examination for a professional qualifying diploma. At the moment, the Institutes of Education, perhaps being eager to maintain a stance in the universities as communities of scholars in their own right, have kept aloof of training colleges and the schools. They have failed to function as professional centres for teachers and for teacher training; as cradles of educational research and book depositories serving the Ministries of Education and Teacher Training Colleges; and as central sources of advice and information to all teachers, most of whom are only aided now by "chalk and talk." There have been only one or two half-hearted attempts to organize short residential refresher courses and in-service training for inexperienced teachers, let alone pre-service and in-service training for educational administrators.

More than these, the whole question of qualifications needs reform. At the primary and secondary modern school levels, some teachers take their training in two-year stages with a two-year "internship" in-between. Examinations are taken after each stage of training. Others qualify after a three- or four-year course, taking more academic work but less professional preparation. They take only one examination which they may pass by instalments spread over several years. Several other people go into teaching without any teacher training at all, and whether or not they have completed secondary education. At the secondary school level, some teachers take a full three-year undergraduate course in education; others take just the one-year post-graduate diploma course in education; while others are allowed to teach on qualified rates of pay by virtue of the fact that they have a degree, say in Economics or even in Law. At present, there are pay differentials to compensate those who have had one form of professional training or another, but the vocation of teaching demands that <u>all</u> who enter the profession should understand the child and the learning process. They should have a working knowledge of educational administration and the place of evaluation in education. A knowledge of the community in which the educational enterprise operates is

also essential. All these require some definite forms of training.

Summary

As we have attempted to show here, whatever the merits of Nigerian education, it has been very much dysfunctional as regards social, economic and political development objectives. Its organization and administration have been wasteful of much-needed human and material resources; its curricular emphasis has been too much towards training the mind rather than the hands, towards education for its own sake - "education to make man whole" - rather than towards imparting skills which are useful to the economy. While there has been deliberate planning of education, this has not always achieved the ends intended, or at least, things never before thought of have often crept in to topple the planned projection of educational spending. Besides, education has consumed too much money, leaving less for economic development projects which might provide jobs for school graduates. And with educated Nigerians always prone to white collar jobs, educational expansion has meant a widespread intellectual underemployment and unemployment. The question of achieving an educational balance - between different levels of education, between the sexes, between urban and rural areas, and between regions - also needs a

lot of reform, and so do the status and the prestige given to teachers and to the teaching profession. Nigeria still has a long way to go in extending educational opportunities to all children of school age and to her adult population. She will also find it essential to retrain some of her educated unemployed people for more functional roles in the economy. Understandably, she cannot devote more of her limited funds to education unless resources that are already slim are further taxed. That is why it is not only essential to point out these dysfunctionalities, but also to seek to reform them.

CHAPTER IV

POSSIBLE CAUSES OF DYSFUNCTIONALITIES

The previous chapter sought to analyse the major dysfunctionalities in Nigerian education. We attempted to criticise the content, extent and intent of the educational system; its organization and administration; and also the status and prestige accorded the teachers and the teaching profession. Several similar appraisals of Nigerian education have been made in the past, and the weaknesses and defects of the system have been determined by various commissions. The findings of each new commission revealed deficiencies that were not very different from those that earlier commissions mentioned, perhaps merely compounded by novel circumstances. Hence, there has been no basic change in educational direction ever since the first school was opened well over 100 years ago, though there have been isolated attempts at patchwork reforms. This writer holds the view that the problems of Nigerian education have hardly ever been attacked at their roots; the causes of failures of the attempts at educational reform have never been critically

determined as a prerequisite to new remedies. In seeking possible causes of the dysfunctionalities, this chapter examines the peculiar geographical, historical and social circumstances of Nigeria as distinct from other developing areas of the world, the Nigerian colonial heritage, possible administrative inefficiencies, and the role played by foreign aid and technical assistance to Nigeria shortly before and mainly after independence.

Geographical, Socio-Political and Historical Background

Nigeria has a myriad of problems. It is a poor country mainly because natural resources are largely absent, but also because those that there are have not been fully exploited. Generally, there is a lack of capital development of transportation and communication networks and of industrial equipment. The majority of people are in agricultural pursuits, but they have to battle with problems of poor soils and of rapid erosion consequent upon torrential downpours of rain on soft, light and shallow soils which are already lacking in humus. Water is either deficient or over-abundant depending on the area and the time of the year. By shifting cultivation and bush fallowing, an ecological balance and soil conservation are somehow effected, but

in several areas, the bush fallow period has been reduced to too short a time to permit adequate maintenance of fertility. The population density may be low when regarded as a ratio of population to land area, but when regarded as a ratio of population to usable or cultivable land, it is very high. The country stretches geographically across natural vegetation zones ranging from dense rain forest through savanna grasslands and to fringes of the desert, with the result that resources are rather unevenly distributed. This in itself is enough to set up a whirl of internal population migrations from poorly-endowed to much richer areas in search of the wherewithal to pay taxes and to maintain the rapidly increasing standards and costs of living. The main sources of economic wealth are controlled by expatriate firms or are dependent on external capital. The cash exchange (or the modern) sector of the economy depends mostly on export crops which are all subject to vicissitudes of a world market over which Nigeria has no control. Its coal mines dwindle for lack of demand, and its tin production is limited by restriction quotas levied by the 1929 International Tin Agreement. More than these, there was an insufficient number of experts and trained personnel at all levels to man technical services and to execute its development plans.

All these geographical and economic problems are compounded by social ones of illiteracy, conservatism, low health and living standards, high natality and mortality rates, low productivity and inadequate techniques of production. We cannot expect education alone to solve all these problems. Investment in human capital in such a case must take various forms including educational improvements, adult literacy campaigns, regular medical and health services, co-operative efforts in production, marketing and thrift, and community development programmes for the construction of roads, irrigation schemes, and even schools. Is the problem then that we are expecting too much from education? For the past few centuries, the Nigerian society has been rapidly disintegrating or is being transformed by continuous and persistent contacts with Western cultures. Even within the national boundary, formerly heterogeneous tribes and cultures are being progressively integrated by political unity and more regular contacts due to the development of transport and communication and of an internal exchange economy. The fact that nation-states historically predated the formation of the Nigerian nation, giving rise to awkward problems for the national government seeking to persuade or coerce tribal and regional units to acknowledge a central authority, cannot be overstated.

Rapid urbanization created islands of prosperity which had attracted ambitious youths long before the days of the "unemployed school leaver," and the emergence of new social and economic classes threatened further the authority of traditional social élite.[1]

Perhaps, the major cause of Nigeria's educational dysfunctionalities was that the period of rapid educational expansion coincided more or less with that of economic recession. Apart from the universal great depression of the 1930's, Nigeria had another "little" depression much more recently. The post-war boom on export crops seemed to lapse since 1955 and the country was running against mounting balance of payment deficits on her international trade accounts. Unfortunately, it was a period when all pent-up profits on exports were being spent in providing social services in anticipation of independence. This left little or nothing to spend on economic development programmes which might employ the school leavers. Callaway identifies three distinct stages in the history

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[1]Every Nigerian town has its sabon gari, that is, "new towns" where "strangers" (immigrants from other parts of the country) settle. N. C. Mitchell discusses the "stranger" settlements as a distinct phase in the morphology of Yoruba towns of Western Nigeria in his "Yoruba Towns" in Essays on African Population, eds. K. M. Barbour and R. M. Prothero (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961), pp. 279-301.

of Nigerian education.[2] In the first stage, only a relatively small proportion (10-30 per cent) of school age children attended school, and primary school graduates had enough status and, of course, regular income outside farming. In the second stage, some 50-80 per cent received elementary schooling while job opportunities improved only slightly. The problem in Nigeria was that these two stages were crammed within a single decade, which was also more or less the decade of economic recession. The third stage, that in which the entire population will pass through primary school, may be achieved shortly after 1970 at considerable expense.

It must be mentioned once again that the colonial era was one of exploitation. A people only just recovering from a loss of thousands of its able-bodied men through the slave trade was again suddenly plunged into another century of colonization during which its resources were plundered for the enrichment of developed countries.[3] At the time of Britain's sudden withdrawal, there was little or no industrialization in Nigeria; about four fifths of the population depended on agriculture for a

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[2]A. C. Callaway, "School Leavers and the Developing Economy of Nigeria," in Conference Proceedings of the Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research, December, 1960, pp. 60-72.

[3]This point of view is held by N. Linton in his "Anatomy of Progress," Canadian World Federalist, XVIII (February, 1965), 2-4.

living, and while missionaries proceeded with their evangelism-cum-educational expansion, the only outlet for young men with even a minimum degree of education was the government service. It was easy, then, for any Nigerian school leaver to associate graduation from school with the office job. The Scramble for Africa (1885) divided up the continent into "pieces" administered by various European imperialistic powers, all following widely different colonial policies in pursuing similar ends. This has made difficult or even impossible the development of a West African Common Market or Pan-Africanism. Not more than 1 per cent of Nigerian trade is with other African countries; there is no common language, no common currency and no common commodity agreement. Instead of the land-locked Republic of Niger exporting its ground-nuts more cheaply through the under-used and, therefore, deficit-run Nigerian railways and ports, it has chosen to send them more expensively through former-French Dahomey. The size of Nigerian population, placed at 55.6 million, looks large enough for local industries to produce with economies of scale, but with a per capita GNP of only $78, low purchasing power has extensively limited the local market. And its neighbours would rather set up their own industries at whatever expense than buy Nigerian products, even at cheaper prices. Hence,

Nigeria has to set up expensive factories which employ only a few people (Table 10).

TABLE 10

SELECTED NIGERIAN CAPITAL-INTENSIVE INDUSTRIES

Industry	Cost[a] ($ million)	People Employed
Ikeja Textile Factory	4.9	1,000
Ewekoro Cement Factory	11.2	300
Port Harcourt Oil Refinery	33.6	350
Ilorin Match Factory	3.92	300
Kwarra Tobacco Factory	3.92	300
Onitsha Textile Works	14.0	550
Ughelli Glass Industries	3.3	250

[a]American dollars

Compiled from: (1) Callaway, op. cit.
(2) Several issues of Federal Nigeria, published monthly by the Federal Government of Nigeria for background and editorial use in the U.S.

Nigeria's transition to independence was very fast; not probably as fast as India's or even Ghana's, but it was fast enough to have drained education of its qualified personnel into the "more urgent" business of government civil service, political appointments, and diplomatic missions either previously non-existent or being held by Britons. Today, Nigeria is being thought

of as the West's only hope in Africa,[4] but Western democracy in Nigeria has been a costly one. Education has not been used to build support for a single political party as in Ghana, but educational resources have been spread too thinly to serve a political clientele; quality has been sacrificed for quantity; and social justice has been interfered with by politicians who force their relatives on offices for employment whether vacancies exist or not, and whether these relatives are qualified for the jobs or not. People with wealth, influence, status and, of course, the right political affiliations are allowed to open private schools for cash profits. University vice-chancellors are known to have been "deposed" for no other reason than that they are members of a tribe that no longer enjoys the favour of the tribe-in-power. Besides, recent political events have shown that much of the ruling party's energy and attention is directed towards strategies to win the next election, rather than towards sound policies directed by wise decisions. Hence, such a party is often inclined to a "show-case" psychology. Even valuable Marketing Board reserves, held as backing for fluctuations in cash crop world prices, have allegedly been pumped into party

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[4]For example, see C. Legum, "What Kind of Radicalism for Africa," Foreign Affairs, XLIII (January, 1965), 237-250.

purses instead of being used to develop the economy. Understandably, Nigeria has chosen a non-alignment foreign policy, but it has made itself into a buffer-state, a battleground for the Cold War between the East and the West. How this affects educational decisions will be explained later.

Some of the dysfunctionalities of Nigerian education can also be traced to the social background of the people. We can blame Britain for giving Nigerians education as something that enables them to avoid using their hands, but as Brown of Ibadan University says, we must also blame the cohesiveness of the extended family system which is prepared to support unemployed school leavers in idleness.[5] This social factor enables the "white-collar" attitude and the drainage of school leavers to cities to persist, and it works against post-independence attempts of Western and Eastern Nigeria Governments to establish farm-settlements which could absorb school leavers on the land.

In the same way, the great development of education in Western Nigeria, especially the higher rate of female enrolment in primary, and particularly, secondary

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[5]G. N. Brown, "Independence a Hard Path: Nigeria's Mayflower," The Times Educational Supplement, June 15, 1962, p. 1220.

schools, can be attributed to their urbanization.[6] At the same time, the threat of a revolution of the unemployed is much less in this area than in the Eastern Region. This can be accounted for by the fact that there is a greater number of towns and cities and, therefore, a greater dispersion and a lack of coherence among the unemployed school leavers in the Western Region. Secondly, the pre-industrial character of the Yorubas, which is by far the majority tribe in this region, is hardly receptive to external influences that effect social changes. As Spengler puts it, Yoruba urbanization has not disrupted "traditional tribal forms of social grouping."[7] Hence, the unemployed youths in the Western Region are more readily maintained and fed by their relatives who already have jobs in the cities than are their Eastern counterparts.

In the Eastern Region, the development of education is due partly to the heavy density of population, and partly to the Ibo's receptivity to change. According to

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[6]According to the 1952-53 census, the percentage of population living in towns with 5,000 or more people ranged from nine in the Northern Region through 14 in the East to 46 in the West. The percentage living in cities of 20,000 or more ranged from 3.6 in the North, through 6.3 in the East to 29 in the West. See J. J. Spengler, "Population Movements and Economic Development in Nigeria," in The Nigerian Political Scene, eds. R. O. Tilman and T. Cole (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1962), pp. 147-197.

[7]Ibid., p. 178.

Ottenberg, the Ibo consisted of more than 200 independent territorial groups, each composed of one or more villages or of dispersed residential groupings before direct European contact. There were no large political groupings like the Yoruba kingdoms or the Hausa and Fulani empires or emirates to unite these groupings and provide them with an over-all unity of social structure.[8] Thus, the urban population in Eastern Nigeria has been much smaller than among the Yoruba and has reflected a greater amount of European influence than have the Yoruba communities.[9] There has probably been a greater demand for schools and education in the Eastern Region than anywhere else in Nigeria. Even illiterate communities have been known to have built schools and hired teachers on their own.[10] Because of lack of efficient organization of traditional government, educated young men quickly "seized power" and achieved very rapid social and occupational mobility through trading, other businesses and the professions. These were further incentives for schooling. However, free Primary Education has been much less successful here than in the West because of the

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[8]S. Ottenberg, "Ibo Receptivity to Change," in Continuity and Change in African Cultures, eds. W. R. Bascom and M. J. Herskovits (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), pp. 130-143.

