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National integration and the Nigerian educational system

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NATIONAL INTEGRATION AND THE NIGERIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF ATLANTA UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

BY

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ABSTRACT

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National Integration and the Nigerian Educational System

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The purpose of this study is to analyze the various factors affecting national unity or integration in Nigeria. The study sought to determine the extent to which education, especially civil education, could help bring this about.

Through the use of documents, it was found that, not only was the educational system inefficient, but it was also deliberately neglected by both the colonialists as well as the national elites.

However, this author suggests that to help promote and achieve a government policy of national unity, there is an urgent need for political re-orientation in the country. This can only be achieved through an education that will inculcate in students the positive values of democracy and unity.
Dedication

To the memory of my mother, Mrs. Risikat Omoshalewa Sanusi, who wanted so much for me to be educated. And thank you Daddy for being ever supportive. Thank you God in Christ Jesus for strength, endurance and perseverance. Heartfelt gratitude to my family. Folake, my sister, thank you for your emotional and moral support.
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Like all other African countries, Nigeria is a product of arbitrary boundaries drawn by the European colonialists to resolve their own differences and solve individual territorial and economic problems without any regard for the interests and compatibility of the people in their colonies. As a result, traditionally hostile people are lumped together to make a nation state. Hence, in Nigeria there are people with different socio-cultural backgrounds and different ethnic and religious backgrounds.

One of the reasons for political instability in Nigeria is believed to be the problem of ethnicity. Because of the various ethnic groups with different social, cultural, political and religious backgrounds, it has become almost impossible to be truly integrated. What such theory seems to overlook is the fact that welfare and social responsibility, rather than individualism, and its ethnic interpretation of an individual as his brother’s keeper,
were common among all Nigerians. The precolonial people at the time engaged in activities on communal basis, and this made it possible for them to maintain bonds of kinship even with those who were not part of their individual family units. Consequently, good fortune or misfortune were borne as a group rather than as individuals. There was very deep kinship among members of the society and this governed all social relationships binding the entire community.

The Europeans came with a so-called civilizing mission which was a camouflage for their exploitative mission. Educating some of the Africans was seen as a means of achieving the clandestine mission. Africans were selected to be educated in such a way that only those who could be greatly useful to their mission of economic exploitation were considered. As the economic ventures they engaged in increased, so did the need for more educated Africans. In addition to being taught how to read and write in order to carry out clerical duties, strong emphasis was placed on moral education and European culture, which helped prepare the mind of the natives for subservience and exploitation.

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With the help of missionaries who were largely responsible for educating the natives, the colonizers realised that once the minds of the natives could be controlled, they could be better managed. They realized that to ensure absolute obedience, it was necessary to destroy the peoples' identity. This they did by introducing and propagating their theory of racial superiority. This was found to be very effective in subjugating the natives for their exploitative mission.

The government and commercial institutions funded the building of more schools to serve their increasing needs for local labor. They were however concentrated in commercial areas so that the distribution of schools around the country was not even. In pluralist societies it is expected that the schools will assist in integrating sub-populations that are fragmented by religious, linguistic, or ethnic differences. But in the case of Nigeria, the opposite was the case as the colonial schools and system of education only helped to sharpen ethnic cleavages. For instance, while western education was spreading like wild fire in the south, the northerners were left in their traditional and Islamic schools. The result is that the southerners were
"progressing" and occupying governmental positions, while northerners because of their low or lack of education, were left behind.

According to Lord Lugard, the high commissioner for northern protectorate, the reason for this indifference towards the development of western education in the area was in "respect for culture and tradition".\(^2\) Does this imply the southerners did not have traditions or culture worthy of respect? Definitely the answer is no! The reality is that the well-integrated Islamic religion and tradition already in existence before their invasion was conducive to effective economic exploitation of the area. Besides, the south being close to the coast was easily penetrated by European traders and Christian missionaries on evangelical mission. In order to effectively exploit the area, Lugard introduced a system of ruling through the chiefs, popularly referred to as Indirect Rule. It was highly successful in the north because the Emir was the absolute authority to whom no defiance was tolerated or condoned. Therefore, there was little or no resistance to the colonialist

activities except in the area of western education which they felt would threaten Islamic religion since it was associated with Christian evangelism. Most of the people that attended missionary and government schools were pagan or animists in the northern society. Only a few Fulanis or those of Islamic religion attended.

The indirect rule was later introduced to the south when Lord Luqard became the governor-general at the amalgamation of the two protectorates in 1914. But the result was not the same as the south was not as integrated as the north; the king or the Oba was not necessarily absolute, he could be dethroned or impeached. There was no central authority, especially in the southeastern part of the protectorate where the colonial administration searched unsuccessfully for local political representative. The administration therefore appointed warrant chiefs who helped collect taxes from the people. They became targets of violent attacks by the people and a few who had received education. The reaction was almost the same in the west. Those Obas that co-operated with the administration lost the respect and deity the people accorded them. The result was a partial failure for indirect rule in the south and a
struggle for power among the educated elites who saw working for the administration as a new source of power. They looked forward to the time they would eventually take over as promised by the colonialists. So, more people went to school, as it gave them a source of economic power and prestige among the people. The elites were convinced that anything away from the white man's method was inferior. Their efforts and thoughts were therefore directed towards obtaining that type of western education and British lifestyle. This they believed would release them from ceaseless toil on the land and secure for them the price of a job in the civil service or in a foreign-owned commercial establishment.

The contents of the subjects, values or empirical dimensions of reality taught did not have a direct relation to their immediate environment. The teachers narrated the subjects with little or no contribution from the students. They were disconnected from the realities that engendered them. This did not allow for critical appraisal or consciousness to be developed in them. This was the framework on which the colonial government's educational policy was based and operated as an instrument of
Having been taught to imitate the Englishman’s mode and style of living it was difficult for the elites to critically evaluate the kind of education they were being given. Rather, they agitated for an education as close to that of the British as possible in order to cover up their inferior racial consciousness. This they believed would put them on equal level with the European, then they would be qualified for self-government and put an end to the snobbish treatment the British officials and residents had always accorded them. As Lord Lugard, the then governor-general of the country put it:

... I am somewhat baffled as to how to get in touch with the educated native ... to start with. I am not in sympathy with him. His loud and arrogant conceit are distasteful to me; the lack of natural dignity and courtesy antagonize me.

This sort of antagonistic relationship and the promise of eventual self-rule spurred nationalist activities, especially in the south where it was already in full swing by the late 1920s. In fact, while the southerners were being represented in the legislative council from 1923,

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Perham, Lugard, the Years of Authority, 1898-1945, p. 390.
the northerners were not represented until 1945, which means that they did not participate in legislative decisions on Nigerian development for over twenty years. This was, of course, due to their low education and perception of the situation. Though the two protectorates were amalgamated in 1914, both remained different entities administratively, with different policies. The population of the north was twice that of the southern regions combined, giving political power in terms of ballot to northerners. The colonial government knew the inequalities in educational opportunities, along with ethnic differences and decentralized pattern of administration based on local units would militate against strong and effective confrontation, so they tried their best to keep it that way.

But the educated elites, tired of racial discrimination against them by the British residents, were hungry for power and sought to take over the colonial administration. They did this by sensitizing the people against colonial exploitation and oppression. This was the crucial issue of their politics which involved them in a classic contradiction. They could not do without this ideology given their politics which was very necessary for their aspiration to
overthrow colonialism and to come to power. At the same
time, they could not really afford to use the ideology
because it was ultimately incompatible with the relation of
production they wanted to maintain.\(^4\)

However, their agitations resulted into Nigeriанизation of the administrative cadres which immediately gene-
rated rivalry for the command of the polity. Northern
politicians awoke to a belated recognition that the north’s
educational lag would mean southern domination of federal
office in spite of the north’s power at the polls, which
Northerners resented. Educational inequalities (with their
corresponding implications for individual and group
mobility) therefore became one of the major foci for
political conflict in both the pre- and post-independence
period. This inner weakness and the inability of the
Nigerian elite to draw up an effective political ideology
for the nation forced them to seek the support of their
ethnic groups at home and ex-colonial masters abroad in
order to maintain political power.

\(^4\)Claude Ake, *Revolutionary Pressures in Africa* (New
By the early 1950s, the demand for schooling on both lower and higher educational levels in the south in particular, had outstripped the ability or willingness of the colonial government to supply it. The Richards Constitution of 1951 gave the local elites the opportunity to govern themselves based on regional development, each region ruled by the dominant political party of local ethnic groups. Education was one of the major programs that legitimized the regional governments to the masses. At this time, education was seen by the elites as a means by which independence could be attained rapidly while the masses saw it as a way of improving their economic lot and political advancement. Hence, the phenomenal bourgeoning in student enrollment between 1950 and 1960.

Though the northern region tried to bridge the educational gap, its percentage of new enrollment was still lower than the two southern regions. For example, in the late 1950s while other regions, east and west were implementing Free Universal Primary Education, the north was concentrating on getting people to attend the schools. By the time of independence in 1960, the primary school enrollment amounted to two hundred and forty thousand (240,000) in the
north (though its population is twice that of the other two regions combined) and two and half million (2,500,000) in the south. This quantitative disparity coupled with the stated fact that "Nigeria continues to recognize education as a very powerful instrument for social change in a process of dynamic nation building" explains the high priority that education is enjoying in Nigeria's development plans. The various educational policies of the regional governments are evidence of the popular support education enjoys.

From the documents made public by the governments of the three regions and the federal government, it is obvious that more emphasis was on the development of needed manpower to take over at the forthcoming independence than the problem of national unity or integration. Even where the concern for unity is stated as in the case of eastern region ministry of education's documents, there is very little evidence as to how this was carried out in the classrooms by


the teachers or to appraise the commitment of the government officials. The first federal educational policy was patterned after the British system, a system which had no relevance to Nigerian society and philosophy. The report of the Ashby Commission of 1959, formed the framework for federal educational policy at independence in October 1960. It was the first of its kind in the sense that it was the first time Nigerian educators were allowed to take part in drawing up an education policy, though a majority of the commission's members were British and American educators. This way the colonialists were able to rule the country indirectly as this gave them the chance to shape and influence the future development of the country. It encouraged the use of foreign teachers, advisors and supervisors, both British and American. It is not surprising then that the policy emphasis was on manpower rather than integration which would augur well for peaceful economic development. The Ashby report has since been the backbone of Nigerian education system. The attempt to effect its recommendations are evident in the magnitude of financial resources allocated in the first national development plan 1962-1968, though it ranked fifth on the priority list.
Much of the money, however, went to higher and adult education, but the northern region got a larger portion of it, for its primary education program, based on its size and the influence it exerts on the federal government. The reason given for this was to correct the imbalance in educational development between the north and the other regions. This kind of action has always been a source of antagonism and controversy between the regions; that is, the east and west have always resented the preferential treatment the north received both during the colonial period and after from the colonialists. The problem this paper addresses is one of national integration, and the inability of education as a unifying force to bring this about in a country with various ethnic groups.

Hypothesis

With the ruling elites acting as defenders of imperialist interest and their self-interest, they used education as a divisive instrument, rather than as a means for unifying the country.

The purpose of this study is to investigate, relative to the concrete historical reality of Nigeria, at primary
and secondary school levels in particular, how education has been directed towards unity needed for political stability, in a country with wide cultural and political diversity.

Methodology

This study will be conducted by investigating the role of education in the pursuit of national integration. The extent to which socializing subjects taught in school and the policies guiding them sensitize the citizenry will be investigated.

The theoretical framework for this study is neo-colonialism, that is, the continuing domination, direct or indirect, of the industrialized nations over the Third World, including Nigeria. By adopting an educational system based on British philosophy and structure of education for industrialization, the ruling elites helped Britain to maintain political influence over the country. The system became dependent on western educational institutions for books, texts, teachers and curriculum. This way, the elites camouflaged their inability to draw up a system that fits the need of the country.
To establish these claims, government policies as documented by the ministry of education will be evaluated. As this will show at least on paper the government's desire to create a united Nigeria. The adequacy and efficiency of the means to achieving these goals will be investigated. For instance, Free Universal Primary Education was to aid in eradicating illiteracy and enhance cross-cultural integration on both regional and federal levels. The content of the syllabi of, integrative subjects like history, economics, geography and social studies will be analyzed.

The primary source for establishing these will be document study. For example, D. L. Dubey, Rousseau, and Fichte Johann all establish the importance of proper political socialization in any country. D. L. Dubey and associates in The Sociology of Nigerian Education (1984) stated precisely the role of education in nation-building, pointing out that any philosophy of education derives from the needs of the country concerned, and one of our needs in Nigeria is Political stability. Nigeria, consisting of different historical, geographical, social and religious backgrounds, needs a powerful unifying force. The educational system is the best instrument by which we can
achieve unity in diversity in this country. To build a
nation, stable and progressive, we need ethnic integration
in both vertical and horizontal dimensions. The support for
this concept is evident in the Third National Development
Plan 1975-80, with the stated fact that Nigeria continues to
recognize education as a very powerful instrument for social
change in a process of dynamic nation-building. James S.
Coleman's book, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*, is an
excellent source of tracing the roots, growth and
persistence of the problem. Particularly, it relates
effectively how Western education instigated nationalist
activities and eventual self-determination and
independence. Gazette's reports from Federal and Regional
Ministries of Education will be analyzed to show government
intent on educational policy and the results of their
proposed policies.

The steps to be taken in this regard will be (1) an
introduction to the problem with a brief history of the
evolution of the country, Nigeria; (2) the spread of edu-
cation and how it was instrumental in the development of
political activities and nationalism that led to indepen-
dence in 1960, (3) the role of education from the period of
self-determination (1951-1965), (4) a discussion of the solution to the problem to show if any of the political socialization agencies in the society could be utilized effectively. The period under investigation is 1900-1965 because it was the period when the present political values and attitudes were formed. It was also a period where the elites could have made conscious efforts to unite the various ethnic groups. Since the constitution placed all pre-university education under local and state governments, criticisms regarding the role of the schools in developing national consciousness and unity would be limited to that level. The assumption here is that this is the level at which children develop attitudes and civic education could be taught effectively.

Literature Review

Numerous studies conducted by scholars show that the Europeans, whether they were missionaries or colonialists, viewed Africans as mentally inferior. A vivid account of the European perceptions of the Africans is presented by Charles H. Lyons in "The Educable Africans: British
Thought and Action, 1835-1865," in *Essays in History of African Education*, edited by Vincent M. Battle and Charles N. Lyons. In the essay, Lyons pointed out how the Victorian society of those days in Europe, especially in Britain, was dominated by racist thought and intoxicated by cultural chauvinism. The age was the climax of the bitter antagonism that had been smoldering between Christianity and science. The long drawn-out academic and verbal wrangling ended in victory for the scientists.

The early Victorian science of man was strongly tinged with racism; hence, its views of the educability of the black man was not generally optimistic. Throughout continental Europe, the view that the brain of the black people was unlike that of the white man was so prevalent that, even when they came up with contradictory evidence, some scientists and physical anthropologists of the 1860s felt obliged to qualify their findings in such a way as to conform with the accepted theories.

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The missionaries, on their own part, disagreed with the scientists in theory; but in practice, evidence abounds that educational programs for Africans manifested the prevailing views of the metropolis. They believed that Africans were more suited for manual labor than mental exercise. Africans, they asserted, "hold labor only inferior to death." Laziness was not something they simply learned rather, like greediness, rascality and childishness, it was a character trait peculiar to Africans. Thus, missionaries' view of African laziness is both racism and cultural chauvinism. However, it was more a manifestation of cultural chauvinism than Protestant piety. Western culture, to many missionaries, was superior, simply because the Europeans worked harder.

With all these racial biases and cultural chauvinism, it is not surprising that the educational apparatus were those designed for social and racial inferiors. Religious instruction was to form the backbone for curriculum with the agricultural training for boys and domestic science education for girls making up the only other substantial parts of the school program. Like British working class, they were to be taught the "domestic and social studies of
the colored races" with respect to the European mother country. Thus, the stage was set for a distorted perception based on a distorted identification of the problem resulting in a distorted solution. This deterministic view of the capabilities of the African is conspicuously discernible in all missionary educational activities in Africa.

Therefore, the role of proper political socialization in any country, Nigeria in particular, cannot be over-emphasized. Though the concept of political socialization is a recent phenomenon in the dictionary of political science, proper political education for the citizenry had been a pre-occupation of the scholars for a long time.

In Plato's *Republic*, orientation of the citizens was differently dubbed "citizenship training," "civic education," along with other antiquated terminologies like "instruction," or "patriotism," "character training," which are very prevalent in the writings of classical political philosophers.

According to Plato, "when children have made a good beginning - and - education has instilled a spirit of order, this reverence for law - will attend therein all their
doings - restoring any institutions that may have easier fallen into decay. However, much of Plato’s attention was devoted to prescribing the proper training patterns for various classes in his ideal state. Given Plato’s assumptions, small wonder he discusses education so thoroughly. But it is also known that education without proper political orientation will be a great loss.