[9]Spengler, op. cit.

[10]Ottenberg, op. cit.

rural character of population distribution which has increased considerably the administrative and financial difficulties of organization. The Eastern Government faces a greater challenge of school-leaver revolution than the Western Government, not because the region has a greater number of unemployed school leavers, but because traditional tribal forms have broken down in the Eastern cities, making the unemployed youth more exposed to an empty stomach and hence, much more bitter against politicians who ride in big cars. Besides, there are few towns and cities in Eastern Nigeria and, therefore, more concentration of the unemployed youth, and more likelihood of a concerted action. In this respect, the Roman Catholic Mission which tends to preach poverty as a kind of virtue, and which is predominant in the East, can be seen as a temporary redeeming feature.

The slow rate of educational expansion in Northern Nigeria is a factor of sparsity of population distribution, and unfavourable geographical conditions which make agricultural work less productive. It is, however, only religion that can explain the slow diffusion of education and of educational demands among a people who have had tribal governments and organization into Emirates, Empires and Sultanates dating back several centuries. Even in Western Nigeria, the example of Iwo (Nigeria's

fifth largest city)[11] shows that where Muslim influence has been well established, Christian missionary activity and, hence, education has been much curtailed. In Northern Nigeria, Arabic influence has always been significant, and the writings of Sultan Bello and Othman dan Fodio are still cherished.[12] Here, low school enrolments may not necessarily be a result of lack of local school facilities both at primary and secondary school levels. Fees are charged, and of course, sending children to school is not just an economic but also a social sacrifice. For a Fulani man who is essentially a cattle herder, teaching his children to tend animals, choose pastures and cultivate corn may have an important aim of bread or milk for tomorrow or a harvest at the end of the season, but it is also viewed as an essential preparation for the only world he knows. When the Hausa

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[11]Iwo now has a population of over 200,000 people, 90 per cent of whom are Muslims. Though a Baptist Training College has been built there since 1932 and a co-educational secondary school since 1955, only very few native Iwoans have received education. The educational demand for girls has been almost negligible.

[12]For centuries, there have been well-established koranic schools in Northern Nigeria. At the time of the British occupation, there were over 25,000 koranic schools with an average enrolment of 10 pupils in each. Education in these schools lasted between eight and 15 years, and the curriculum consisted in the main of learning by rote of portions of the koran, correct methods of worship, and Muslim laws of administration and social behaviour. See J. B. Abuja, "Koranic and Moslem Law Teaching in Hausaland," Nigeria, XXXVII (1955), 25-28.

girl is trained to help her mother in housekeeping, to fetch water, to sweep the compound and to assist in the preparation of meals, she is being prepared for a responsible adulthood in her society, not just to contribute to the economic life of the family. That children learnt Western art, music, literature, philosophy, science and even theology is not really the concern of the average Northern Nigerian parent.[13] He became worried only when his children started to dismiss his traditional tenets as primitive and barbaric. He considered this as paying to denigrate his own culture, and he would rather spend his sterling accumulations on getting a second or a third wife or on going on a Mecca pilgrimage than on keeping his children in school.

The Colonial Heritage

The best that could be said about the importation of British education system into Nigeria was that Britain did what she thought was best for Nigeria. According to

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[13]As Foster observes in Ghana, no parent has an idea concerning what children acquire in school apart from basic literacy and neither do they make any effort to find out. Negative comments on the schools focus almost entirely upon the increasing costs of education, or with the occupational rewards accruing to formal schooling, never with the content or the nature of the educational process. P. J. Foster, "Status, Power and Education in a Traditional Community," The School Review, LXXII (Summer, 1964), 158-182.

Mellanby[14] and Ashby,[15] Africans insisted on their being on the British gold standard of learning and resisted any attempt to adapt education to their local conditions. It was a time when Nigerians competed with English children for entry to British universities; it was a time when Nigerians sought employment in their own civil service and other employments in competition with foreigners. Besides, it was a time when Britain was at the pinnacle of her power, an achievement which she correctly attributed to her laws, social conventions as well as her political, educational and economic institutions. To aspire to anything British was to aim at the best that was available. It was also a time when to be ethnocentric was to be nationalistic. At that time, not many countries of the world had designed successful educational systems widely different from the European norm. Political independence has now thrust the whole burden of educational provision on Nigerians themselves through their indigenous governments, and the extent to which they can design a truly functional Nigerian education depends on how much they can evaluate the system they inherited and notice its

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[14]K. Mellanby, "Establishing a New University in Africa," Minerva, I (Winter, 1963), 149-158.

[15]E. Ashby, "The Mission and Challenge of West African Universities," Teachers College Record, LXIV (December, 1962), 227-232.

dysfunctionalities in relation to their aims of social, economic and political development.

In Nigeria as in other former British African territories, the colonial government resigned to the Christian missionaries the initiative of providing and controlling education. The missionaries, acting without further controls under the British laissez-faire policy, introduced education with the sole aim of transforming the Nigerian traditional ways of life which they regarded as pagan and primitive. The Nigerian who demanded education for whatever reason was thus forced to take a foreign religion with alien concepts of sin and atonement. He became completely isolated from his own family and tribe; he abandoned the traditional economic enterprises and age-long types of entertainment of his fathers.[16] Missionaries who were not trained educators could not be expected to adapt foreign educational models to Nigerian conditions. They simply exported the system they knew at home, depreciated to a level they could afford. Moreover, the sole purpose of missionary education was evangelism; they cared very little about employment and the economy, and as long as they were allowed to deliver education and

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[16] O. F. Raum, "The Demand for and Support of Education in African Tribal Society," The Yearbook of Education, 1956, eds. R. K. Hall and J. A. Lauwerys (New York: World Book Company, n.d.), pp. 533-544.

religion to the children as two sides of the same coin, it mattered not how many students graduated out of their schools properly stuffed with "education for heaven" instead of education for employment. Undoubtedly, the missions provided a valuable service in the past, reducing several Nigerian languages into written scripts; and providing an educational system where there was no formal schooling and where the colonial government was financially or otherwise handicapped. A great part of present-day Nigerian educational problems stems from the fact that the missions are still allowed to continue controlling education, even when what makes a school is now much more than the buildings plus human figures called teachers - whatever their level of competence. It has been shown that by their number and lack of co-operation or co-ordination, the missions constitute a waste of human and material resources. More than this, the aims and the content of their education, the self-perceived status of the educated people they produce, and the attitude of their teachers, trained as "soul converters," all represent formidable obstacles to economic and social progress.

The decentralized system of education Britain "bestowed" on Nigeria was one which completely disregarded local responsibility. If the average Nigerian

parent is apathetic about educational control; if he is reluctant to pay educational taxes now levied by many local authorities; it is because he had never been made to appreciate the new needs. In colonial times, all education that was, was completely financed from central government funds[17] with local support restricted to school fees, and for Christians, indirectly through church contributions. With the readjustment of financial responsibilities since independence following the introduction of universal primary education, several local riots have resulted from Local Education Authorities' machinery for collecting local education rates. Several missions felt compelled to resign their financial responsibilities to local people, but they clung persistently and unfairly to their administrative control, and through this, religious indoctrination of the children. It is true the colonial government later took over the general direction of educational policy, but very little effort was made to control the output of the schools or to limit their growth. Standards in the schools were maintained by

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[17]In 1956, only 12 per cent of this income came from direct taxes, 41 per cent came from import duties, 20 per cent from export duties, 10 per cent from other sources, and 17 per cent from non-tax revenue. G. J. Ligthart and B. Abbai, "Economic Development in Africa: Aims and Possibilities," in Economic Development for Africa South of the Sahara, ed. E. A. G. Robinson (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1964), p. 37.

grants-in-aid and external examinations. Both had their limitations. Some wealthy missions had always refused government grants in order to be free to dictate their own educational policy. Also, in a system where external examinations are the be-all and end-all of all educational achievements, the schools could not do but focus on the examinations. As Shimbori notices in the case of Japan, the products of such a system are prone to have one-sided personalities, attuned to egoistic competition rather than co-operation. Education is viewed largely as a passport to the ruling class, not a life-long self-realization.[18]

Regional variations in educational diffusion are due largely to uneven internal rates of socio-economic changes, and to the differential penetration of British authority. The missions and the colonial government completely regulated rural vocational training as the basis for social and economic advancement. At suitable climatic locations like Jos (on a plateau) where they could escape the tropical heat, at central locations (like Ibadan, Kaduna, Enugu and Lagos) from where they could rule a wide expanse of surrounding rural populations with their pens, at interval spots along the railways they have built into the interior to deliver Nigerian

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[18] M. Shimbori, "The Fate of Postwar Educational Reform in Japan," The School Review, LXVIII (Summer, 1960), 228-241.

products to the ports, and at places where oil and other minerals were found, the English built pockets of civilization. These were the urban areas, some of their own creation, which aggravated the pull of rural population. Towns, villages and families started to send their children, at great sacrifice, to stake a claim for them in the prosperous economy of the cities.

The British pattern of boarding schools and full-time residential student population in the universities was exported to Nigeria. More than anything else, this restricted access to university education only to those for whom physical accommodation could be provided. If off-campus housing was not available to start with, demand could have generated its own supply. At least, in 1952-56, 61 per cent of Nigerian capital investments went into building and construction, and only 39 per cent into machinery and equipment.[19] As Table 11 shows, between 1952 and 1958, not less than 71 per cent of the capital investment in buildings had gone into dwelling-houses, and this had been increasing steadily since 1955. Moreover, greater percentages of the capital were invested in modern-style concrete buildings. Business enterprises mostly built non-dwelling houses, so that governments and public corporations took an active part in housing

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[19]Ligthart and Abbai, op. cit., p. 30.

TABLE 11

FIXED CAPITAL INVESTMENT IN BUILDINGS: DISTRIBUTION PATTERN IN PERCENTAGES, 1952-1958

	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958
By Types							
Concrete	68.9	67.8	71.0	72.4	73.1	75.0	77.9
Non-concrete	31.1	32.2	29.0	27.6	26.9	25.0	22.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
By Uses							
Dwellings	80.0	76.5	71.0	74.9	77.9	76.9	78.5
Non-dwellings	20.0	23.5	29.0	25.1	22.1	23.1	21.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
By Sponsors (Concrete types only)							
Govt.& Public Corporations	31.5	41.0	35.4	27.6	27.2	31.3	22.3
Business Enterprises	13.6	15.6	14.8	14.9	13.6	13.9	12.9
Other	54.9	43.4	49.8	57.5	59.2	54.8	64.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: O. Aboyade, "Some Features of the Nigerian Building and Construction Industry" in Conference Proceedings of the Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research, December, 1960, p. 12.

schemes. Of course, private small-scale entrepreneurs who were often very sensitive to any local demand were responsible for a much larger share of the buildings.

The 11 + examination is represented in Nigeria by the Common Entrance Examination organized by the West

African Examinations Council for a group of secondary schools. There are British-type secondary modern schools for the average and below average, which in Nigeria, are full of gifted children of poor parents. English public schools have their Nigerian counterparts in Government Colleges and a few other well-established secondary schools with long traditions of academic success which have developed into high-status schools and which have always drawn their students from the most academically promising primary school graduates. As would be expected, these high-status schools attract the best in teachers most of whom are probably "old boys;" they are able to charge higher fees without the danger of losing most of their pupils, and they are therefore able to afford better equipment and facilities. The fact that they were recognized earlier by the Governments for sixth-form courses was an added attraction for prospective students.

As in the Japanese case, foreign institutions transplanted to a new climate do not always attain the same success as at home.[20] Educational expansion in Nigeria did not therefore actually lead to an equality of opportunity. Its over-all effect has been to lower the value and the worth of school leaving certificates and

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[20]T. Morito, "Educational Reform and Its Problems in Postwar Japan," Teachers College Record, LX (April, 1959), 385-391.

the aspirations and job expectations of their holders. Some of the school leavers took to domestic work for the security of room and board; others have been "dragged" on to farm settlements established by Regional Governments. School expansion has, more than this, created lower- and higher-status schools, particularly at the secondary level, and only the well-to-do could afford to send their children to the latter. And of course, those who gained entry to the prestigeful institutions were more or less certain of passing their school leaving examinations, and were guaranteed a future élite status and secure employment. At least, if they failed to enter any of the universities, they easily secured employment in most government departments headed by their alumni.[21]

The Nigerian educational system is far divorced from the daily life of students and so the goal in seeking education is not usually cultural enrichment, but solely economic advancement. The introduction of English not as a foreign, but as a second (really the third for many Nigerians) language, used for instruction, might have solved practical difficulties of using numerous vernaculars in a polylingual country, but in Nigeria, the use of

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[21]See similarities with Ghana in P. J. Foster, "Secondary Schooling and Social Mobility in a West African Nation," Sociology of Education, XXXVII (Winter, 1963), 150-171.

English in the schools implies the use of English educational materials of which Nigeria becomes a big and steady importer. Mackenzie likens students whose education has been conducted entirely through a foreign medium and with a content drawn to an overwhelming degree from a foreign culture to a man with a grafted skin, where the delicate sensitivity of the nerves has not grown again. His contact with his surroundings is uneasy and coarsened.[22] That is why rote memory is prevalent in Nigerian schools; that is why "spot" questions are popular for the students who have to learn in an alien tongue and to express in it alien concepts. For example, only about 30 per cent of school candidates reached the standard of an "O" level pass in English language in 1956 (as compared with 50 per cent in mathematics and about 60 per cent in the various West African languages). For private candidates, the failure percentage reached 75. In the same year, less than 20 per cent gained G.C.E. "O" level certificate out of 5,000 candidates.[23] This does not reflect the capacities of West African candidates; it only shows their difficulties

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[22]N. H. Mackenzie, "The Place of English in African Education," International Review of Education, V (June, 1959), 216-223.

[23]"West African Examinations: Hand Punching Barred," The Times Educational Supplement, March 7, 1958, p. 360.

in thinking and learning in English. And failure in English has always meant failure in the whole examination.

Can we blame the Nigerian university graduate if he acquires socially dysfunctional attitudes, making himself into an élite - a class apart? The mere embarrassment that, as a young man[24] he is leading the old in his position as a politician or a civil service administrator is enough to drive him into living in "reserves," let alone the European habits and customs he had imbibed from his educational materials or from his European tutors, the "European post" he occupies and the European car he rides in. Besides, he feels himself one of the most successful in a system of rigid selection and elimination, who by his own ingenuity has successfully climbed to the pinnacle of the pyramid of status. And in fact, according to Smith, right from the time he secured his G.C.E. or its equivalent, he had acquired the role of "an assimilated European," having absorbed enough of assimilationist language, institutional forms, curricular content and academic standards modelled closely after those of Britain.[25]

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[24]According to a survey of the Nigerian educated élite by Hugh and Mabel Smythe in 1958, less than one-quarter of the Nigerians regarded as "eminent" were above 50 years old. Cited in E. Ashby, African Universities and Western Tradition (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), p. 101.

[25]M. B. Smith, "Foreign Versus Indigenous Education," in Post-Primary Education and Political and Economic Development, D. C. Piper and T. Cole (eds.) (Durham: Duke University Press, 1964), Chapter 3.

Is the expansion of primary education through free universal primary education schemes which has strained limited resources a function of administrative short-sightedness or inefficiency? It is more easily a function of colonial heritage. Nigeria was forced to accept Britain's much-fancied system of parliamentary democracy, which, in Britain is based on the principle of universal adult suffrage and which requires of every citizen a fundamental education to participate intelligently in the running of public affairs at local, national and international levels. Thus, as Lewis notices, the immediate aims of educational expansion are primarily to produce an informed electorate and only secondarily to produce skilled manpower.[26] This is thought essential in order to live up to the promise of independence. The educational expansion becomes dysfunctional only when (possibly as a result of hurriedness, lack of educational or sociological research, or poor planning) it results in the dilution of the quality of teaching, the reduction of supervisory efficiency, and the production of a large number of unemployed school leavers. It must be remembered that this expansion started long before independence, and the rate of expansion was even faster before than after independence.

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[26]L. J. Lewis, "Education and Political Independence in Africa," Comparative Education Review, V (June, 1961), 39-49.

Table 12 shows that there was a very rapid rate of increase in primary school and teacher training enrolment before independence, and this slowed down considerably after 1960. In secondary and technical and vocational schools, however, the post-independence rate of increase was much faster than that before independence. Also, these trends are further emphasized when we compare the period before 1957 with the period after, that being the year of self-government for Eastern and Western Nigeria. There has been, therefore, a definite attempt by the Nigerian governments to re-direct colonial education and to refashion educational planning along national social, economic and political objectives, even in spite of the fact that at that time, they were still operating within the 1955-62 Seven Year Development Plan.

TABLE 12

PERCENTAGE INCREASE IN SCHOOL ENROLMENT, 1955-1962

	1955[a]	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962
Primary Schools	100	114	148	154	168	176	169	171
Secondary Schools	100	141	235	317	415	487	605	700
Teacher Training Colleges	100	158	179	203	211	222	235	248
Technical & Vocational Schools	100	128	143	158	198	244	293	352

[a]Base Year

Administrative Inefficiencies

Galbraith considers "a reliable apparatus of government and public administration" as an essential prerequisite to economic growth and development.[27] Under Nigerian constitutional arrangements, policies and laws in relation to education are made from political quarters, but executive decisions are made by civil service hierarchies and by various other missionary and other agencies. Is administration a limiting factor in Nigeria's educational development process? As central sources of the policies, the money and the ideas that run education, the Nigerian Ministries of Education must not only identify dysfunctionalities in the education system, they must be able to trace their root causes and seek to eliminate them in the most practicable and economic way. According to Adam, there is nothing worse than an educational administrative system that fails to make realistic appraisals of the balance sheet of education; that fails to measure present policies against possible outcomes.[28] Have large sums of money been expended for very small results? Have there been wastages in educational

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[27]J. K. Galbraith, "A Positive Approach to Economic Aid," Foreign Affairs, XXXIX (April, 1961), 444-457.

[28]R. S. Adam, "The Cost of Educational Reform," Educational Panorama, V (April-June, 1963), 10-11.

spending? Has money been spent in projects to benefit only a small proportion of the population? Are present educational facilities utilized to the optimum? How much of the educational expenditures really promotes economic development and how far do they fit into the rest of the economic development plans? Wrong decisions in these directions might have been responsible for some of the problems now besetting Nigerian education.

The posts of Ministers of Education are often in the hands of political figures, and this was designed to provide a kind of leadership which would give educational policies nationalistic overtones peculiar to Nigeria. But the people who have always filled these posts were often ignorant of educational theories outside of their "good old school days." In the Western Region, for example, it is easy to associate progressive steps in education with the short spans when intellectual persons occupied the office of Minister of Education. Ready examples of the Universal Primary Education Scheme, the re-organization of supervisory staff of voluntary agencies, the primary school merging scheme, the regulation of school fees in secondary schools and teacher training institutions, and the abolition of competitive publication of school certificate results can here be given. Some ministers often owe more loyalties to their denominational

churches than to their nation or their region. Apart from these, there have been too frequent changes of governments or at least of Ministers of Education to make educational policies consistent or continuous.

Nigerian educational administrators are, unlike British civil servants, too bureaucratic and often slaves to the "General Orders." They are too inward looking, suffering from a sort of ethnocentric mentality stemming from their loyalty to the British system, which was the system they passed through, and the only one they know. They hardly care to know whether other educational patterns could have been provided at less cost to the country. As early as 1958, France, for example, still had over 24,000 one-room, one-teacher schools; her rural population was about 47 per cent of the entire population.[29] France solved this problem by building intermediate central schools for 11- to 13-year old ex-pupils of groups of elementary satellite schools. This solution could have been studied by Nigerian educational administrators for possible adaptation. To solve a similar problem, the United States and Canada adopted the daily bus transportation system, and Russia attempted to integrate her education with productive labour and has thus improved

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[29]UNESCO/IBE, Facilities for Education in Rural Areas (Publication No. 192), Paris/Geneva, 1958, p. 29.

the quantity and quality of her rural education. The Russian system did off-set the money-outlay on educational provision by the productivity of students still in school.

Nigerian governments continue to worry about shortage of qualified teachers. They often cry for foreign aid in teaching personnel as an urgent solution to this problem. On the other hand, they do not try to make teaching attractive to indigenous Nigerians; neither do they make the best use of the qualified teachers they are now struggling to hold. Even in much more developed countries, quantitative educational expansion in the form of bulging enrolment is being balanced by qualitative expansion in the form of changing teaching methods and diversified courses, and new teacher-recruitment drives. For example, lecture loads of teachers in Sweden are three times as high as those of university professors who supplement their teaching duties with research and administration. In New Zealand, married women are enticed back to teaching with attractive salaries adjusted for years spent in child-rearing. In Canada, similar salary adjustments are made for years spent in industry or in the armed services. In Denmark, engineers are paid for part-time teaching in the high schools. United States educators are actively experimenting with television, teaching machines, large lecture classes and twelve-month

university years. In the Netherlands, bursaries for teacher trainees and tax-benefits for their parents are on the increase.[30] Most of these resource-saving devices can be used with success in Nigeria if our administrators knew about them. At least, if introduced in the more urbanized areas, they could release more teachers and equipment for more rural areas.

Is there not a lack of adequate educational planning? Since Ashby, Nigerian governments have wholeheartedly believed in manpower assessments as a means to development planning. Gauging manpower requirements many years ahead is admittedly a difficult thing in a society which is developing very rapidly and where the speed and direction of technological change is equally rapid. Besides, Nigeria depends more or less on imported technology. However, it appears that Nigeria does not fully understand the limitations of the manpower approach to planning. As Bowman reveals, manpower planning creates and aggravates dysfunctional inflexibilities associated with the diploma mentality and certification for entry to various types of job and career channels. Also, if manpower plans are taken too seriously, they ramify into detailed controls that discourage innovation in

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[30] W. Elley, "A Comparative Study of Educational Planning," School Progress, XXXIII (February, 1964), 27-29.

institutional arrangements for human resource development.[31] Most of these dysfunctionalities have appeared in Nigerian education (as Chapter III shows), and because the masses are illiterate, it takes a pretty long time for pressures to build up to break down the planning models and the standards. To make matters worse, the diploma mentality does not work at par for everybody who wants a job. It has been shown that the degree of education a Nigerian has correlates highly not only with his intelligence but also with the income and wealth as well as the religion of his parents, and certainly with his nearness to urban and therefore educational centres. Scholarships and bursaries might exist on paper to benefit brilliant children of the poor, but these have not always managed to "reach" deserving pupils. Access to well-paid jobs is often reserved for family connections.

In any case, it may not be too difficult to reconcile Nigerian attempts at manpower planning with the occurrence of unemployment and under-employment; the latter visible in the form of persons voluntarily working part-time or seasonally, and invisible or disguised in the form of persons working at jobs that do not permit

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[31]Mary J. Bowman, "Facts and Fallacies in Educational Planning: Perspectives on Education and Development," International Development Review, VI (September, 1964), 3-7.

the full use of their skills; people with abnormally low earnings; or persons employed in establishments or economic units where productivity is abnormally low.[32] The petty street trader who, perhaps, has great entrepreneurial potential but lacks a substantial capital outlay to expand his wares is under-employed. Many market women (especially those who sell food crops) and most farmers become virtually unemployed during the long dry seasons - for lack of simple knowledge of irrigation and of water conservation. Many offices are full of surplus employees, mostly cousins or relatives of ministers or ministerial aides who "cannot" be dismissed. Many employed people deliberately work below their capacity mainly because they are not evaluated in terms of some standard income or productivity, but also because they think they are giving room for others to be employed. There are several university graduates who cannot find work in their occupational specialties. It appears that the official policy connives at underemployment, particularly in agriculture as it temporarily appears to prevent the movement of people into other sectors of the economy that are not prepared to absorb them.

It is one thing for administrators to know what is

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[32]S. Cohen, "A Note on Underemployment," International Development Review, VI (September, 1964), 19-21.

right for them to do; it is another for them to have enough conviction and courage to overcome their socio-political prejudices. Balogh observes that:

> In the civil services and universities, income levels, governed by the traditional standards of feudal or expatriate colonial oligarchy, provide no clue to the relative rates of investment in the 'people.' They reflect not the relative actual productivity, usefulness, experience or knowledge of the individual but the injustice of the system.33

A legislative bill which proposed a 10 per cent cut in the salaries of legislators and senior civil servants fell for lack of co-operation from the people concerned. Doctors have constituted themselves into a monopoly and are able to demand a high pay, despite the fact that they receive high cash incomes from and devote greater attention to private practice. We cannot, therefore, blame college graduates who refuse to teach; apart from the low social status of teachers, their salaries are much below the market equilibrium of their qualifications.

Until Nigerian governments fix their salaries and wages realistically, making differences in earning reflect differences in productivity, they cannot guide students successfully into fields of study. Students, particularly in higher education, would naturally choose

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33T. Balogh, "The Economics of Educational Planning: Sense and Nonsense," Comparative Education, I (October, 1964), 5-17.

social sciences and humanities for many reasons. These were the fields pursued by present political leaders and administrators who now command a high prestige. It is, therefore, easy to associate these studies with government work or administration (that is, decision making), with urban residence rather than "outstations," and with the "white collar." Many people study law not only because they want to practise law, but because the legal pursuit looks like an excellent training ground for a political career - "the only ancilliary mobility mechanism outside the schools."[34] There are not many industries at present which need engineers and technicians, and thus, there is no effective demand for others than clerks. But pay-differentials can point to future needs. Nigerians have a built-in notion of quick returns to investments, and there is therefore a reluctance for students to go into courses with long duration, especially since these courses are also often more expensive than the humanities. Besides, Nigerians (and all Africans at that) have a spiritual as opposed to a material culture. Mphalele says:

> Africans gravitate toward people, not toward things as Europeans do. When an African goes on holiday, he doesn't go climbing mountains

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[34]Foster, loc. cit.

> or staring at waterfalls or tearing across landscapes: he goes to see people.[35]

It thus demands extra cash inducements to direct Nigerian students into a study of the physical sciences, and the administration must realize this. An optimum utilization of labour or of personnel probably would not be effected until secondary schools are able to focus much of their education on science and technology and their graduates find careers in related occupations rather than shifting to the first office jobs offered them.

One further area where Nigerian educational policy makers and administrators succumb readily to socio-political forces is what Nicholls has called "the show-case project, which typically sacrifices the intangibles of human development on the altar of brick and metal."[36] Schools and other educational buildings are erected at excessive costs by an administration which thinks only of elaborate building standards, making no use of cheaper local materials, including community labour. Either because of a newly-found national pride or more because of the understandable struggle for Pan-African leadership,

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[35]E. Mphalele, "African Culture Trends," in African Independence, ed. Peter Judd (New York: Dell Publishing Co. Inc., 1962), p. 112.

[36]W. H. Nicholls, "Accommodating Economic Change in Underdeveloped Countries," American Economic Review, XLIX (May, 1959), 156-168.

the entire country is drained of taxes, and in the name of starting economic development projects at locations which give promise of quickest returns to initial stimuli, public expenditures are concentrated in the capital city and a few other favourable localities. In practice, these investments have been in palatial public buildings or boulevards which contribute little or nothing to the development process. Often these are given magnificent names like "Queen Elizabeth Road," "National Hall," "Palace Hotel," and are what state visitors must see. A rapid economic development programme demands that wastes of this type must be completely eliminated. A UNESCO study suggests that the elimination is faster when the administrative body is made up of sociologists who study the causes of the wastage, economists who determine its volume, and educators who propose means to remedy it work together.[37]

Adult education is grossly neglected, and hence, it has been difficult for agricultural extension to effect substantial increases in yields. There is a sparsity of educational and training opportunities outside the schools. Most industrial concerns and factories in Nigeria are expatriate-owned establishments which have

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[37]UNESCO, Education and Agricultural Development, Freedom from Hunger Campaign Basic Study No. 15 (Paris, 1964), p. 29.

been given excessive inducements including tax-free importation of raw materials and five-year company-tax holidays. There is apparently no limit as to what amount of profits they can repatriate into their home countries. Yet, under the present arrangements, they have no responsibility whatsoever for the training and education of the labour they employ. If all factory workers become literate, their productivity increases, and the cost of the literacy programme in the factories can be paid off in a short time. The financial burden of training and retraining employed manpower can actually and fairly be transferred from the state to the employing industries who will recover it later in the additional efficiency of their labour force. The state can then conveniently deal with the workers in the public services and their families as well as those adults who are privately employed. If everybody becomes literate, more informed and, hence, more productive, the state itself stands to gain through a decreased outlay on police and on keeping peace and order. The alternative is for the factories to pay education taxes.