As Fred Cyreanstein puts it:

No topic in political science has a longer and more distinguished lineage than citizenship training. For Plato, education was at the heart of politics depending upon the nature of civil training. A body politic would remain stable or it would undergo change.

To Confucius, “Filial Piety” towards the elderly, especially sentiments and respects towards their parents, will in later life extend to men in positions of political authority. Order in political life crucially depends on a well-regulated family life, he contended.

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10 Ibid., p. 26
Sir Thomas Moore, in Utopia and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, all contributed to literature in citizenship orientation and the importance of childhood socialization.

According to Sir Thomas Moore,

"teachers use very great endeavor and diligence to put into the heads of their children while they yet be tender and pliant, good opinions and profitable for the conversation of their real public. Which when they be once rooted in children do remain with them all their life after and be wondrously profitable for the defense and maintenance of the state of the commonwealth, which never decayeth, but through vices rising of evil opinions."  

Rousseau in his own turn believes that the legislators are required to indoctrinate political values continuously.

The citizens, he wrote:

... have equally a need for guidance. (They) must be taught what is it they will ... From this increase of public knowledge would result ... harmony ... due highest power of the whole, ...(and) it is education that must give souls a national formation, and direct their opinions and tastes in such a way that they will be patriotic by inclination, by passion, by necessity.  

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Thus, Rousseau went down as one of the earliest advocates of childhood indoctrination. This view still holds today. In Social Issues in Public Education, edited by John A. Bartley (1984), Johann Gotlieb Fichte argued that "the purpose of education is to mold the people into a whole; education should concern itself with the greatness of a nation and minimize the importance of the individuals in it." William O. Stanley, in Education and Social Integration further illuminates Fichte's precept when he contended that:

Ultimately, the foundation of the state rests upon the character of the citizens; and to mold the character of the young, by the very nature of the case, is to shape the ideals, the aspirations and the conceptions which underlie social and political action. All education therefore consciously or unconsciously implies some social philosophy and promotes in effect, if not in intent one political ideal rather than another.\(^{13}\)

The role of proper political socialization of citizenry for national integration in any given nation cannot be over-emphasized. Nigeria is not an exception, in fact, this

is evident throughout history. From its introduction western education served different social and political philosophies. For the missionaries it was an evangelical tool, and in the hands of the British imperialists and Nigerian elite, it was the decisive factor in the implementation of indirect rule and self-government, respectively. The next chapter relates how this process of interaction between social and political process was carried out.

For instance, John Drewal's "Methodist Education in Liberia," Vincent M. Battle, "American Mission and Educational Development in the Sudan, 1909-1929," Priscilla Blakemore, "Assimilation and Association in French Educational Policy and Practice," and Richard Heyman, "The Initial Years of the Jeanes School in Kenya, 1924-1931," are all drawn examples from different places in Africa, but they are saying essentially the same thing. They provided supportive evidences for Lyon's assertion that the main concern of the missionaries of Europe and America was to transform "darkest Africa" into an enlightened Africa, using the powerful trinity of Christianity, civilization and commerce. The semi-altruistic policy of the Christian mission
in education gave way to the enlightened self-interest of the colonial masters. Far from the missionaries' avowed aim to train people with the aim of making Bibles, the colonial Lord was only interested in educating the Africans insofar as the beneficiaries from such education could provide supportive manpower to satisfy his political and economic interests.

However, the works of A. B. Fafunwa, *History of Education in Nigeria*, and J. W. C. Dougall, *The Development of the Education of the African in Relation to Western Contact*, review the nature of informal education in precolonial days. Their findings contradict the notion of ignorance among Africans as publicized by the missionaries and the colonialists. They asserted that Africa had complex forms of education which served to pass on knowledge from one generation to the next, to assist in solving problems, and to act as a social integrating force. Society had certain implied rules and regulations which bound it together, and education of the youth was a cardinal point in these rules.
The introduction of western education had negative effects on this historical pattern. It failed to integrate with and build upon indigenous forms and teachings; and its message and objectives were entirely different. It destroyed the people's pride in their traditional values. It also taught them that the single road to escape from head taxes, forced labor, the apprentice system, and so forth, and the one path to good houses, the city and money was a certificate in education. It was the sole means of breaking out of the confinements of peasant life into the glorious existence of the bourgeoisie. Thus, the education of the Africans was elite-oriented. Hence, African products of the system aspire towards elitism. The educated Africans became the line between the colonialists and the masses. Since the predominantly "respected" value under colonialism was the alien European value, which is highly acquisitive, the educated Africans embraced not only this acquisitiveness, but also a wasteful conspicuous consumption. Thus, Africans were socialized towards European value systems and away from their own traditional value system. However, the so-called opportunity did not extend equally to all scholars of the African society. Colonialists and the missionaries
were only concerned with producing a large enough cadre of Africans to facilitate the colonial administration.

J. F. A. Ajayi, in *Christian Missions in Nigeria, 1801-1804: The Making of an Elite*, J. E. Adeboro, in *Handbook of Education in Nigeria*, all provided evidences in support of the already established thesis of how colonial education in Nigeria is a misfit, as in all other African countries. In addition, the colonial government in Nigeria pursued two different educational policies in the northern and southern parts of Nigeria. In *Education and National Integration*, Alan Pashkin illustrates how the British colonial government in Nigeria, rather than using education to forge national unity, used it for the opposite. In pluralistic countries, governments expect that the schools will assist integrating sub-populations that are fragmented by religious, linguistic or ethnic differences. However in reality, the colonial schools were sharpening ethnic cleavages.

The significance of this study is that there is an urgent need in Nigeria, especially in its present state of political, social and economic conditions to evaluate possible ways to normalize the situation. This author strongly
believes that proper political values and attributes through education can play a major role.
CHAPTER TWO

A BRIEF HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN NIGERIA AND ITS IMPACT ON NIGERIAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

... To educate is to act, and to act involves both preferences and consequences ....

William O. Stanley

The beginning of formal education in Nigeria can be traced back to the period between 1841 and 1882, which was marked by intensive missionary activity and expansion, especially in southern Nigeria. It was first introduced by Portuguese merchants who traded on the coast in 1492. They depended on both force of arms and missionary endeavours to facilitate peaceful trade relations with the Africans. Through the influence of the Portuguese traders, the Roman Catholic Mission became the first to set foot on Nigerian soil. By 1852, many of the Christian missionaries were firmly established in different parts of the colony. The Church Missionary Society, the Methodist Mission Society, the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, the Qua-Ibo Mission, to name a few, had already influenced the society at this time.
The educational objectives of the Christian Missions were mainly to teach the Bible, the plough, as well as to develop local language and train evangelical leaders. Indeed, the missionaries were evangelists first and educationists second. As L.S. Stavrianos stated in his book, *Global Rift: Africa Enters The Third World*,

The missionaries arrived with avowed purpose of changing the African way of life, and they used three principal instruments to reach their objectives, religion, medicine, and education.  

They established two types of schools, the day school and the boarding school. The day school curriculum comprised mainly of reading English literature, writing, arithmetic and singing. The boarding school was a feature of the mission house. It brought the children under maximum influence of the missionaries who were able to select the best of them for special training and positions of responsibility in the church.  

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some gardening and small farming around the house, along with the basics, i.e., reading, writing, and arithmetic. The boarding school was maintained through donations from friends of the missionaries, individuals and philanthropic organizations. This system of schooling usually alienated the students from their environment which their education was supposed to serve, since all activities revolved around the mission house. The missionaries had greater success in the southern part of the country because of enthusiastic reception of western education in the area. On the other hand, the northerners were reluctant because they saw it as a threat to their well-established Islamic education and religion. This suspicious attitude to western education was, of course, justified as education in those days tended to mean Bible knowledge, Christian ethics, moral instruction and English literature, all geared towards producing Christians who could read and interpret the Bible. The spread of education in the north therefore was slow and gradual.
The missionaries had exclusive control over the schools with no official education policy until 1900, when the British government formally took over the colonies. This marked the beginning of greater government interest and participation in educational activities in the colony. The annual report of 1902 formed the threshold of a new era of expansion of government activities in education. Its author, Dr. Reverend Henry Carr, the first African director of education, summed up the present situation and speculated about the future when he noted in his report that:

If public education is to make any progress commensurate with the general advancement and the Board of Education to firmly make up their minds as to what objects the schools are to subserve and as to the best means of attaining those objects, a really suitable and efficient system of education which ought for this country to be both literary and manual cannot be provided under a voluntary system. It is to the government and not the people themselves that we should under existing circumstances look for the perfecting of what is nothing less than a political instrument of the highest value.\(^3\)

It was his belief that this would build an educated democracy for the colony where the people will be able to think for themselves, make decisions and choices according

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\(^3\)Henry Carr, *General Report for the Year 1902 on the Schools in the Colony of Lagos*, p. 4, paragraph 9.
to their own independent judgement. This proves that education as a tool for developing democratic political attitudes was recognized from the beginning. However, the means by which this was to be inculcated into the school's curriculum or achieved was never clearly stated or discussed. Instead, the government entrusted the program to the missionaries whose main concern was to spread their religion. Therefore, they turned out graduates who knew just the basics, reading, writing and arithmetic and more importantly, could read and interpret the Bible. This level of education was, of course, adequate as far as the colonial government was concerned, since the religious emphasis made the native more honest and subservient. Their education fitted adequately the role of clerks, policemen, bookkeepers that the government wanted for them. Religious and moral education which formed a larger part of their learning was to teach them respect and reverence for their teachers and masters. Besides, the emphasis on moral education was based on the European conception that the average native is dishonest and dubious. This made it impossible for the student to be
critical of the teacher. In fact, as Paul Freire well noted in his book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*...