The problems of rural-urban migration and the unemployed school leavers are caused by socially and economically dysfunctional attitudes. It is easy to say these have resulted from the youths' dislike of manual

work and lack of initiative and blame the schools which gave them only a literary education. Nigerian youths, however, do not necessarily prefer salary earning through office work to self-employment. The fact that several adult Nigerians definitely prefer to remain local craftsmen rather than employed workers in factories disproves this. Portmann says:

> The average Nigerian definitely has an individualistic bent of mind, opposed to any form of collectivization. He prefers being his own master at a small stand with a moderate income to occupying a more remunerative position in a larger concern.[38]

A survey of Nigerian secondary schools today will show that very many able students are much more interested in the natural and biological sciences and mathematics than in the purely literary subjects because these are the fields in which one can work independently of the government and outside the public civil service if only there were opportunities. The failure of the secondary technical and trade schools to attract enough and better students may be attributed to poor organization and inefficient administration. In a country where schools have always been academic with little interest in any laboratory or shop activity, it would be difficult to plan a technical and vocational curriculum and call it a

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[38]H. Portmann, "A Report from Nigeria," Swiss Review of World Affairs, XIV (April, 1964), 9-10.

school, especially at a time when prospective pupils are still lured by the prestige as well as the security of the "white collar" job. It has also been difficult to find teachers for such schools who can teach the technical subjects, except that which is purely theoretical. Even if teachers were available, we cannot comfort trainees that they are training for employment in jobs to be available in an indefinite future. Two systems of education, one for the masses and one for the élite, were successful in England and in Germany as well as in pre-war Japan because the social class structure was very rigid in these countries, and the working classes did not press for more education nor aspire to higher positions than there was room for. This cannot be said of Nigeria.

It is unrealistic to think that in a Nigeria of the 1960's, even sons of farmers would sentence themselves to traditional agriculture if they could possibly avoid it. Can we expect teachers to educate children for a rural community who themselves do not feel part of that community? These teachers know that the acquisition of certificates and diplomas through passing the prescribed examinations is the only open door to upward social and occupational mobility - barring other socio-political factors. They, therefore, neither make attempt to supplement the acquisition of knowledge through books

with learning through observation and action nor attempt to relate what pupils learn in classrooms to the realities of their everyday life. The rural parents, themselves, are not worried if teachers make no attempt to give their children a liking for manual work. All they demand of the schools is to prepare their children for a way of life and a standard of living much better than theirs. As the Addis Ababa Conference states:

> The school leaver expects a higher standard of living than his farmer father, a better house, pure water and easy access to medical and other public services. He is willing to drive a tractor or a lathe, but can hardly be expected to respect the back-breaking energies with meagre output yields, which are forced upon his father through lack of modern equipment.[39]

Designing a different and, perhaps, more practical curriculum for rural students is, therefore, largely out of the question. Where do we draw the line between rural and urban? Even Ibadan, the largest native city in Tropical Africa, has been referred to as "an overgrown village with no amenities."[40] Greater status and rewards are given in Nigeria today to occupants of "white collar" posts as well as those who have passed through the portals of essentially academic institutions. Even if the

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[39]UNESCO, Final Report of the Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa. Addis Ababa, 15-25 May, 1961, p. 11.

[40]T. Balogh, "Misconceived Educational Programmes in Africa," Universities Quarterly, XVI (June, 1962), 243-249.

academic curriculum gives rise to greater drop-outs among extremely rural children, these children should be given their fair trial in the competition for the great "prizes" in terms of élite membership, "big wigs" in society, and financial rewards until the occupational and economic status structures of Nigerian life encourage special agricultural, practical and craft orientation in rural education. The fastest and perhaps, the only fundamental solution is what Balogh calls "rural renascence," that is, a modernization of rural life.[41] This calls for sweeping measures such as land reforms (where individual land ownership is essential for improvement), agricultural research and extension services, widespread rural community programmes, and effective utilization of rural labour in building roads, irrigation schemes, houses and schools, and other programmes that make rural life more productive and attractive. As the UNESCO study puts it, people must see a positive reason for remaining in the rural areas.[42] As the French research stations in their former West African colonies have proved, mixed farming with draught animals is possible; tsetse resistant breeds of cattle could be reared; and forest areas could be used intensively without the threats of soil exhaustion

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[41] Ibid.

[42] UNESCO, Education and Agricultural Development, p. 26.

and erosion. These, supplemented with increased use of fertilizers and better markets, better farming methods and better strains of seeds would lead to higher agricultural outputs and enhance the prestige of working on the land.

The Eastern and Western Regions of Nigeria do recognize the need to bring about rural progress and thereby offer a partial solution to the school leavers' problem. They have, therefore, tied up over 8 per cent of their total current six-year development budget on the Israeli type of farm settlements which would serve only a few thousand families. This is a glaring example of a political showpiece, or at least, an administrative blunder of copying without adaptation. Each settler's farm will consume about £3,000 of government capital, and serious doubts have been raised whether this large capital outlay would not totally ruin any attempts to make these farms models for local farmers to copy. Besides, this scheme expects the settlers' wives to assist their husbands on the farm, and the marketing of farm products, traditionally entrusted with the women, is to be done by multi-purpose co-operatives. Wives of settlers will thus have to be oriented towards the performance of new roles - a not-too-easy job. There are also doubts as to whether an income high enough to

enable the settlers to repay the government loans and still have a comfortable living would not induce the use of hired labour and hence the emergence of a class of under-paid labourers working under higher-income farmers. Also, under present extended-family arrangements, high incomes would necessarily wink at relatives to join the settlers thereby nullifying the gain in their standard of living.[43] Perhaps it is too early to judge the success of this scheme.

The Role of Foreign Aid

A lot of the administrative inefficiencies which have resulted in dysfunctionalities in Nigerian education were caused by a lack of specialized personnel to meet the demands of educational services. There is a special need for statisticians specialized in education; technicians in general, including low-cost tropical architectural designers; teacher trainers; economic and educational planners; experts in school administration and financing; and experts in supervision techniques. Foreign aid can serve a necessary need in supplying personnel who can fill immediate vacancies and help to train Nigerian substitutes; it can also help to finance

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[43] See M. E. Kreinin, "The Introduction of Israel's Land Settlement Plan to Nigeria," The Journal of Farm Economics, XLV (August, 1963), 535-547.

the training of Nigerians abroad in fields where home institutions are lacking or deficient. Since Nigerian independence, a great deal of useful aid has come to the country from various advanced countries of the world to help in developing its universities, teacher training institutions, and secondary, technical and vocational education. The United States, West Germany, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and Canada have made significant contributions in this respect. Donating agencies also included the Ford Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the American Agency for International Development, the American Peace Corps, the U.S. National Science Foundation, the U.K. Teachers' Union, the U.K. Department of Technical Cooperation, the Nuffield Foundation, the United Nations and its subsidiary, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. The aid has also come in various forms - in scholarships to Nigerians, in cash (in the form of research grants), in expert personnel, and in materials. In 1960-61 alone, this amounted to £1,162,082 in money, 490 scholarships and 115 experts.[44]

Much more foreign aid has gone into other avenues outside of education, however. Large movements of

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[44]S. E. A. Akinsulure, "Foreign Aid to Educational Development in Nigeria" (unpublished M.A. dissertation, School of Graduate Studies, University of Toronto, 1963).

foreign capital have gone into building roads, railways,[45] ports, textile mills and other factories - all visible "consumption goods," meant to win the much-sought-after friendship of Nigerian politicians. The capital was not used to build schools and train personnel; and even though it increased production, the production mechanisms were run by foreigners while most Nigerians crowded the cities, looking for jobs that demanded skills they did not by any means possess. Much of the foreign aid laid emphasis on the production of primary goods, especially the extraction of exhaustible natural resources like oil, tin and columbite, which can achieve a significant increase in national income, but can hardly solve the problem of utilizing the surplus labour that can possibly be withdrawn from agriculture without reduction in output - let alone finding employment for a growing population. Moreover, the aid has come from several agencies which hardly co-ordinated their activities. Most of the agencies were actually in competition with one another for political or prestige reasons. By dictating the tune as a condition for paying the piper, many of the donors have aided Nigeria only on their own terms - and this at

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[45]The Bauchi Railway Extension for example, has been financed largely with foreign aid despite the fact that expert engineers and economists had sincerely doubted its economic feasibility.

best, disrupted any planning programmes that might exist.

Advanced countries sometimes think of aid to Nigeria in terms of two-year-stay technical experts "who know the answers." Invariably, the only knowledge some of these "experts" have about Nigeria is its location somewhere in Africa, maybe "south of India." Some think of it as a land of eternal jungles and of poor and primitive people. There is little understanding of Nigerian history, traditions and national aspirations. Everything back home must be superior to anything Nigerian. Many such experts thus see in Nigerians a people to lead and possibly drive, not a subtle society to live with and understand in order to help them. Such "experts," who knew only their own culture and gave weight only to their own value system have not been very useful in designing a truly functional Nigerian educational system.

There is no doubt that if overseas teachers and other technical experts are carefully selected and exposed to the best possible preparation, they can contribute a lot to Nigerian educational development, especially if they are put to work at strategic nerve centres of the education system. In spite of the fact that American teachers in Nigeria require several adjustments - to educational terminology, to importance of school leaving examinations as well as to life in a boarding house and a

single sex school - Bigelow notices that most of the people recruited into the Peace Corps were not fully qualified professionally or committed to teaching as a profession, and these cannot be expected to contribute much that is expert to the needed processes of educational reforms. Most of them were fresh college graduates, of 20 or 21 years of age, who have hardly ever stayed away from their parents, and who, therefore, lacked "the seasoning that comes with experience and maturity."[46] The only preparation they had for their assignment was a 12-week crash programme covering about 730 hours: 200 of these spent on area studies about Nigeria; 100 on American and international studies; 130 on overseas preparations which "indoctrinated" the volunteers to be true Americans, and therefore "different" from Nigerians; and only 300 hours on the theory and practice of "the strange and wonderful world of teaching."[47] The 12-week training course is part of the volunteers' two-year contracts, which means that they leave Nigeria soon after they have learnt to function (however poorly) in an originally unfamiliar situation. More than anything

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[46]K. W. Bigelow, "Problems and Prospects of Education in Africa," The 1964 Inglis Lecture at Harvard University published as Education and Foreign Aid (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), pp. 67-68.

[47]"Peace Pearl Harbour: Volunteers for Nigeria," The Times Educational Supplement, November 16, 1962, p. 634.

else, this adds to the rapid staff turnover problem that already besets the schools.

Many of the foreign scholarships to Nigerians have done more evil than good to the Nigerian educational system. The African Scholarship Program of American Universities (ASPAU), for example, merely robs Nigerian universities of several of their able potential undergraduates only to give them American degrees which are much undervalued in comparison with local degrees.[48] Most of the "been-tos" never become completely re-adjusted to life in Nigeria when they return. Besides, we cannot expect overseas institutions to design particular courses of study that would be suitable to the Nigerian environment. As Hillman notices, when there is a dire need, say for elementary training in farm accounting and management techniques of research or in extension services, Nigerian students might be plunged immediately into advanced courses to receive training which in many cases is not only inappropriate but is also non-communicable to those in need back home.[49] A great deal of attention is also required in selecting suitable candidates for overseas awards.

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[48]F. Harbison, "A Strategy for Aid to Foreign Education," College Board Review, LV (Winter, 1964-65), 13-17.

[49]J. S. Hillman, "Problems of Increasing Agricultural Productivity in Less Advanced Countries," The Journal of Farm Economics, XLIII (1961), 320-332.

It appears that the mere fact that Nigeria can always ask for aid at anytime has closed its eyes to much needed reorganization of its educational and economic institutions towards better efficiency, greater economy and higher degree of functionality. Also, lavish amounts of scarce resources have been spent on setting up embassies in countries with whom it has no trade relations, no citizens to look after, and no necessary diplomatic business to transact, but from whom it may look forward to one type of aid or another. Nigeria is developing at a time when no nation in the world actually feels safely rooted enough as a world power to be in a position to drag out less fortunate brothers from the abyss of poverty. The shortage of teachers of science and mathematics as well as other technical subjects is worldwide. Studies in Comparative Education and in Education for International Understanding are at too young a stage for their graduates to show any significant impact on societies outside their own. Today, for example, Britain battles with the "pound" and with her economic and balance of payment problems. Only recently, the Robbins Commission[50] showed that with only one-quarter of her undergraduates female, and that same fraction of children

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[50]Great Britain, Higher Education: Report of the Committee Appointed by the Prime Minister under the Chairmanship of Lord Robbins, 1961-63 (London: H.M.S.O., 1963).

of manual workers, Britain is yet far from providing equality of educational opportunities. America has her internal problems of racial integration and of urban renewal, and of course, her political ambitions have always led her to put educational and economic aid in the same package. Russia's latest school reforms have not solved her problems of agricultural productivity, and even for her food she has to look anxiously and pleadingly beyond the iron curtain. China is just fighting to show the world that she can be different and powerful even within the Communist world, and of course, her emergence from under-development is too recent to make much difference on the poverty of her teeming millions. Canada is perched between a cultural-spiritual "colonization" by Britain and an economic exploitation by America, apart from having to struggle with problems of brain-gain, brain-drain and full employment. In fact, it is too often forgotten that economic development does not result solely from particular institutional and political conditions. The long-echoed "success" of Britain as the leading world power has failed to stand the test of time. The peculiar historical, geographical and social conditions which gave rise to economic growth in America through capitalism were essentially different from those that evolved Russian growth through communism. All these indicate

that Nigeria must struggle to fight for her own salvation as much as possible. That is why a drastic reform of Nigerian education in the light of her national pursuits is long overdue.

Summary

Nigerian education has not functioned adequately enough in respect of post-independence demands made upon it. In this chapter, we have ascribed these dysfunctionalities to several causes. Foreign (largely British) educational systems have been copied with little or no adaptation to Nigeria's peculiar geographical, socio-political and historical background. Nigerian educational planners and administrators still ply within the orbits of their colonial educational heritage, and the British image continues to loom large on Nigerian education. Educational administration in itself is largely inefficient, and policy formulators are often ignorant about the malfunctioning of the system, that is, ignorant of possible better organizational alternatives. Education has been mostly used to further political ends, and not specifically planned to run parallel with economic development and social change. Research into educational and sociological problems is virtually absent; little has been done to improve the productivity of employed manpower; and the

school system itself needs some administrative and organizational reforms. By and large, schemes to reform Nigerian education have hardly looked beyond the realm of education *per se* towards other sectors of the economy as well as the social traits and habits of Nigerians. More than these, foreign aid and assistance are essential to develop Nigerian education, but up till now, these have not been directed into avenues where they are most essential and where they are likely to be most productive.