... the form of teaching is an act of depositing in which the students are depositories and the teacher is the depositor. Instead of communicating, the teacher issues communiques and makes deposits which they patiently receive, memorize, and repeat. This is the banking concept of education.

In effect, the graduates of these schools were less critical of the colonial government atrocities as well. This may account for why nationalist activities were delayed and low-keyed until after the second world war, since they were trained never to disobey or even disagree with anyone with authority. However, the success of appeals and prompting such as was led by Reverend Henry Carr promoted the zeal for education, which in the hands of the next generation became a "political instrument" in achieving self-government in Nigeria and sustaining it.

To validate the colonial government's commitment to education, it enacted an expansion policy that introduced and led to the establishment of government-assisted schools. Most of these schools served to bridge the gap

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between Christian and Muslim children of school age. Enrollment tripled, especially in the southern protectorate from 639 primary school students in 1905 to 4,571 in 1909. The number of government-assisted schools also increased from 20 in 1905 to 90 by 1912. Expansion also took place in the number and enrollment in non-assisted schools run by the missions and a few adventure schools owned by private individuals. By 1912, there were 59 private primary schools and 99 government primary schools and 91 mission schools aided by the government.

As can be seen from table 1, there is considerable disparity between north and south, educationally. Much of this can be blamed on the education policies of the colonial government, especially those of Lord Frederick Lugard, who was the high commissioner of the northern protectorate from 1900-1912. His declared policy on education was the restriction of Christian education and evangelism in the area. His reason for this was that they preached the equality of Europeans and natives, which, however true from doctrinal point of view, is apt to be mis-applied by people in a low stage of development, and interpreted as abolition of class distinction.
TABLE 1

DIFFERENTIAL DEVELOPMENT OF WESTERN EDUCATION IN SOUTHERN AND NORTHERN NIGERIA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>Southern Nigeria</th>
<th>Northern Nigeria</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Eastern and Western regions)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEAR</td>
<td>Schools</td>
<td>Pupils in Attendance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>126;</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>150;</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>3,828;</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>3,533;</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>4,984;</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>13,473;</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Number unknown. b Figures include 30,602 people attending ninety-four secondary modern schools where post-primary instruction is given for three additional years for pupils who either are academically not up to the standards of full secondary schools or who cannot afford the higher fees. c Figure for 1956.

In the annual report of 1905-1906, he stated his four-point plan as:

1. Mallams should be taught the Roman character for writing Hausa, colloquial English arithmetic and geography.

2. A school or college for the sons of chiefs should be established where the pupils would be boarders and would receive a primary education and be so trained in the virtues of patriotism, honesty, loyalty, etc., that they would become enlightened rulers. They were not to imbibe such western ideas as would cause them to lose the respect of their subjects, nor should they necessarily forgo their religion.

3. Secular general primary schools should be established throughout the protectorate.

4. Cantonment schools for the education of children of clerks and other government officials should be set up, so that coastal clerks need no longer send their children away for education, a practice which deterred clerks from applying for work in Northern protectorate.

From this it was obvious that Lord Lugard wanted loyal emirs, educated local officials and contented clerks. Lord Lugard trusted the implementation to his friend, Dr. Miller, a former Church Missionary Society (CMS) employee. But his over-zealousness in evangelizing the natives led to his dismissal.

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With the amalgamation of both protectorates in 1914, Lord Lugard became the governor-general and commander-in-chief of the colony of Nigeria. His interest and plans for education remained the same. Indeed, he saw it as an important instrument of government administration. Therefore, he tried passionately to control educational growth and quality. To this end, Lugard wanted Nigerians "not to be so poorly trained that they could not meet the educational standards set for employment in either the modern British or the 'traditional' African bureaucracy nor should they be so highly trained that they threatened to take over the responsibilities of British officials or native authorities." So that Nigerians would have education not exactly that of the British and at the same time not relevant to their immediate environmental needs, but just good enough to meet the needs of the colonial government.

Though the two protectorates were merged, their educational systems maintained their autonomy. In the north, Lugard appointed Dr. Reverend Hahns Vischer, General Report for the year 1902 on the Schools in the Colony of Lagos, p. 4, paragraph 9.
a former CMS employee in northern Nigeria as the director of education in the protectorate in 1914. He opened a boarding school for the sons of chiefs and trained mallams to assist in teaching to avoid having to employ qualified southerners or foreigners. The basic curriculum of the schools was secular, including English, Hausa, arithmetic, reading, writing, drawing, nature study, and geography of northern protectorate. Boys were introduced to cultivation of crops, while girls learned sewing crafts and home economics. Lugard was convinced that this system of education would ensure the staunch support of the Mohammedan educated class for the British rule and would prevent fanatical outbreaks in the future. Future events proved he was right, especially in the era of self-determination and self-government.

In the south, Lugard's approach was different because at the time the missionaries controlled more than half the number of schools in the area. In fact, at amalgamation, the southern protectorate had a 35,716 primary school population compared with the north's 1,131. It had also eleven secondary schools while the north had none. In order to carry out his educational objectives in the area,
he proposed a non-sectarian curriculum in the schools, especially those in non-Muslim areas. To counter the influence of the missionaries, he proposed the establishment of village schools in the rural areas all over the protectorate where only the three Rs would be taught up to class III, including the cultivation of cash crops, crop rotation, manufacturing and marketing agricultural products. Exceptionally bright students were to be awarded scholarships to study in the urban centres or to pursue higher education abroad. The rural schools were to concentrate on agricultural education while the urban schools, i.e., those located in commercial centers concentrated on literary education to provide the badly needed clerks in the government establishments. The proposal was adopted in 1916, in consultation with the Christian missions and government officials. To make sure his objectives were being carried out, school inspection was introduced which determined the amount of grants the schools were awarded. The schools were assessed as follows:

1. Discipline, organization, moral instruction and general tone of the school – 30 percent.
2. Adequacy and efficiency of the teaching staff - 20 percent.


This helps to illuminate the real educational objective of the colonial administration. For instance, when one takes into consideration the emphasis given to items one and three, it is obvious the government wants obedient and dogmatic clerks. It also points out their low interest in quality education. By the end of Lugard's rule in 1919, not much of his objectives were achieved because of British involvement in the first world war. The programs had to be halted. But the colony was left with two major problems that still plague Nigerian education system in recent years. They are:

1. Uneven distribution of schools in southern and northern Nigeria.

2. The educational gap between northern and southern Nigeria due to geographical and religious problems.

Also, during this time, a lot of Nigerians who studied

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8 Ibid., p. 110.
abroad had returned home and started to challenge the colonial government’s policies on education in particular. They complained about the emphasis placed on character-training and questioned the slow pace of educational development in the north, arguing that such a system was not progressive and did not anticipate social change. They demanded instead western education based on African background and traditions, which should at the same time equip them for the professions, commercial business and effective participation in the government of their country. These demands seemed to instigate more determination on the part of the government to control educational growth and curriculum. In fact, Lugard was quoted to have said of the Nigerian elite that "Education seems to have produced discontent, impatience of any control and unjustifiable assumption of self importance in the individual." Like most British officials did, he often states the British colonial policy on the issue of the Nigerian intelligentsia that:

It is the cardinal principle of British colonial policy that the interests of a large population

\[9\] Ibid., p. 110.
shall not be subjected to the will either of a small minority of educated and Europeanized natives who have nothing in common with them, and whose interests are often opposed to others.