CHAPTER V

SOME REFORM PROPOSALS

Chapter IV attempted to diagnose Nigeria's educational ills. We shall now try to prescribe a "cure" for these ills. We have chosen as a good place to start, an evaluation of the "treatment" now being given to Nigerian education in response to the recommendations of the Ashby Commission Report and the Conference of African States on the Development of Education. Other reform proposals include the development of formal education, the development of employed manpower, the reorganization of educational administrative and policy-making hierarchies, and some definite and necessary programmes of research.

An Appraisal of the Ashby Commission and the Addis Ababa Conference Approaches to Educational Planning

When in May, 1964, the Nigerian National Universities Commission recommended that the enrolment in Nigeria's five universities should be increased to a total of 10,000 full-time students by 1967-68, and that some three-quarters of these should be following programmes

in science, engineering and medicine (3,000 in pure science, 2,000 in engineering, 1,000 in medicine, 1,250 in subjects connected with agriculture, forestry and fisheries, 3,000 in veterinary science, and only 1,400 in arts),[1] it was a natural sequel to the recommendations of the Ashby Commission. Since 1960, the Ashby Report has been an indispensable document for Nigerian governments and administrators, and it seems that to gain any consideration at all, any further proposals for reforms should be thought of in terms of Ashby. To be sure, the Report raised some far-reaching problems which were hardly ever thought of before and most of the educational proposals, which, if strictly followed, would help to set the Nigerian educational system on a functional path are listed here:

i. "An injection of remedial education" should be given to some 8,000 primary and secondary school teachers many of whom have only the most meagre of qualifications. Such education should take the form of short in-service refresher courses.

ii. A new teacher training scheme offering a minimum qualification for secondary school teachers (that is, a three-year post-school certificate training)

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[1] "Report of the National Universities Commission," Africa Diary, May 30-June 5, 1964, p. 1777.

should be created, with an annual output of 3,000.

iii. Grade II Colleges which should train primary school teachers should have an annual output of 18,000, trained up to school certificate level with teaching certificates.

iv. Teachers of practical and manual subjects, about 500 a year, should be trained in technical institutes.

v. The secondary school intake should be more than double (with annual intake increased from 12,000 to 30,000 pupils a year). The secondary school would be terminal for some; others would go on to some intermediate training; while others would continue to sixth form studies with a view to entering universities.

vi. Student places in universities should be increased to 7,500 by 1970, and these students should be given a more diversified and more flexible education than found in the British system. African studies, commerce and business administration, teaching, engineering, medicine, agriculture and extra-mural studies should be given priorities as there are little opportunities in Nigeria for training on-the-job in these fields. Emphasis should be on the practical side, and some of the courses can be sandwiched between theory and practice in offices

and factories. Medical courses should emphasize public health, preventive medicine and paediatrics.

vii. Degree courses should be given in education to produce about 800 graduate teachers a year. A small minority of these would require concentrated training in a narrow field for sixth-form teaching, while others would require a degree based on a general curriculum.

One particular merit of the Ashby Report was the survey of the need for high-level manpower which would enable Nigeria to carry out its programme of economic development, which was made by Professor Frederick Harbison. This enabled the Commission to be precise as regards their recommended output of each level of education. However, Harbison's statistics were open to question (and no one would blame him for this).[2] As an economist, Harbison should have attempted to include a price and costing system for his classes of manpower in relation to need as a guide for Nigerian governments which should completely overhaul their wage and salary

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[2]Harbison himself, elsewhere, admits his questionable statistics but blames this on inaccurate population censuses "which only the political scientist rather than the demographer can best explain," and "the prevalence of a subsistence economy where little cash is used and trade consists of market women swapping beans for corn." F. Harbison, "A Strategy for Aid to Foreign Education," College Board Review, LV (Winter, 1964-65), 13-17.

structure. Moreover, Vaizey has reason to question Harbison's use of Egypt as a "bench-mark" for Nigeria's needs.[3] Egypt, apart from being a nation of farmers (65 per cent) and an underdeveloped country with limited resources, is in many respects different from Nigeria, particularly in manpower needs. Harbison himself points out that Egypt is semi-literate in terms of the proportion of its children who go to elementary school, but it has a larger number of highly skilled people than it can use.[4]

It must be remembered that the Ashby Commission was concerned mainly with post-school certificate and higher education in Nigeria, and hence much emphasis was put in that section. Teacher training programmes and secondary schools were mentioned only in so far as they would affect higher education. An unprecedented expansion of higher education as a prerequisite for rapid technological and managerial improvement relies upon the expansion of the education system as a whole. Vaizey

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[3]J. Vaizey, "Education in African Economic Growth," in Economic Development for Africa South of the Sahara, ed. E. A. G. Robinson (London: Macmillan & Co., 1964), Chapter 12.

[4]Egypt has more students in universities than Britain and twice as many in secondary schools and higher education as West Germany - and hence, an alarmingly high rate of unemployment among university graduates. F. Harbison, "Education for Development," Scientific American, CCIX (September, 1963), 140-147.

calculates that to get ten people out of the university system, there have to be 20 to 30 people in the academic streams of the secondary education system; and to make the secondary education system viable, the primary schools have to be adequate. Consequently, an increase in the number of engineers would involve the expansion of the system as a whole.[5] Thus, the question of educational priorities is still largely left with Nigerian governments. If greater attention is given to the post-secondary sector as a means of providing the high-level skilled manpower, it will induce a greater enthusiasm throughout the education system. Children would tend to remain at schools for longer periods than formerly, and at greater costs to the governments and to their parents. And where would the money come from? The Report did not talk much about voluntary or "forced" drop-outs from the school systems, and the employment problems of all young school leavers.

Producing 3,000 Grade I and 1,800 Grade II teachers each year would not alone solve Nigeria's educational problems. If the increase in the number of teachers would be accompanied by a similar increase in the number

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[5]J. Vaizey, "Education, Training and Growth," an address delivered at the Conference on Educational Finance, Institute of Education, McGill University, September, 1964 (mimeographed).

of training colleges, it would drain off all Nigeria's investment in education; if these teachers were located to teach in as many primary and secondary schools as we would expect to have at the rate of less than 200 pupils per school, their influence would still not be felt. This means that something concrete must be done about the organization and administration of the schools and teacher training colleges. The Commission recommended that sixth-form work should be done in secondary schools - even as small as these are at present, and as wasteful as maintaining them has been. Selecting a few secondary schools which should be encouraged to develop sixth forms can also make these "lucky" schools prestige schools, just as National Secondary Schools consisting initially of only sixth forms which the Commission opposed. If Ashby recommended intermediate training for about 5,000 annual secondary school leavers, and sixth-form work for 3,000, cannot the 8,000 train together in multi-purpose institutes or polytechnics whether or not they do academic or technical practical work; whether or not they intend to go on to higher education? If Nigeria needs about 3,000 technicians each year, cannot technical "electives" be introduced into the secondary school curriculum thus making it easy for secondary graduates to learn on the job instead of in expensive technical and

vocational schools? Universities are not the exclusive preserves of degree students; technicians can definitely be produced in Nigeria's five universities, all of which are now operating below capacity. It must be that Ashby forgot that the few technical institutes that there are at present are grossly under-staffed and under-pupiled.

The Conference of African States on the Development of Education held at Addis Ababa in May, 1961, and at which Nigeria was represented, also made certain recommendations that are certainly relevant to Nigeria, viz.:

i. The establishment and further improvement of an educational planning machinery and the integration of the educational plan into the national development plans.

ii. A continued concentration on the improvement and expansion of teacher training at the first and second levels as the starting point for educational development in Africa.

iii. A continued priority to be given to secondary education, but also a special attention to adult education programmes.

iv. Initiation or expansion of research into the techniques of teaching languages, in the mother tongue and in the other languages. A second language of

wide communication should also be taught.

v. Organization of a study of systems of administration and supervision to get the best returns on educational investments.

Several other resolutions at this Conference are less appropriate to Nigeria of 1965, let alone a Nigeria of the 1970's and 1980's. It has been shown that stepping up of rural education or relating the curriculum of rural schools more to agriculture and rural life is not advisable for Nigeria as it can hardly prevent the rural-urban migration of educands. The target of educational investments set by the Addis Ababa Conference for sub-Sahara African nations (Table 13) may be suitable for Northern Nigeria's present level of educational development, but certainly not for Eastern and Western Nigeria. The latter two should actually be spending about 50 per cent of their educational expenditures at the secondary level now, making enough organizational and administrative changes at the primary level to reduce present expenditures at that level. The target, however, makes adequate provision for higher education if much of that money goes into educational facilities and equipment rather than buildings and residences, and if courses in medicine, agriculture, engineering and technology are given due preferences.

TABLE 13

TARGET OF EDUCATIONAL INVESTMENTS FOR SUB-SAHARA AFRICAN NATIONS

	1961	1970-71	1980-81
	Cost in millions of dollars (recurring & capital) (percentages in brackets)		
Primary	283.4 (48.5)	537.0 (28.4)	730.3 (28.2)
Second-level	235.7 (40.3)	949.0 (50.5)	1,177.2 (45.2)
Higher	37.5 (6.4)	306.0 (16.3)	562.4 (21.8)
Other	27.8 (4.8)	89.6 (4.8)	123.5 (4.8)
	584.4 (100.0)	1,881.6 (100.0)	2,593.4 (100.0)
	Percentage of Age Group Enrolled		
Primary	40	71	100
Second-level	3	15	23
Higher	0.2	0.4	2

Source: Final Report of Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa, p. 14 of Outline of a Plan for African Educational Development.

This Addis Ababa Conference talked too lightly of African poverty and rate of illiteracy, of the social customs and resistance to change; of agricultural backwardness and rural squalor; of low living standards and periodic hunger; and much more significantly, of the biblical belief in and loyalty to inherited systems of education. It seemed to have connived at the wastages and inefficiencies in the actual operation of the present

system, and implied that a mere injection of foreign and local capital would solve all educational problems. Also, the Addis Ababa Plan would require over five per cent of the national income of each African country committed to education, this rising fast to over 10 and possibly 15 per cent by 1980. At present, only a few African countries are spending in excess of three per cent of their national incomes on education (only the Congo with 5.1 and Uganda, 5.9, spend above 4 per cent compared with Ghana's 1.5, Nigeria's 1.9, Tanzania's 3.0, Malawi's 3.2, and Kenya's 3.3).[6] This would throw African countries too much at the mercy of foreign aid - with all the accompanying consequences. Even if national incomes rise rapidly (and there is no justification that they will), it is doubtful whether the African countries will be able to carry on this programme on their own in the foreseeable future. However, the Conference left it open for each country to make any necessary adjustments in relation to its natural resources and its plans for social, political and economic development - and that Nigeria must do.

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[6] F. Harbison and C. A. Myers, Education, Manpower and Economic Growth (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1964), pp. 45-46.

Development of Formal Education

Nigeria must pay great attention to the development of its formal educational institutions as opposed to apprenticeship and on-the-job training facilities. Strumilin asserts that the most elementary school education is much more beneficial to a worker than a similar period of practical training at the bench. He calculates that the rudimentary instruction gained in one year of primary education increases a worker's productivity on the average by 30 per cent, whereas the improvement in the qualifications of illiterate workers and the increase in their output resulting from a similar period of apprenticeship at a factory is only 12-16 per cent a year, allowing for age, professional experience and technical qualifications. Similarly, the improvement in qualifications resulting from one year's education at school is, on the average, 2.6 times greater than that resulting from one year's apprenticeship. After four years' primary education, a worker's output and wages are 79 per cent higher than those of a first-category worker who has had no schooling. After seven years' study, an office worker's qualifications may be as much as 235 per cent above the lowest level, after nine years' study as much as 280 per cent, and after 13 or 14 years' study,

320 per cent.[7] These Russian postulations have not been put to test in all countries, but they have never been seriously challenged. In most countries, wages are generally "administered," not "market prices," and there may not be any correlation between wages, qualifications and productivity; but certainly, there is a relationship between potential productivity, development motivation and level of educational achievements.

Decisions, however, about the development of formal education and its expansion and long-term planning cannot be made in isolation but must be made in co-operation with economic planning agencies. For example, it is important to know not only the present population position but its projection, including internal migrations, which can significantly affect the education system. The future trends of the gross national economic production must also be used as a basis for educational planning - as these would essentially affect the rural-urban migration (which would necessarily respond to industrial locations and geographical distribution of economic opportunities) and the distribution of intellectual and manual occupations. Moreover, the future needs of the developing economy must be taken into account in the

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[7]S. Strumilin, "The Economics of Education in the U.S.S.R.," UNESCO International Social Science Journal, XIV, No. 4 (1962), 633-646.

plans directed at training and educating Nigerian human resources. Educational priorities must then be made accordingly, and the levels of education that represent an obstacle to economic growth should be identified. Then, national investments in education can be concentrated in the right educational sectors, and national guidance and inducements made to direct pupils into the right channels. For example, it is certain that only a programme of rapid industrialization and diversification of the economy can solve the problem of the unemployed school leavers. Thus, by the year 2000 A.D., only 35 years hence, agriculture will be much less important in its occupational distribution. There is no harm, therefore, if the present educational system tends to emphasize urban-industrial technical-engineering skills as this will avoid the problems and expenses of future retraining. Also, a survey of current unfilled vacancies or those now filled by expatriates in private and public services, as well as expected future demands, may help in estimating the extent of under-provision of present educational facilities. But it demands a strong administrative guidance and counselling to direct students' ambitions and aspirations beyond present opportunities for employment. Platt suggests that students can be encouraged to elect paths of urgent need through subsidies, scholarships

and guidance by parents and professionals, while paths of lower needs can be made less attractive by guidance, tighter admission requirements, and by charging fees to cover full costs.[8]

The creation and expansion of indigenous educational institutions have several advantages. A large number of students can be more cheaply maintained, and curricular emphases can be directed more closely to national and regional needs. Students can be properly integrated with the indigenous society, and no cultural uprooting or social dislocation is involved as in the case of students who were educated in foreign countries. Local projects and research of interest to local communities can be undertaken. Sandwiched courses and work-experience programmes can be arranged, with students producing as they learn. Moreover, if there is no unnecessary duplication of courses in the universities, the choice of colleges by students would be liberal, and this would result in a rapid welding together, and solidifying, of national identity. There is, therefore, an urgent need for educational expansion at all levels. Universal primary education is essential as a matter of expedience. In any case, post-independence Nigerian educational

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[8]W. J. Platt, "Education - Rich Problems and Poor Markets," Management Science, VIII (July, 1962), 408-418.

planners have embarked on an egalitarian type of education that includes universal primary education, but which now provides secondary and higher education for only a small fraction of school age population. That small fraction is also made up of people who can afford the costs involved, not those who can benefit from such education. It is hardly practicable to attempt to reverse this process, and Nigerian governments have taken consolation in the fact that universal primary education has significantly lowered the status and the job expectations of primary school graduates, thus curbing their white-collar orientation. The way out of the dilemma seems to seek a working combination between expansion of secondary school places and a lengthening of the primary school base in order to teach terminal useful vocational courses to those who cannot possibly go on to higher studies. Unless the primary school is long enough, permanent literacy will hardly be achieved by several children who drop out or who leave school after primary education, let alone their acquisition of employable skills.