This policy was often used to delay taking a positive step towards self-government and independence in the colony. It is not surprising how they arrived at this notion since most educated Nigerians were domiciled in urban areas or port towns, particularly Lagos. It was often used to verify the claim that an educated-illiterate cleavage exists, therefore the elites were unrepresentative of the Nigerian masses. However, they forgot to mention the fact that the Nigerian elite had been taught in school to imitate the English gentlemen and would want the same things as the white man. The antagonism by the white community, and especially the officialdom, toward educated Nigerians became more pronounced when they realized that not only were the elites the source of political agitation, but also that they aspired to greater participation in government with the ultimate aim of displacing the white

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The Lugard administration was succeeded by Sir Hugh Clifford who continued with Lugard's policies regarding education as well as his attitude towards educated Nigerians. Much of his administration was preoccupied with controlling growth of unsupervised private schools which he blamed for the poor quality of education in the colony generally. With the help of the report on education in Africa in 1922 by Phelps-Stokes Commission, an American philanthropic organization interested in African religious and educational affairs, his administration was able to draw up new ordinances for the north and south provinces in 1926. The aim of the commission was to see whether the students are in touch with the actual development of the country. They found that there was no clear cut objective for African education and that its absence made organization ineffective. This forced the British colonial government to do something to demonstrate a


positive interest in African education, hence the first educational policy in 1926. The report was a major step in educational advancement in the colony. It set the base for the pyramid which later emerged by making possible the attempt to bring the different patterns of education into a system, broadening the curriculum and providing for different institutions in the system. Many of its recommendations are still valid and relevant to the Nigerian situation. For instance, the principle of adaptation is yet to be adequately applied. Considerable parts of the education system are still dependent on foreign assistance and influence. The 1926 code or policy was specifically to curb the mushroom development of unassisted schools by the missions and private individuals, especially in southern Nigeria. The reason for this uncontrolled growth was that education had come to mean a source of good employment and standard of living. It was perhaps during this period that the idea of bread and butter education became firmly entrenched in the minds of parents.

13 Ibid., p. 142.
In 1929, the education departments of north and south provinces were merged, with a new director of education, Mr. E. R. J. Hussey, who held the position until 1936.

The period from 1930 to 1950 brought a lot of changes in the colonial administration. The devastating effects of the depression and the Second World War on the British economy made it vulnerable to the charge that it was keeping Africans down. Being acutely aware of the strong desire of the unsophisticated masses for education, the educated Nigerians seized this opportunity to agitate for higher education. They believed that western education, and especially knowledge of English language would equip them with the techniques and skills essential for the improvement of personal status in the emergent economic and social structure. It was the articulation of this grievance which helped to link the educated Nigerian to his unsophisticated but emancipated countrymen. The result was


an end to the opposition by the officialdom, to higher education. This led to the establishment of the Yaba Higher College (Yaba College of Technology), a vocational training school in 1934.

The school offered curricula in medicine, agriculture, engineering and teacher training. The aim of the school was to attain eventually, the standard of a British university. The same policy was applied at Ibadan University (now University of Ibadan), established in 1948 since each college was to have the closest possible contact with a British university. The Elliot Commission of 1943 that recommended the establishment of the university also suggested the introduction of arts and science faculty, schools of agriculture, forestry, veterinary science, medicine, education, and many others. \(^{16}\) Thus, in 1948 the British pattern of higher education with all its strength and weaknesses was adopted in Nigeria. The universities of London and Cambridge served as models so as to ensure that the British academic "gold standard" was not debased.

The inter-university council guarded jealously the curriculum, the recruitment of staff and the question of recognition of local diplomas and certificates. This was how the whole Nigerian education system became a tool in the hands of imperialists, through which they continue to dominate and influence Nigerian life.

To further endear themselves to the masses, the Nigerian elites set up self-help programs and organizations like tribal unions, through which they award scholarships to needy students. This course was championed by Yoruba elites like Dr. Nathaniel King, Herbert Macaulay, Bishop Sapara Williams and many others. They were later joined by the Ibibios who sponsored twelve nen from their tribe for higher education abroad. The Ibos soon followed suit, in fact, Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe single-handedly sponsored and or encouraged another group of students to the United States. Dr. Mbadiwe and others helped students to gain admission to American universities along with private scholarships. Thus, the years 1930 to 1950 witnessed intensive competition for higher education by diverse groups and
individuals, particularly in the south.\textsuperscript{17}

But, more significantly, it was a period of high militant nationalism by the elites, comprising largely those who had studied abroad in Great Britain and the United States of America, in particular. They had been exposed to the white man's wants and all were influenced by Black activists like W. E. B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey, and many others. Their influence formed the basis for the racial nature of the political thinking of Nigerian nationalists like Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe. As a Nigerian historian observed, the driving force of nationalism in Nigeria was not loyalty to Nigeria as such, but racial consciousness as Africans.\textsuperscript{18} At the same time, there were educated Nigerians who felt it was necessary to recapture the past glories of particular tribes, that is, promoting tribal nationalism. For instance, Samuel Johnson's History of the Yorubas (C.M.S. (Nigeria) Bookshop, Lagos, 1966) was

\begin{thebibliography}
\bibitem{17} Fafunwa, \textit{History of Education in Nigeria}, p. 124
\end{thebibliography}
one of the earliest books by a Nigerian on tribal customs and history. Many of these books implied that the tribe was the natural political community for the future as it had been in the past. Thus, Akiga, an educated Tiv, told his Tiv brothers of the new generation that can read "... (to read this book) and tell others, who cannot, of the things of our ancestors. And reminded them that however great your knowledge may be, remember that you are a Tiv, always remain a Tiv and know the things of Tiv, for therein lies your pride."  

Nevertheless, the elites were able to organize themselves into political parties. The first was formed in 1921 by Herbert Macaulay, called the Nigerian National Democratic Party (N.N.D.P.). Its main aim was to contest and win seats in the legislative council which was controlled by the colonial administration at the time. In 1934, those who felt there should be radical representation formed the Lagos Youth Movement. It changed its name to Nigerian

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Youth Movement (N.Y.M.) in 1936. By 1938, it had challenged and ended the fifteen-year rule of the N.N.D.P., particularly in Lagos where most of its activity was centered. It aimed at the unification of Nigerian tribes. Most of its members were southerners who had studied abroad like Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe and Mr. Obafemi Awolowo, who became the fore-runners of Nigerian politics. Azikwe later became a member of the executive council, a position he resigned in 1939 for business reasons. It was reported that the reason was because the NYM supported and subscribed to the Daily Service Newspaper, edited by Ernest Ikoli, a mid-westerner in competition with Azikwe's West African Pilot. 20

In 1941, the NYM was permanently split. The occasion was a contest within the NYM for a vacant seat on the legislative council. The contestants were Ernest Ikoli, an Ijaw, and Samuel Akinsanya, an Ijebu Yoruba. Ikoli won the nomination. Because of this, Azikwe, along with the Ibos and some Ijebu Yorubas who supported Akinsanya, left the NYM. They claimed that he was not nominated because he was

an Ijebu Yoruba. This was how tribalism came to the fore of Nigerian politics. The NYM was left with an almost Yoruba membership with Obafemi Awolowo, an Ijebu Yoruba as its leader. In order to coordinate their activities, Azikwe and his friends, along with the Nigerian union of students, formed the Nigerian National Council in 1944. The name was later changed to National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (N.C.N.C.) under the leadership of Herbert Macaulay with Azikwe as general secretary. Their resolution was to "work in unity for realization of our ultimate goal of self-government within the British empire." 21

The Richards Constitution imposed on Nigeria in 1945 was named after its author, Sir Arthur Richards, the governor of Nigeria at that time. The constitution divided the colony into three regions which were coterminous with three large ethnic groups: east (Ibo), west (Yoruba), north (Hausa-Fulani). Each had its own regional assembly made up of civil servants and non-officials. It also made provisions for native administrators who had the power to choose

21 West African Pilot, August 28, 1944 and June 28, 1944.
their representatives to the legislative council. The regional governor and his officials were British and had the power to choose non-officials. For the first time, northerners became members of the legislative council in 1947. That means, they had not been included since 1922, when Africans were represented in the legislative council, missing twenty-five crucial years in Nigeria's development. The legislative council and the regional houses were merely forums for discussion. Nigerians did not have any executive power. The native authorities, the instruments of Indirect Rule were given the crucial role of selecting from their ranks members of the legislative council. Only Lagos and Calabar retained the colony, i.e., they had separate governments that existed before the establishment of the protectorates. Though, there were qualified educated Nigerians, they were virtually excluded from meaningful roles in the central government. Table 2. shows an estimation of Nigerians in high occupational groups at the time.

The Richards Constitution was greeted with almost universal disapproval by Nigerian nationalists. They criticized the government for the continuation of the
### TABLE 2

**ESTIMATED NUMBER OF NIGERIAN IN KEY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS IN EARLY 1920s AND EARLY 1950s**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Early 1920s</th>
<th>Early 1950s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barristers</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yorubas</td>
<td>Yorubas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Native foreigners</td>
<td>4 Native foreigners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physicians</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yorubas</td>
<td>Yorubas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Native foreigners</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher and Clerks</td>
<td>21,000</td>
<td>70,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artisans and skilled</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>80,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laborers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Ethnic breakdown not available.

Indirect Rule system which they said was retrogressive and against social change. They argued that the system perpetuates their backwardness by preserving their tribal divisions. The non-radical role of the traditional rulers towards the white man, more than anything provoked the race conscious educated Nigerians into uncompromising hostility to the whole system of Indirect Rule. The constitution only confirmed the allegation that the traditional rulers were agents of imperialism.

Based on the Lugardian policy of channeling Nigerian energies and power through the native authority, the British government argued that the educated Nigerian was not qualified to hold political power or responsibility even under favorable conditions. This kind of trivial excuse only accelerated militant nationalism against the colonial administration. In 1946, the N.C.N.C., led by Herbert Macaulay and Azikwe, took to the roads to protest the Richards Constitution all over the country. It was during this tour that Herbert Macaulay died and Azikwe became the president of the party. At his funeral, Azikwe reiterated the party's commitment to the unity of Africa rather than that of Nigeria. In fact, by 1948, Nigerian
politics had become actively tribalistic. The N.C.N.C. was merged with the Ibo Union, which used to be a cultural organization, under the leadership of Azikwe. The party was challenged by the Action Group, a party that favored the trial of the Richards Constitution. The political party consisted of former offshoot members of the N.Y.M and a Yoruba cultural organization called Egbe Omo Oduduwa. Its leader, Obafemi Awolowo, an ex-executive member of the NYM formed the Action Group in 1951. The group's resolution was to "unite" the various clans and tribes in Yorubaland and to accelerate the emergence of a virile, modernized and efficient Yoruba state with its own individuality in the federal State of Nigeria. On the unity of Nigeria, the party resolved to cooperate with other ethnic groups in order to attain unity in federation. The most significant difference from the N.C.N.C. was that the Action Group was a regional party seeking only to capture power in the rich western region.

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Until 1948, when governor John MacPherson succeeded Governor Richards and his ineffective constitution, political activities were limited to the south. One could say that the introduction of the MacPherson constitution, which was not operative until 1951, woke the north from its political slumber. This constitution provided for democratic election to the regional houses of assembly, empowered each region to raise and appropriate funds, and more importantly, had power to pass laws on education, health, agriculture and local government. In order to prevent southern domination, the Northern Peoples Congress was formed in 1949, a former cultural organization turned political. Like the south, the party was formed by educated northerners like Dr. Dikko, Tafawa Balewa, Yahaya Gusau, Aminu Kano and many others. They were the vanguard of political activities at least for a while. But the great strength of traditionalism and older men in the north was apparent from the onset. The N.P.C. leaders were careful to say that they would not usurp the authority of traditional

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rulers. Instead, their ultimate aim was to enhance traditional authority and help them in the proper discharge of their duties. They also pledged to help enlighten the peasants. The hegemony of the N.P.C. was challenged by the Northern Elements Progressive Union (N.E.P.U.) in 1950; its leader Aminu Kano felt the north needed a more radical political outlook and criticized the power of the native authorities. The party saw a class struggle, supported the depressed peasant class, the talakawa, and therefore stated it was diametrically opposed to the interest of all sections of the master class and hostile to the party of the oppressors.  

The difference between the parties was that N.P.C. sought regional power while N.E.P.U. tried a national outlook by forming an alliance with N.C.N.C. in the south. The effectiveness of the power behind the influence of the native authorities crippled the success of N.E.P.U. They did this by not appointing any member of the party to the twenty-member electoral college in the area. In this way, the success of N.P.C. in the north was assured.

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In the south, power struggle and tribalism reached fever point. The N.C.N.C. and Action Group were already at each others throat, especially in Lagos, where both parties had strong footholds. The mobilization of groups both in terms of ethnic loyalty and voluntary association took more or less a regional character. B. Nkemdirin observed that these groups once mobilized were ready to support their respective leaders in their contention for power and were ready to risk damage or injury, thus to participate in violence during the testing processes of membership into the polity by the chief contenders for power.  

During the campaign for elections, the Action Group leader, Obafemi Awolowo, referred to Azikwe as the "Archdevil" and promised the Yorubas, the "Big Tomorrow" when they will lead the country. And in a speech addressing the Ibo Union, Azikwe was quoted to have said that:

... the god of Africa has specially created the Ibo nation to lead the children of Africa from the bondage of the ages .... The martial powers of the Ibo nation at all stages of human history has enabled them not only to conquer others, but

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also to adapt themselves to the role of preserver ... The Ibo nation cannot shirk its responsibility.

Here he linked the destinies of Africans and the Ibo tribe. To this, Awolowo replied that it seemed clear to me that Azikwe's policy was to corrode the self respect of the Yoruba people as a group, to build up the Ibo as a master race. This sort of politics was very common in Nigeria's political development. Though they disagreed on who will control the south, they all agreed that the colonial government was the enemy, and they needed to get rid of the imperialist. The northerners, already a conservative force Nigerian politics, did not want the British to leave because of their fear of southern domination. In fact, they threatened to secede if the British should leave at that time. Moreover, they resented southerners and yet felt superior to them. This attitude made it difficult for them to work in harmony with southerners, especially on the issue of when the country should become independent. The northerners stalled the

\[26\] West African Pilot, July 6, 1949.

\[27\] The Daily Service Newspaper, July 13, 1949.
issue until they were ready in 1957. Though the north was twice the south combined in size and population, their educational backwardness did not give them political confidence. But with the help and support of the British officials, the north had political power in terms of election ballots. Their position was further secured at the constitutional conference in Ibadan in 1950. The conference was held to review the 1951 constitution, with a view of finding a way to maintain unity in Nigeria. The drafting committee’s chief promise and most significant recommendation was that Nigeria adopt a federal system, with three regions, the north, east and west. It stated:

In a country of the size of Nigeria, with its diversities of history, race, tradition and religion, the real unity will not ... be achieved by attempting to concentrate all power at the centre, but rather by further decentralization of authority to the regions.28

At the conference, they all agreed to operate a federal system, but east and west objected to the north having one-half of the seats in the central house of representatives. The north was also able to acquire for itself

tax revenue based on per capita basis rather than derivation which would have given them less than half. The commission overlooked the opposition of western region to the undefined boundaries between west and north. The decision to redraw the boundaries was left to the governor who eventually decided against a revision. The resolution that only northern males could vote or contest for a seat in the region was opposed by easterners as this automatically disenfranchise southerns there. On the question of the future role of Emirs and chiefs - the symbols of continued ethnic separation as well as of the traditional order - the easterners took the most radical position and northerners the conservative. In fact, the Sarduana of Sokoto Sir Ahmadu Bello, was quoted to have replied for the north saying:

> If my friend can live for centuries, he might still see the natural rulers in the North.

However, it is important to note that delegates to the general conference were selected in a way that a higher number of conservative members than was representative of

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30 Op Cit., Ibid., p. 142.
nationalist sentiments were chosen. At the end of the elections held in 1951, three major parties ruled the regions, each coterminous with its major tribe. The N.C.N.C. (east) led by Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe; the Action Group (west) led by Mr. Obafemi Awolowo; and the N.P.C. (north) led by the Sardauna of Sokoto, Ahmadu Bello.  

The three major political parties, the N.C.N.C., the A.G, and the N.P.C. played a major role in Nigeria until 1966, when military coup d'etat suspended all political activities. They severally and collectively injected both nationalism and tribalism into the Nigerian body politic. Aside from tribalism and regional politics, they contributed substantially to the growth of education in Nigeria between 1950 and 1965.

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CHAPTER THREE

THE PERIOD OF SELF-DETERMINATION AND THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN THE NEW NATION

Being a form of social action .... Education ... is rooted in some culture and expresses the philosophy and recognized needs of that culture.