Whatever be the case, efforts must be made to reduce the bottleneck between primary and secondary levels and the obvious rarification of well-qualified candidates for higher education. The rapid expansion of

secondary education is significant to economic development, and more economic resources should be concentrated on it. Secondary education demands an absolute priority on its own merit for producing the much-needed middle-grade manpower including qualified personnel to staff and thus improve the quality of primary schools. It also demands priority as a prerequisite for the expansion of higher education. At present, there is the greatest need and the greatest shortage at this level.

The importance of teachers to the entire education system cannot be over-estimated, and teacher training demands a great emphasis as well. Nigeria is hardly short of teachers, but it is grossly short of well-trained and qualified teachers. It is not too much if all primary school teachers have at least the equivalent of a full secondary education, and if all secondary school teachers have a university degree or its equivalent. It is encouraging that Grade III Colleges have been closed down in Eastern and Western Nigeria, and that all future teachers would be expected to have at least a Grade II Teachers' Certificate. Facilities must also be provided for existing teachers to obtain higher qualifications.

Nigerians with vocational and technical education are also an urgent necessity to fill existing gaps in skilled manpower, for future positions in industrial

expansion, and to take up administrative posts currently being held by expatriates. There is therefore a need to expand secondary technical and higher education programmes. Because flexibility and adaptability are required to meet possible increased rate of technical change, vocational and technical training should be accompanied by a good general education. It is thus important to have less technical and vocational specialization and to integrate vocational education with the general academic streams of secondary and post-secondary schools.

Attempts should be made to reform the curriculum and teaching methodology in the schools. Formal education should be problem-oriented, not knowledge-oriented. Possession of an education should not be regarded as an end in itself, sufficient to bestow a place of preference in society divorced from practical and manual work to the educand; it should be regarded as a means to an end - that of doing service for the course of progress of society. The approach should, therefore, not be literary and verbal with emphasis on written recall through examinations, but it should be focused entirely on problems, research, projects, experiments and applications. At present, science is not taught in the primary schools. Officials feel that since science is not taught formally in the training colleges, teachers are not generally

competent to teach science to pupils. Science is playing an increasing role in the lives of Nigerian children, and we cannot expect teachers to wait till they have all the specialized science knowledge before they can teach science to the children. The children must be taught to live and function in a rapidly changing world. An intelligent understanding of cause and effect through securing and evaluating authoritative data would help them in adapting their behaviour in a more rational manner rather than merely accepting that thunder is the voice of the gods. A mere knowledge of elementary science will help to develop individuals who are concerned with their environments, and who would always seek to solve the problems of an ever increasing population on limited resources by a wise resource utilization instead of a robber economy. Science can help to develop thinking persons who can make intelligent decisions, who can be open-minded, who would question data and who would seek sufficient information before reaching conclusions. As Moffitt says, children begin to learn about science from the moment they are born; they are learning scientific information from their everyday experiences. All that teachers need to do, therefore, is to clarify the children's concepts; to guide them in making more accurate observations; and to help them to

relate new with past knowledge.[9]

The vernacular should be given a top priority in the education of children. Nigerians can never be able to express themselves in English like people born in the south of England and educated in one of the English public schools, and therefore, they need an effective education in their native language. Darkwa suggests that at least four languages should be made compulsory: the children's vernacular, another African language, preferably Hausa or Swahili, and English and French for international communication.[10] This writer agrees with this suggestion. In the Nigerian situation, the language curricula should be heavily weighted on the children's vernacular, with Hausa (or Ibo or Yoruba in Northern Nigeria) and English also taught at the primary school level. At the secondary school level, Latin and Greek should be changed in favour of French to supplement, but not to replace, extended studies of English and the two Nigerian languages. A knowledge of French is essential as a necessary instrument to Pan-Africanism, especially as that is the official language of many

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[9]Mary Moffitt, "Science for Young Children," The New Era in Home and School, XLV (March, 1964), 69-76.

[10]K. A. Darkwa, "Education for Cultural Integrity: The Ghanaian Case," Teachers College Record, LXIV (November, 1962), 106-111.

African countries, including neighbouring Dahomey, Niger and Cameroun Republics. At the University level, specialized (but optional) instruction should be available in all these languages, and no student, whatever his specialization, should graduate without one or two years of one or more of them.

There should be a drastic revision and restructuring of the secondary school curriculum and organization to include (a) an academic programme in science, arts and technology leading to higher education for those who can benefit from such education; and (b) a terminal general and vocational type of education to the other groups according to their aptitudes, and the needs - present and future - of the economy. This is where guidance and counselling come in to channel students according to their aptitudes and abilities. Until secondary education facilities can be provided for every one, selection procedures must be perfected as much as possible. Nigeria cannot now afford a waste of talent; neither can it afford to waste scarce teaching resources on students only marginally qualified or motivated when well-qualified students are excluded because they cannot pay. It is essential to scrutinize the systems of scholarships, fees, admission requirements, examinations and information mechanisms of what is available to see

whether or not they are achieving the objectives the country really wants.

While examinations drawn and graded by people outside the school system remain the practice, the teachers would continue to teach for the examination, and the pupils would always point all their learning towards the examination. While examinations remain the sole evaluating instrument, everything depends on passing them successfully. Reform may not actually be in immediately abolishing external examinations, but first in repatriating the examination procedures from England and putting them exclusively in the hands of the West African Examinations Council, and also in not making them the exclusive predictor of success in university or in life. The examinations can also be modified to be tests in ability to think and to apply knowledge rather than tests of simple recall. Teachers must be trained to evaluate, and we must seek ways of recognizing the judgements of the teachers on the over-all performance of the children, rather than relying solely on a single examination to make a far-reaching judgement on a question which involves the whole of the students' future.

The teacher in Nigeria is more than a mere teacher; he is a social élite, and he, therefore, occupies a position of great influence. His training must thus

develop in him a capacity to assume the responsibility of his position. He must, for example, be given a solid background for understanding the needs of his changing society, for analysing alterations taking place in community and family structure, and for predicting future developments.[11] Thus, he requires a sound grounding in educational sociology with particular emphasis on contemporary local problems. Teachers-in-training might be asked to undertake a research project on a sociological problem, possibly linked with classroom situations and connections between school and home, indigenous economic organizations and the social structure. All these should be done in addition to the teachers' professional and academic training as well as practice teaching.

The universities should, in their admission policies, bear in mind the manpower needs of Nigeria, and in their degree courses and research projects, they should deploy their forces effectively in the struggle against ignorance, poverty and disease. Nigerian Universities should, true to resolutions at the Tananarive Conference, seek to ensure the unification of Africa by encouraging elucidation of and appreciation for African culture and heritage, and to dispel misconceptions

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[11]A. Curle, "Further Thoughts on Teacher Training," The New Era in Home and School, XLII (January, 1961), 1-4.

about Africa through research and teaching of African studies.[12]

Development of Employed Manpower

The development of formal education will affect not more than 25.2 per cent of the population - that is, the school age (5-14) group. Moreover, the returns to formal education are only in the distant future, as it may take a number of years before products of the schools of today start to yield their potentials. Thus, a point of immediate interest to Nigeria is to direct initial investments into educational activities which, without great cost, will bring about rapid improvements in the economy: for example, training rather than formal education *per se*; vocational, rather than general education. These can be directed towards the key sectors of the economy, especially agriculture and industry. Training for management and entrepreneurship is also very important. We can make full use of existing potentialities, and of foreign personnel to train Nigerian indigenes. We can also more profitably make use of foreign aid in this sector, for on the short run, this

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[12] UNESCO, *The Development of Higher Education in Africa*. The Report of the Conference on the Development of Higher Education in Africa, Tananarive, 3-12 September, 1962, pp. 69-70.

would have the effect of increasing the absorptive capacity of the economy within a short time by raising the standard of living and productivity of the adult population. At a second stage, then, all efforts can be generally directed towards the formal system of education to produce men and women who do not merely possess necessary skills but also a broad outlook and built-in mechanisms for adaptation to rapid changes. Curle calls this type of emphasis "using people to build the resources, and not the resources to build the people."[13]

According to Mason, the essential inputs of development are capital, trained manpower and technology, and they are likely to be self-generating only in an environment in which the population seeks to improve its physical well-being, and in which the rewards of effort are at least roughly proportional to the productivity of effort.[14] This is a call for changes in human motivations and values, and in the socio-political structure, and there is a lot that adult education can do in effecting these. Adult education can give people an incentive to rise above the poverty line, and in rural areas, it can

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[13]A. Curle, "Some Aspects of Educational Planning in Underdeveloped Areas," Harvard Educational Review, XXXII (Summer, 1962), 292-304.

[14]E. Mason, "The Planning of Development," Scientific American, CCIX (September, 1963), 235-244.

help them to move from subsistence production into the market economy. It will definitely enlighten parents to the need to support the education of their children, and an effective adult education can also be used as a means to population control. It must be remembered that over 70 per cent of Nigerians are engaged in peasant, barely-above-subsistence agriculture, in handicraft and in cottage industries. Trade is in the hands of market women and small retail-merchants. All these account for over 75 per cent of total income. Thus, private enterprise plays a large role in Nigeria's economic life, and whatever is done to stimulate activity in this sector will generate more economic development than anything done in the public sector.

Adult education in relation to agriculture deserves a priority. Nigeria needs to increase the quantity and improve the quality of its agricultural output, to diversify the food requirements of its large and rapidly increasing population, and to meet the needs for increased earnings of foreign exchange to help finance a programme of general economic development. It is not enough, however, to know what techniques to apply to obtain increased yields and improved quality; the peasant farmer must be convinced that the drastic change from his traditional methods (which include the age-old communal

land tenure system) will in fact produce increased yields. To convince him requires effective education and demonstration at the village level - not a showpiece, capital-consuming farm settlement scheme. It has been proved that the under-utilization and unemployment of Nigerian educated manpower is due not only to the wrong types of education they have received, but also to the low level of absorptive capacity of the economy which presents little or no opportunity for on-the-job training. A great number of people can, nevertheless, be profitably absorbed into the nation's agricultural industry as agricultural extension workers, community development workers, co-operative scheme advisers or consultants and assistant agricultural officers if given suitable training adapted to their levels of scholastic attainment. If adequate possibilities of promotion are established, thousands of unemployed school leavers who now scorn these types of work would be attracted. This type of employment produces an immediate result on the economy and it goes to help more people rather than isolated "model" farm settlers.

In-service training programmes are also capable of meeting economic needs as fast as, if not faster than formal education. Teachers and school officials, for example, can be trained in guidance and counselling, in

record keeping procedures, and in the introduction of some kind of cumulative permanent records that would focus attention on the developmental aspects of each child's school career. Existing teachers, especially those with only a two-year post-primary school education, can be upgraded through in-service training programmes. Teachers can be taught how to deal with more children, how to conduct class projects and experiments, and how to teach as a team if necessary. Weak teachers can also be helped to teach better. The educational administrative framework has to be reformed making sure that the personnel are adequate and suitable. Inspection and supervision also have to be improved. Short in-service or even pre-service training courses can also be arranged for educational administrators with the aim of preparing them to go on learning, developing and progressing in the profession, not for initial administrative roles; with the hope of developing them into an unpolitical and well-trained officialdom that could make educational planning wise, effective and economical. University campuses, often left unused during the long "summer" vacations can be used for this type of training. The Institutes of Education can be persuaded not only to host, but also to carry out necessary research studies which might help the professional direction of such programmes. The planning,

organization and financing of the programmes can be done jointly by the Institutes of Education and the Ministries of Education. The teaching personnel for such programmes can be recruited by foreign aid and from amongst the better qualified teachers, subject specialists and administrators who would only be too glad to sacrifice part of their holidays for the opportunity to supplement their comparatively modest salary in this way. At the moment, such teachers find it an economic necessity to engage in extra-mural teaching duties and in the drudgery of external examination marking.

In the same way, in-service training programmes and on-the-job training can be carried on in all employing institutions. In these days, when quality seemed to have given way to quantity in the schools; when the supply of school graduates seems to have far outstripped the demand of employment for them; labour exchange and job placement services have functioned less satisfactorily in recruiting the best talents for each vacant job. Each Ministry and each employing factory or industry must therefore be asked to set up in-service training programmes for the labour they employ. The high-level manpower in these establishments can act as performers as well as trainers. It can thus be hoped that eventually, some of these trained workers would leave to set up their individual

establishments making use of their newly acquired skills and/or entrepreneurial abilities. The governments as well as well-established expatriate firms can seek or recruit technical personnel assistance from economically more advanced countries not only to fill critical gaps, but also to train Nigerian counterparts or assistants who possess related skills. Where local training facilities are inadequate, scholarships can be awarded to Nigerians to train abroad in needed skills. It has been calculated that industry in the United States spends over $10 billion per year on training and education of its employees, almost as much as the country spends on formal education, public and private.[15] Most educated employed Nigerians already possess a sound basic academic education and would thus readily and easily respond to training.