The period 1950 through 1960 will probably go down as the tempestuous political era in Nigerian history. The handing over of power by the British colonial administration to Nigerians proceeded more rapidly during this decade than in all the years that preceded it. The MacPherson Constitution gave the regions more autonomy, having jurisdiction over health, agriculture and education in particular. The revision of the constitution in 1954 led to a new one called the Lyttleton Constitution, that set a pattern towards further decentralization and regionalization of the country. The revision was necessitated as a result of a resolution moved in the house of

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representatives by Chief Anthony Enahoro of Action Group on March 31, 1953. It stated that "this house accepts as a primary political objective the attainment of self-government for Nigeria in 1957." This almost plunged the country into crisis, it nearly led to secession by the north whose main objection was based on its fear of southern domination. This fear was well-stated by Ahmadu Bello when he said that he "does not intend to accept the invitation to commit political suicide." The southern representatives were frustrated by the north's response and they made derogatory remarks regarding this attitude. Mr. S. L. Akintola, an Action Group member at the time, contrasting himself to northerners said, "I am not appointed an Imperialist minister to do the will of Imperialist agents in Nigeria." The northerners were also said to be gutless. This made them very angry and convinced that it was best to secede. But the idea was later rejected when it was realized that they needed an outlet to the sea. Instead, the Lyttleton Constitution of

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2 Parliamentary Debates, March 31, 1953.

3 Ibid., April 1, 1953.
1954 was adopted, giving each region greater autonomy. And each region could have full internal self-government if it so wished within the still dependent colonized federation in 1956. With effect from October 1954, Nigeria became a federation of three states, each within its own exclusive powers, though the centre had certain extra powers that covered the states or regions. Lagos was excised from the western region and it became a federal territory governed directly by the federal government. There were three legislative lists: the exclusive list, concurrent list and the residual list. The exclusive legislative list was reserved for the central government and the residual for the regional. The central and regional governments could legislate on subjects which were on the concurrent list, provided the federal law prevailed in the event of conflict. Education, other than higher education, was a residual subject, that is within the exclusive legislative competence of the regions. Higher education was on the concurrent legislative list.\(^4\)

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In effect, the Nigerian education system became a federal system consisting of three regional systems of education and Lagos system of education.

With the rise of the three major political parties to power in each of the three regions, intensive political rivalry developed with each party trying to outdo the others, in providing social amenities for its own area of jurisdiction. The western and eastern regional governments controlled by the Action Group and N.C.N.C. respectively, placed highest priority on education.

In 1952, the western region's minister of education, Honorable S. O. Awokoya, presented the proposals for educational policy of the region to be free universal and compulsory, otherwise known as Universal Primary Education (U.P.E.). Along with UPE was the improvement of technical and scientific education, so that Nigerian revenues will be less dependent on the production and sale of raw materials and agricultural products. It became necessary therefore to train manpower needed to "man the machinery of state." An examination of the documents clearly reflected economic needs. Not one of the annual reports of the Ministry of
Education nor the white paper on the establishment of a university in western Nigeria discusses anything on the unification of the country. Neither did the western Nigeria development plan for 1962-1968 (Ibadan, 1962) exhibit any interest in national unity. Even the Banjo Commission appointed in 1961 to review the educational system of western Nigeria also excluded the question of national integration.

It was not until 1964, when a motion was brought before the House of Assembly by a member of the Nigerian National Democratic Party (N.N.D.P.) under Mr. S. L. Akintola was anything said or done about unifying the country. The motion required the introduction of Ibo, Hausa, and French in all schools in the region, a choice of any two of these three languages would be compulsory. The motion got substantial support from both the N.N.D.P., the then party in power and the opposition, the Action Group. Its support was urged on the grounds of eradicating tribalism and promotion of national unity. When the motion was debated in

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the house, damaging remarks were made regarding the motives behind both sides supporting it. However, the minister of education explained the difficulties in implementing such a motion. He argued that the resources needed to introduce the three languages such as instructional materials and teachers were not available. French was already being taught in some schools at the time. No attention was paid to the development of history and geography or social studies as being integrative subjects. Such subjects could have helped in introducing the students to other ethnic groups at least.

Like the western region, the northern region had in operation its own ministry of education in 1952. The region set a new syllabus for its primary schools which was completed in 1956. The most nationalistic statement in these syllabi was found under the course outline for geography. The students were to learn about "goods from other parts of Nigeria where and how they are produced or grown, the life of the people who grow or make them, leading the class to an appreciation of the main tribes
of Nigeria and how they live." Like the west, its main concern was about training manpower to take over from the expatriates and southerners in government and business. The white paper on educational development in northern Nigeria (1961) also addressed the problem of adequate manpower. It dealt with the quantitative problems of development, with no reference to political issues. In a 1963 report by Oldman, an English school administrator, only a single statement acknowledged the need for unifying different tribes and it was limited to the region. It recommended that history should be Nigeria centered and stressed the importance of using Hausa as a lingua franca, where books in other languages were not available. This was to be achieved with the help of expatriate teachers, supervisors, advisors and missionaries. This puts a cloud on the commitment of the policy makers to achieving such an integrating measure, since they depended on expatriates who do not feel a sense of commitment to the program. The north concentrated more on catching up with the southerners.

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- east and west by spending more money on adult education and building more schools, especially primary schools and teacher training colleges.

Of the three regions, the eastern region's intention to use schools for integrative purposes is significantly different. This is evident from the documents made public by its ministry of education. Its free education program was initiated in 1954 by Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe, its premier. The scheme speculated that the local government would pay 45 percent while the regional government would pay 55 percent of the total cost. Schools were to be increased in every district council and more teachers were to be trained. Like the west, the east faced the problem of having more school-age children than available revenue. There was also the constant trouble of collecting the education rating money through the local councils. The failure of this procedure points to weaknesses in the local government system which was made more apparent as the Universal Primary Education was introduced. Among other reasons for its failure beside inefficient system of collection, was corruption by local council officials,
as James O'Connell noted in his article "The State of Primary Education in Nigeria" (1945-1960).\footnote{Hans Weiler, Education and Politics in Nigeria (Freiburg, Germany: Verlag Rombach, 1964), p. 113.}

Many councillors and members of their staff enjoyed a poor reputation for integrity, and so people were unwilling to pay money for schemes controlled by local councils. To overcome the drawbacks inherent at this stage in local rating, the government introduced a new taxation system in the East Regional Finance Act 1956 and local rating was discontinued. Politicians rather unwisely justified the increased regional taxes to the public by implying that the new measures cover the cost of all social welfare amenities. In actual fact as the Dike Commission Reports points out, the amount of capitation tax of thirty shillings, or under, was less than the total tax plus rate hitherto paid.\footnote{Ibid., p.121} This resulted in inadequate buildings, equipments, poor management and by 1958, many schools were closed down and teachers laid off. An important setback for the scheme was the hostility that existed between the
missionaries and the regional government. The eastern government resented the hold over education that the voluntary agencies had and was bent on asserting the power of the local authorities, in order to weaken this hold. They refused to cooperate or assist the government in this venture based on the recommendation that the schools be secular in order to qualify for government grants. This, they argued will defeat their purpose of evangelism and inevitably lead to loss of faith in the church. The proposal to raise fees triggered off immense discontent. Dissatisfaction with the low standards of UPE schools, dislike of the attempts made to discriminate against the voluntary agencies, general uneasiness about methods of government and the flamboyance and flaunting of newly acquired wealth by the political elite, and, above all, resentment against a rising level of taxation produced demonstrations and riots in many parts of the region.9

These difficulties led to a modification of the plans by a committee chaired by Dr. R. K. Dike, Principal of Ibadan University College in 1958. The committee was to

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9 Ibid.
review the educational system in the eastern region. The report, however, was not released until 1962 under a new committee chairman, Dr. Alvan Ikoku. The report was unique in intent and purpose for Nigeria. The following were prepared:

Any educational system - new or mature ... constantly faces the question of its role, its appropriate sphere of action ... one way of getting at its function ... is first to describe ... a model community .... A characteristic of a desirable community is social stability and continuing progress in handling complex inter-relationship among people. It is one which is free from untoward social tensions, whether they arise from political, economic, religious, racial or ideological cause.

There was no statement to support this intent in the latter section of the report, where the more practical matter of the curricula in the primary and secondary schools is discussed. But at a major conference held in 1964 to review the educational system, there were indications of the desire to implement these and other integrative ideas like the introduction of social studies in seventh grade in primary schools. The content was to be

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on how the country evolved into an independent and industrial nation. The eighth grade was to pay particular attention to the political history of Nigeria with emphasis on the development of democracy. The objectives for secondary schools was more explicit. It stated:

This is the level where we deal with adolescents and the most fertile field for giving a nationalistic slant to our teaching of such subjects as history, civics, geography, art, music, cookery, needlework and drama. The overall aim should be to develop a love of our own background and culture, a veneration of our elders and eminent men and women, past and present and an appreciation of what is best in our own way of life. This should lead progressively to examination of peoples and ways of other lands and an appreciation of the unity of mankind in this mosaic of diversity.