It seems, therefore, that after all, effective programmes of in-service training in which employing institutions co-operate may be less expensive and more advantageous to Nigeria than technical and vocational schools which would require in most cases high-cost expatriate teaching personnel and expensive facilities. As Hankin points out, industrial training requires a variety of skilled trade and technical occupation which demand individual training in highly specialized shops

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[15] W. J. Platt, op. cit.

and laboratories, and schools cannot be expected to provide these courses.[16] On-the-job training is better in providing a work-experience programme which relieves school systems of some of the burden of building, equipping and staffing vocational training shops. Such training is also often up-to-date because it is done in connection with actual production jobs under the supervision of trained craftsmen. However, we can save much more in future retraining by introducing vocational and technical programmes into our school curriculum, and thus, on-the-job training can never replace formal vocational schooling of our present school-age children who face an uncertain technological and "automated" future. There is need for communication between school administrators and employers, and between economic and industrial planners and the schools to make the schools aware of changing job needs. Then, apart from the history and geography taught to the students, industry can look forward to future employees who had studied enough economics to be aware of trade and commerce, markets, natural resources and industrial organizations, and who also possess the "industrial virtues" of

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[16] E. Hankin, "Basic Choices in Vocational Education," Educational Executives Overview, II (August, 1961), 34-36.

enthusiasm, dependability, initiative, honesty and loyalty, co-operation and responsibility.[17]

Administrative and Organizational Reforms

It is one thing for planners to plan education in relation to envisaged economic and social development; it is another for the government of the day to sanction its execution. The planning may fail to win acceptance as a programme of action by the political authority. Even if ratified (as was the Ashby Report), political pressures never before envisaged and/or ministerial rivalry or mere lack of co-operation may cause expenditures to depart from its prescriptions. If Nigeria is concerned about breaking loose its rigid conformity to foreign models and to standards of quality and excellence dictated by foreign philosophies and foreign economies; if it wants to induce a shift of enrolment towards fields of study necessary for its growth, its governments will have to go beyond the merely routine supervision of the school system; they must exercise a good deal of leadership.

First and foremost, the governments must seek to influence, through persuasive policy instruments, the

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[17] C. Banks, "What Industry Expects of New Employees," Educational Review (New Brunswick), LXX (January-February, 1956), 28-32.

students' choice of fields. Harbison and Myers say:

> No country today can rely completely upon market forces to provide the incentives for its people to engage in the kinds of activities most critically needed for development. . . . Thus, all countries must take some deliberate measures to influence the allocation of manpower, and these measures may range from outright compulsion to various kinds of financial and non-financial inducements. In general the more rapid the pace of planned development, the more deliberate these measures must become.[18]

In Nigeria where all institutions of higher learning, and the majority of the students they enrol, depend on government subsidies, this is no difficult job. A purposeful scholarship board will set things right. The National Universities Commission should also be given more power in influencing not only the volume of intakes into the colleges, but also the relative emphasis each institution gives to various courses of study. It must also be able to exercise some form of social controls to decrease the ratio of investment per student so that total enrolments can be increased without additional expenditures. Much more money should be spent on laboratory equipment, library materials, teaching aids and classroom space rather than on residences. The governments should also change the wages and salary structures. The nation's talents should be attracted into those fields which are critically significant for the country's development.

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[18]Harbison and Myers, op. cit., p. 175.

The governments provide overhead capital facilities like roads, railways, harbours, power generation and distribution, irrigation and industrial estates which control the geographical dispersion of new private investments. They are responsible for laws and regulations on licences, price controls, company and other taxes, and security issues. Large-scale industries that can employ most unemployed youths cannot possibly be financed by individual families or even pools of private capital domestically available. Most foreign aids are channelled through governments and on their initiative lies the wise deployment of these aids. There is thus probably no limit on the extent to which governments can influence and direct education and educational planning. Efforts and public measures directed towards attracting private foreign capital must be balanced by similar measures to stimulate domestic enterprise. The former can be achieved by political and economic stability, and the latter by encouraging local autonomy and community leadership, spreading the benefits of economic development more widely regionally, and directing more investment into increasing human vigour and productivity - but not necessarily through foreign-run and foreign-directed voluntary-agency educational institutions.

It sounds strange that in a country where there is

such educational demand for all children, only 1.9 per cent of the national income is being spent on education. It has been shown that much of this money and investments run down the drain through lack of planning, poor and inefficient administrative and organizational practices, and an inadequate understanding of the development process. Even if all the wastes can be salvaged by wiser decision making and policy execution, this amount of educational investment cannot provide free primary education for all school age children, secondary education for about one-quarter and higher education for one-fiftieth by 1980 as the Addis Ababa Conference resolved. Far more effort and sacrifices are essential. In a country like Nigeria where over 40 per cent of public expenditure is already devoted to education, educational investments cannot be increased by public expenditures without cutting down on other public services like public health, maintenance of law and order, and even economic development - all of which are presently grossly inadequately provided for. It is true education is essential in Nigeria in any efforts meant to infiltrate, say good health habits among people; but it is also true that if mortality rates fall, investment in education would be spread over a longer life span and thus be more productive.[19] It is possible to improve

[19]For example, the retirement age in the Nigerian civil service has only recently been raised from 55 to 60.

on measures to prevent tax evasion, but in a democratic Nigeria, no government can risk raising taxation far above what voters are willing to pay. The majority of the people live on just above subsistence level, and the income tax revenue of the Federation is only about 12 per cent of national income. Public loans cannot be raised on education because it does not make profit, and the loans and interest charges cannot be easily paid off. External aid looked the only channel of escape, but the dangers involved have been exposed. All these point to the need to keep down costs of education as low as possible through self-help. The only solution to the financial dilemma is to place more responsibility for the costs of education on local authorities who must, therefore, get involved in educational control.[20]

Educational problems and bottlenecks which Nigeria has been facing since independence have been pointed out. Teachers and educational and other administrators are all in short supply. Facilities for the education of women are also limited. Several wastages exist in all aspects of education. All these must be immediately rectified. The Congo Republic has one of the highest numbers of students per 1,000 of population in Central Africa

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[20]This conclusion was reached by F. Benham in "Education and Economic Development in the Underdeveloped Countries," International Affairs, XXXV (April, 1959), 181-187.

(100 as against 116 in Ghana, 91 in Rhodesia, 73 in Uganda, and 57 in Nigeria),[21] but the education has been least effective. There is much rural primary education of very low standard resulting from a complete dispersal of trained staff. Nigeria's very low student number per population also suffers from this defect. All isolated poorly-taught village primary schools can be closed down. By providing transportation facilities where possible, this action will not necessarily reduce the number of primary school places, but larger centralized schools where fewer teachers are used to better efficiency would greatly lessen the demand on secondary schools for primary school teachers. The governments would then be able to redistribute scarce funds into more efficient school operations and save more money for secondary school development.

It looks a rather drastic action to halt the multiplicity of mission activities so that the governments can assume a more efficient control and supervision with a saving on finance, but this has been done in Guinea where the government now refuses the church any role in education. Sekou Toure's government is not

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[21] J. Vaizey, "Education in African Economic Growth," in Economic Development for Africa South of the Sahara, ed. E. A. G. Robinson (London: Macmillan & Co., 1964), Chapter 12.

necessarily anti-Christian (Sekou Toure is himself a Roman Catholic), but it sees education not as an end in itself, but as a tool for the forging of a new national purpose and for the attainment of national goals.[22] It is, however, essential to centralize educational administration into the hands of locally elected school board members from each local government district so as to effect efficient organization and detailed planning of education in relation to economic development.[23] The Ministries of Education can then, through grants-in-aid, coupled with inspection, exercise control over the content and quality of education.

An imbalance exists in the Nigerian educational system that has caused widespread intellectual unemployment, but it is more or less an imbalance that can put a multiplier effect into operation, propelling Nigeria into a generally higher level of education, of civilization and of living and health conditions, and consequently of understanding of local and world problems. Thus,

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[22]D. Scanlon, "Church, State and Education in Sub-Sahara Africa: An Overview," International Review of Education, IX, No. 4 (1963-64), 438-446.

[23]At the moment, Local Authority primary schools, controlled by semi-illiterate committee members of Local Government Councils under virtually untrained Local Education Officers, are even much superior to mission schools in school buildings and equipment, qualification of teachers, and in external examination results.

secondary school expansion should continue at a much faster rate. The immediate expansion should take the form of developing existing schools to three, four, five or more streams instead of one, as this will make possible a more economic use of such trained manpower as there is. The present secondary schools are located in strategic population centres, and if they are small now, it is by choice, not for lack of demand. In any case, if the many secondary schools in the same district are united under the same administrative body as would be the primary schools, more inter-school services can be provided and equipment can be bought in greater bulk. Then it can be hoped that each would develop into large single schools in the nearest future. The use of expatriate teachers, extra allowances to graduate science teachers (an extra £120 per annum in Eastern Nigeria), car allowances to graduate teachers, sponsorships through college, increase in class sizes, and use of college graduates who have not trained as teachers would probably continue for sometime, but these can be stopped quickly if teaching is made attractive to many more people; if it is developed into a profession instead of just another type of work. The sixth form should be much more centralized than at present, however. Teachers for this segment are scarce, and it is essential to ensure that there is a full

utilization of those available. In small grammar schools, the sixth form is often an unsatisfactory unit both for teaching and economy. If secondary schools cannot be easily and rapidly expanded to take up to at least 1,000 students each, it may be advisable to establish separate extra-large sixth-form colleges which would combine shop and vocational training at the intermediate level with pre-college general education, and which would recruit their students from secondary schools by application and recommendation but not by examinations.

Much can be done to reduce the physical luxuries in higher education to save money for secondary school expansion. Post-graduate scholarship awards can be significantly increased as this would save more on expatriate lecturers and professors in the long run. Living in residences may not be made compulsory, and if this is not, several more students can pay their way through college, especially if they are given well-paid employment in farms, industries and even restaurants. On the other hand, scholarships may be awarded in the form of grants or bursaries or revolving loans which might be repaid by recipients over the years after graduation.[24]

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[24]This is not new to the University of Lagos which now has a total loan fund of $6,773.20 for the benefit of poor students who enrol in her medical school. See Federal Nigeria, VII (September, 1964), 9.

Much has been said about giving status and prestige to teachers. One way of giving professional dignity to teaching is to train teachers in universities as many Canadian Provinces and the United States do. Members of similar other professions are trained in universities, and as Swift points out, education of teachers in the university could give impetus to further university attendance to such teachers who, during their training, could have shared in the wider life of the university with its cultural, organizational and social advantages. In contrast to the completely homogeneous associations of the training colleges, the teachers-in-training come in contact with trainees for other professions and can, therefore, become better career advisers to their pupils. Also, the university has a well-stocked library, well-equipped laboratories and a spirit of inquiry with emphasis on research, and it can more effectively apply qualifying standards and of course, attract a staff of high competence.[25] If University Faculties of Education work in co-operation with Ministries of Education, the actual processes of teacher training can be carried out in accordance with the policies of the Minister. Until

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[25]W. H. Swift, "Education of Teachers in the University," in Education (A Collection of Essays on Canadian Education) (Toronto: W. J. Gage Ltd., 1959) II (1956-58), 21-24.

such a scheme can be worked out, however, it seems realistic to centralize teacher education in not more than two or three centres in each region instead of the present 52 in the Northern Region, 133 in the East, 97 in the West, and 5 in Lagos.

No matter what economy is practised in administration and organization, foreign aid and assistance may still be required to develop Nigerian education and economy in the next few years. It is, however, important to avoid the mistake of "asking for the wrong things or the right things in the wrong order of priority."[26] Nigeria may ask for foreign aid to solve its problems of administrative organization and the development of planning units. It requires a corps of foreign educators whose specific qualifications are related to the nature of the tasks of national development: those who can provide high-level consultation to advance educational planning; those who can offer broad consultant and demonstration assistance to the redirection of the education system, injecting into the present system, a structure, content and methods conceived in terms of Nigerian national culture and its development requirements;

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[26]W. J. Waines, "The Role of Education in the Development of Underdeveloped Countries," The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, XXIX (November, 1963), 437-445.

and those who can give specialized operational aid in the balanced expansion of the educational enterprise.[27] Nigerians can also be sent abroad - on foreign scholarships - to receive training which may prove invaluable if properly directed, controlled and timed in relation to the Nigerian stage of national development. The major focus of this training can be directed towards educational planners, administrators, teacher trainers, and of course, architects and school building specialists and research workers who would eventually make use of their much needed skills when they later come back to replace the expatriates. The best results are achieved with university graduates already rooted in their own country, who hold some moderately responsible position, and who only go abroad to specialize in an activity they are reasonably certain to continue upon their return to Nigeria. Moreover, Nigeria at this time needs material assistance like buildings, equipment and teaching aids. Of course, Nigeria can also negotiate for foreign support for its sound economic development programmes; for benefits of modern science and technology in production, through scientific and technical exchanges; for increased trade relations; and for international commodity agreements that may stabilize its commodity prices.

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[27]R. W. Ruffner, "American Educational Aid for National Development," Teachers College Record, LXII (February, 1961), 348-355.

Research Proposals

Education is an under-researched activity anywhere in the world, despite the fact that it is one of any nation's biggest businesses.[28] In Nigeria, about 125,000 persons are employed by the education industry - a figure that exceeds the combined total of all the manpower employed in the country's modern sectors of manufacturing and commerce. It is also an industry that becomes more labour-intensive as it modernizes.[29] Not more than 4-10 per cent of total expenditures on research and development go to education; and in the United States where there is an undying craze for research, educational research claims only one-tenth of one per cent.[30] In an underdeveloped country like Nigeria, however, where mistakes can be very costly, there is the necessity for effective research to undergird and to guide educational policy and practice. The means for carrying out such research can and should take diverse forms - commissions, committees of educators and administrators, survey teams, organizations for gathering and evaluating statistical data, special sections of Ministries of Education and

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[28]Platt, op. cit.

[29]F. Harbison, "A Strategy for Aid to Foreign Education," College Board Review, LV (Winter, 1964-65), 13-17.

[30]Platt, op. cit.

University Institute of Education research projects. The end sought should be the provision of reliable data on which to base a philosophy and a blueprint for both a redirection and an expansion of the existing educational system, consistent with the goals, requirements and resources of the developing nation.

Staff and administrative organizations can bring higher productivity in education. Can new ways of deploying the staff within a school offer a higher effectiveness and lower cost than traditional means? For example, in team teaching, several instructors combine their talents to specialize in the aspects of teaching each performs best. Can this be attempted in Nigerian schools with any degree of success? Can we alter the administrative system of schools in a way to provide specialized inter-school services, thus eliminating duplication by pooling needs sufficiently to enrich the educational offering and equipment? Is there a way whereby the inspectors of education and supervisors can report to the Ministry that a particular school is producing at optimum level while another needs extra help to reach a stated objective in pupil accomplishment? Can we set targets of achievement in classes, or at least in basic subjects? How right are we to apply the same conditions to all teachers and classes regardless of student differences and teacher competence? Do we not

make teachers fixtures in classrooms and make all students conform to them? All these are rich fields for research.

The use of new technologies of education like the television, the radio, teaching machines and programmed texts, teaching aids and new instruction methods should be studied experimentally. Research must find out whether these teacher time-saving facilities can be used to advantage, in what parts of the country, and with what degree of toy-appeal. In the same way, it is essential to find out how many potential and actual teachers there are who might better be employed teaching than doing something else; how to vest teaching with enough prestige; and what salaries would be adequate to attract qualified teaching personnel into the profession.

Foster warns that African countries should concentrate research less on how many schools there are and what they teach, and far more upon what groups are getting formal education.[31] This is a call for a careful study of the ethnic composition of and social groupings in the schools. Similarly, there is a need for sociological and anthropological research to find out old cultures which serve basic human needs and which ought to be preserved,

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[31]P. J. Foster, Review of African Development and Education in Southern Rhodesia by Franklin Parker, Harvard Educational Review, XXXII (Spring, 1962), 228-233.

cherished and encouraged to flourish. The bases of cleavage to cultures which are apparently inimical to progress must also be found and understood before any attempt to change them can be partially or fully successful. It is of utmost importance to find out as well, social factors that affect the demand for, and readiness to support education among different tribes, clans and family groupings as well as religious groups.

There is also need for research in several other areas. It is important to find out the number and destination of school leavers and drop-outs; to identify the gifted and the means of encouraging and developing them; and to discover the home and environmental factors which affect students, the possibilities of developing extensive vocational guidance information sources, the length of education and type of facilities required to teach a given level of skills and to train an effective teacher for a particular type and level of curriculum, the best location for schools and other educational facilities for best results, and the geographical allocation of educational provision which is most effective, bearing in mind urban and rural plans for rapid development.

Educational research of whatever kind cannot function without experiments, and communities, schools,

industrial establishments and the Ministries and offices must co-operate. Under the proposed educational arrangements, the understanding, dissemination and application of research findings should not be anything difficult. Trained school district and Ministry of Education officials can examine the several studies and decide which will be of interest to teachers. Teachers can be instructed to make use of research findings in refresher courses. The Ministries of Education must also budget for research, giving grants to support any activities designed to conduct and integrate research and research findings into school operations.

Summary

The Addis Ababa Conference and the Ashby Commission plans for investment in African (and Nigerian) education are useful development guides for educational reforms in Nigeria. The former, however, must be properly adjusted to Nigeria's present stage of educational and economic development. The Ashby Commission considered education and particularly post-secondary education too much in isolation. Nigerian education must be integrated with economic development programmes. What is required in Nigeria is no longer a piecemeal attempt at reforms; all levels of education, including on-the-job training and adult literacy programmes must be given their due

consideration. Particularly essential in this respect is a scale of priority for educational development, and here we have suggested secondary (including technical and vocational), adult (literacy and in-service programmes), and higher education in that order. As for primary education, even greater enrolment rates can be achieved at much less cost if organizational and administrative arrangements are significantly reformed. Multi-ownership of schools must give way to a single state school system decentralized into local districts rather than into a competitive multi-denominationalism. Education should be made more meaningful to the children in terms of the curricula, the media of instruction and the methodology of teaching in the classroom. In other words, education should not be presented as bits of knowledge or information "given" in order to be "taken back" in examinations. Herein lies the secret of retention through school. The Ministries of Education should take more leadership in supervision and in the utilization of foreign aid and assistance. All employment agencies should be made to give a positive support to education, possibly by organizing in-service training programmes for the labour they employ. More than these, definite programmes of educational and sociological research must be started and maintained, and the results made available for the further development of school systems.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY

In this study, we attempted to examine critically the relationship between investments in education and the social, political and economic development in Nigeria since 1960. We mentioned, but we have not been largely concerned with, the transfer of British formal educational and economic institutions into Nigeria. We have, however, concerned ourselves mainly with the instrumental use of the transferred institutions by an independent Nigeria to further its objectives. Now that Nigeria looks no longer at the British as "masters," less as "partners," but more as "friends," it is free to make far-reaching decisions to adapt its inherited system of education to its indigenous social and economic institutions which it understands best. Any decisions of this type must be preceded by large-scale examinations of the existing system to see to what extent it has blended "peacefully" or otherwise with national aspirations and national resources. This was what this study set out to do.

There has been no direct field work, and hence,

there has been no attempt at objective measurements, say, of the contributions of education to economic or to social development. We only attempted a sort of "statistical exercise" and a subjective analysis of educational dysfunctionalities in relation to stated government objectives in the light of our personal knowledge, contact and experience with the Nigerian educational system and with its traditional societal structures and economic and political institutions. On several occasions, all we did was to subject Nigerian education to tests of dysfunctionalities that have been formulated or established elsewhere, particularly in other underdeveloped parts of the world.

We have used as our evidences of dysfunctionalities the rural-urban migration and the ever-increasing number of unemployed school leavers; the disdain of manual work by the educated Nigerian and his search for paper qualifications as the end-all of educational achievements; and the social ostracism of Nigerian intellectuals from the mass of their people. We have thus, unlike several other similar studies of Nigerian education, looked outside of education to discover causes which might have contributed to the malfunctioning of the education system. Therefore, apart from the emphases Nigerian governments have given to wrong kinds and levels of education, and apart from the obvious wastes of human and material resources through

inefficient organization and administration, we have also touched on the low level of absorptive capacity of the economy, the apparent neglect of agricultural modernization, the misuse of foreign aid and assistance, the apathy of Nigerians as regards the support and, hence, the control of education, and the lack of social justice in the remuneration of productive services. Thus, we have considered education at one and the same time as a social, a political and an economic problem. As Ruffner says:

> Economic development will take place as the people of a nation learn the knowledge and skills required to make effective use of material resources. Political development will take place as the citizens of a nation learn the concept of individual freedom with social responsibility. And social development will take place as individuals and groups within a nation learn to use and to create their institutions in order to serve both present and future needs. Therefore, no country can progress far economically, politically, or socially without a concurrent development of its educational system.[1]

Through this study, we have found that:

1. The missionary school in Nigeria has outlived its usefulness. With about 36 different and competing denominations in control of education, the education budget is spread too thinly among a large number of small, non-co-operating and, therefore, inefficient

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[1] R. W. Ruffner, "American Educational Aid for National Development," Teachers College Record, LXII (February, 1961), 348-355.

schools. It is observed that in secondary education, several missions are withdrawing their financial obligations to local communities but are clinging to their administrative control and through this, indoctrination and proselytization of the children. It is a wasteful system economically; socially, it is not what the people want - a reason for their apathy; and politically, it has built too much of a loyalty to the British educational system and way of life, thus hindering any attempts at reforms and at experimentation on something different.

2. School expansion has been used largely to further political ends rather than social and economic ones. That is why much emphasis and priority have been given to primary schools. Hence, schools are built in the remotest parts of the country with a double aim of "doing something" in return for votes, and also of raising a literate and hence, an informed electorate for an inherited "parliamentary democracy" instead of the "customary horse-shoe village deliberations, where consultation and compromise were the rule, and decisions by a majority vote the exception."[2] Educational showcases have also been built for national

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[2]S. O. Mezu, "Christian Proselytism in Nigeria," The Nigerian Students Voice, II (June, 1965), 25-27.

pride rather than to serve genuine educational needs. This expansion, however, has resulted in a large-scale school-leaver unemployment, a virtual neglect of secondary school expansion, and hence, "pumps," bottlenecks, and other structural imbalances in the education system.

3. Teaching is just another type of work and not a noble profession entered by people who really want to teach. University graduates see no future in teaching, and most of those that do teach are under legal obligations to do so. Such persons often leave the profession after fulfilling their obligations. Most of those who enter the training colleges do so because these are the only secondary-level institutions they can afford. Such people also find their way out of teaching after obtaining paper qualifications (through private study and correspondence courses) for more prestigious and more remunerative employment. And while these situations exist, Nigerian governments spend more money on attracting expatriate teachers instead of trying to retain competent teachers on the job, to increase the fresh supply of qualified Nigerian teachers, and to enable unqualified teachers on the job to improve their qualifications and their teaching competence.

4. The preference of Nigerian school leavers for "white

collar" jobs and for life in the cities exists, but this problem cannot be solved by an injection of practical and agricultural pursuits into rural school curricula. It can only be solved by an urgent diversification of the economy through scientific and productive agriculture and industrialization to provide other job avenues outside the office desk. Rural-urban migration can only be checked by a large-scale modernization of rural life. These call for more investments in the development sector of the economy and hence greater economy and lower expenditures in education.

5. Nigerian parents associate formal schooling not with cultural enrichment (a consumption aspect of education), but largely with investment the returns of which are a better and "easier" life as well as monetary and status rewards to their children and to themselves through the children. The school-leaver unemployment can thus be seen as a definite frustration for parents whose children suffer a cultural loss by being indoctrinated into a foreign culture and religion - whether European, American or Arabic - without any compensation by way of a well-deserved job.

6. Universal primary education though viewed as an initial false step in educational priorities and

blamed for the educated unemployed problem, is not necessarily bad. It has helped to lower the job expectations and aspirations of school leavers, hence curbing their "white-collar" orientation. It has also raised the health habits of the population, and has improved the potential demand for goods and services and hence ensured a higher standard of living. It can also be seen as a surer way of population control and an effective means of wise resource utilization. However, not enough has been done in Nigeria to ensure a functional literacy through programmes of continuing education by part-time studies, correspondence courses, in-service training programmes and adult education classes.

7. Educational planning has lacked a specific direction. It has not been considered as a parallel structure with economic and social development. There has been no obvious scale of priorities in educational development; no direct link between training programmes, educational institutions, and manpower requirements; no attempts to guide youths into various curricula necessary for accelerated economic growth and future demands of industry; no previous or contemplated efforts to measure the effectiveness of various educational outputs. Industry has had neither co-ordination with or participation in education, and vocational and technical

education, both of recent inauguration, have not attracted enough students.

8. It has been doubtful whether foreign aid has been serving the purposes for which it was asked, or the purposes for which the donors gave it. Sometimes aid has disrupted national planning; at other times it has imposed on unwitting recipients the donors' ideas about development which have not worked well under Nigerian conditions. Some of the aid was given only to win the minds and the friendship of Nigerian leaders, not to fulfil some basic needs. Of course, the mere fact that Nigeria could secure educational and other aid merely by the asking has blinded it to economy and reform measures at home. For example, if the status of teachers is raised, enough and better qualified men would be attracted; if agricultural extension officers are guaranteed a future security, many who now scorn that type of job would be absorbed.

9. There has been no programme of research to find out why rural children prefer urban employment; why all students want an academic education and hence why there has been no demand for technical and vocational education; why college students enter programmes in arts, law and humanities rather than in science and technology. For example, we have discovered that there

are several reasons for the school leaver unemployment. The expansion of primary schools is far beyond the absorptive capacity of the economy. The proliferation of private and voluntary agency schools with emphasis on mere literacy has given no vocational and employable skills to primary school leavers. We have also blamed unemployment on the image of a colonial era when high rewards were given to holders of certain educational qualifications. School leavers still have similar job and remuneration expectations at a time when the economy has no more need for mere literacy with no skills. Hence, the school leavers' frustration coupled by their large number has led to widespread complaints about the devaluation of their education and of their certificates.

In the light of all these findings, we have made some reform proposals:

1. The creation and expansion of indigenous formal educational institutions but with greater attention to secondary education and teacher training. Technical and vocational education should be integrated into the nation's secondary schools. Larger primary schools should be encouraged, and the secondary schools in the same locality should be united under the same administration as the primary schools, so as

to effect inter-school services. Then the next phase of secondary school expansion should be the enlargement of each existing school to multi-stream and multi-track schools. There should be guidance and counselling to channel students into courses of studies and to employment, and the selection processes to different levels of education should be perfected. Nigerian education can also be made more meaningful to the children by a change in teaching emphasis laying stress on observations and inquiries, and a complete repatriation to Nigeria of all external examination procedures.

2. An all-round development of employed manpower through effective adult education, in-service training and refresher courses. On-the-job training should also be emphasized, particularly for people who work in industries and in agriculture. Training for management and entrepreneurship is also important. Such training can be sponsored by university faculties in co-operation with Government Ministries and making use of college campuses that are left empty during long vacations. The training programmes can also be jointly financed by employing institutions and the governments, making use of foreign personnel and local specialists as trainers.

3. A reorganization of educational administrative practices, making use of administrators and supervisors that are trained for their job. An optimum use of educated manpower, making sure that everybody is employed where he is most useful and most productive is also essential. This can be achieved by a readjustment of the wage and salary structure, making remuneration consistent with importance on the job. All socio-political practices which hinder social justice in manpower allocation should be eliminated. This will easily mitigate the divisive influences of tribalism, building up a system of social stratification which reflects nothing but differences in education. Then, there is the significance and the necessity of continuous planning in relation to economic, political, and social development objectives.

4. Foreign aid is helpful and is essential at this stage of Nigerian development, but the right types of aid must be asked for, namely, personnel whose training and disposition are compatible with the tasks of nation building; money and materials to develop the secondary schools and the universities, and scholarships to carefully selected Nigerians in fields which are presently inadequate at home. However, aid should not slacken enormous efforts at home. Parents would still

be required to pay fees and taxes; community labour would be required in erecting school buildings, and governments should make efforts to stop all kinds of prestige spending, that is, "heavy investments in shiny symbols of greatness at the cost of investment designed to ensure the reality of greatness."[3]

5. The establishment of large-scale programmes of educational and sociological research to undergird educational policies and decision making.

This thesis has certainly not solved all the problems of Nigerian education; it has not answered all the questions, but it might serve to open new lines of thought and to suggest new avenues of research to Nigerian educational administrators and planners, University Councils, and legislators charged with determining the volume and the direction of allocation of public funds to education and to other social services.

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[3]K. W. Bigelow, "Some Major Educational Problems in Africa South of the Sahara: A Critical Summary," The Journal of Negro Education, XXX (Summer, 1961), 343-357.

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