It is not perfectly clear from the context whether or not "love for our own background and culture" refers to Nigeria as a whole. However, the conference's recommendation for the teaching of Nigerian geography, history, and civics made clear the application of the overall aims referred to above.

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The status of Lagos under the MacPherson constitution of 1951 changed in 1954. It became a federal capital of Nigeria, controlled entirely by the federal government which was why Lagos was left out of the western region's UPE scheme when it was launched in 1955. The Lagos federal territory started its own free education two years later in 1956, thus making free education a federal government policy, though more emphasis was laid on higher education. This was a scheme that was popular with both the federal and regional governments. The scheme also included the training of more teachers, increased technical and vocational education and the building of more schools in the regions by the federal government. This enabled it to make an impact on educational development in the country.

Towards the end of the decade, the east and western regions had attained regional self-government in 1957, the north attained its own in 1959, and target date for independence was realized on October 1, 1960. In anticipation of the manpower needs of independent Nigeria, the federal government set up the Ashby Commission in 1959 to "conduct an investigation into Nigerian needs in the field of post-
school certificate and higher education over the next twenty years."^{12}

The Ashby report, which became effective in September 1960, was directed essentially at education for manpower needs and the same was applied to regional education policies. But, the report acknowledged in one instance, at least, the schools' role in promoting national unity. It stated that "all universities should admit without discrimination and on the criterion of merit alone, students from any region or tribe."^{13} This was the only level that the federal government intervened since it financed the universities. The federal government's commitment to this policy of national integration was made evident in the national development plan for 1962 to 1968. Though the primary concern of the educational sector was for future manpower needs, it made provision for other problems other than economic.

^{13}Ibid., p. 6
For instance, the twenty-six projects listed under the educational sector, were divided into four categories of essential projects and priorities A, B and C. Part of the essential projects in each region, in order to break down the barriers of intertribal antagonists, was to cater for 570 students from different parts of the country, living together under boarding conditions. A huge amount of 150,000 pounds of sterling (approximately 600,000 naira) was also set aside to support citizenship and leadership centres, which offered short-term courses to young civil servants and students living outside their tribal origin. Mainly, the centre addressed the need to "break down barriers of fear and suspicion which reflect the inter-tribal antagonisms of the past; and ... to develop a strong sense of social obligation in the midst of those fortunate enough to rise to posts of authority and responsibility in the community." 14

In order to correct the imbalance in educational development, the north was allotted 3.1 million

(approximately 12.4 million naira) for primary education. Though this seems to be an integrative expenditure, it also reflects the influence the north exercises over the federal government. This advantage the north enjoys up till today, has always been a source of controversy between it and other parts of the country. And it is all as a result of the 1950 constitutional conference which ironically was to prevent any sort of discrimination that could cause controversies.

As mentioned earlier, further decentralization of the federation gave the region almost autonomous powers. This, of course, made the political control by the federal authority almost impossible. The Nigerian political leaders realized that they could not control the center and demanded therefore that as much power and revenue as possible should be taken away from the center so as to neutralize its authority without actually destroying it. As a result, there was uncompromising determination on their part to entrench themselves so firmly in their respective regions to guarantee indefinite control of the regional government. This not only ensured regional power,
but also federal parliamentary seats, especially where the government and party is the same. The regional government was usually able to manipulate the election machinery in its favor, giving it majority support in every one of the constituencies within its area of jurisdiction. It exercised its power in such a way as to ensure its stay in office indefinitely.

The regional governments assured their position by using all available resources at the government's disposal, including the power of patronage. The government had the money, favors, jobs and prestige to distribute among those who would support it. Loyal party members were appointed directors to public boards; for example, the board of education, marketing board, scholarship boards and so on. These positions are held or advanced as long as the member is loyal to the party. For instance, licenses awarded by the marketing boards, though they may be granted based on commercial criteria, political considerations are not always negligible. In a public speech, Dr. Azikwe said

that the government "would be foolish to renew Mr. Obioha's produce buying licenses in view of the fact that he had joined the Mbadiwe conspiracy to overthrow the N.C.N.C. government unconstitutionally." The same kind of corruption was revealed by the Coker Commission of Inquiry into the finances of the Action Group in the western region in 1962. It found that most of the directors of the public boards were all supporters of the party. The minister of education, the Honorable S. O. Awokoya, who planned and executed successfully the free education program in the region was fired for openly supporting the dissent views of Honorable S.L. Akintola, an ex-Action Group party member in 1963. This patronage was not limited to party members alone; those constituencies that supported the opposition were denied social services to which every tax-paying community was entitled. For the urban and rural community, supporting the dominant party in the regions meant more schools, more hospitals, more tarred

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roads, more maternity hospitals, bridges, water supply and electricity. More so, school supervisors, teachers, school principals and vice chancellors held their jobs based on their allegiance to the party in power; party patronage was that entrenched. As aptly described by Okoi Arikpo:

Each regional government was more concerned with standing on its constitutional rights and promoting its particular interests than with promoting the overall interests of the nation. And the country had developed no national symbol strong enough to supersede existing regional loyalties.

This was the nature of politics in the nation which got to its peak during the first republic in 1963, when the situation got out of hand in the western region in particular. The occasion was elections for the new republican constitution of 1963 when the Nigerian National Democratic party (N.N.D.P.), an offshoot of Action Group, was accused of rigging the elections. The party was made up of disgruntled Yoruba members, N.C.N.C. and United People's Party (a pro N.P.C. splinter of the Action Group) which came to

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18 Ibid., p. 130.
power in January 1963 after the Action Group government was dismissed in May 1962. The N.N.D.P., led by Mr. S. L. Akintola, had the view to unite all Yorubas and accommodate the N.P.C. dominated federal government. Yoruba solidarity and a fair share of the national cake for the Yoruba was the N.N.D.P. slogans. But these, plus putting all the blames of the region's political and economic misfortunes of the Action Group, did not win the party the people's support. As far as the masses were concerned, the N.N.D.P. was the embodiment of insurrection against the established leadership and just another N.P.C. satellite in the region. The closer the N.N.D.P. became with N.P.C., the closer it brought the N.C.N.C. and its arch rival the Action Group. The federal elections of 1964 aggravated the situation and the N.N.D.P. employed all government coercive machinery to harass and intimidate its opponents and voters, and manipulated the electoral machinery in its favor. This started an array of accusations and counter accusations by the contending candidates and the masses went on to destructive rampage. Violence, riots and killings were all over the region; the federal government had to declare a state of emergency in the region. This led to the
imprisonment of the opposition members and the leader of the action group. This violence and uprising among the people was not limited to the western region alone, it was widespread all over the country but nowhere in Nigerian history was there so much abuse of power and manipulation of electoral machinery as in the western region. This loss of law and order in the regions, and the inability of the federal government to arrest the situation was put to an end in January 1966 when the military staged a coup d'état that ended the civilian rule until 1979.
CHAPTER FOUR

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The hypothesis of this paper stated that the Nigerian elites, rather than use education as an instrument for unifying the country, used it to foster their own self-interest. As it has been shown in the previous chapters, it is obvious that the Nigerian education system was never meant to serve a unifying purpose, rather, it served at different points in time the interests of those who built it and those who later adopted it. In particular, the missionaries who had absolute control over more than 60 percent of the nation's schools at their inception, never inculcated into the students the essence of integrating the various tribes of the country. In fact, nothing was allowed to stand in the way of their evangelical mission. By providing the three Rs, reading, writing, and arithmetic to the natives, they aided the colonial government in implementing its policies in terms of manpower needed to facilitate its government apparatus.
The contents of the various subjects taught in these schools reflect this claim. The curricula for subjects like history, literature, social studies were based on British society except for geography, which deals with Nigeria, but much of it was on European geography.

Religion was always a major part of the students’ education; it was never compromised until recently when the military government removed it as a compulsory subject in high schools. For a long period, the missionaries provided the subservient employees the colonial government needed for smooth running of its administration, most of whom now rule the country.

The positive effect of religious emphasis in education, especially in the southern part of the country, is that it instigated the need for self-government or independence by preaching equality of all men. In fact, it resulted in Governor General Lugard’s commitment to secular education in the country. He was quoted to have said that "education seems to have produced discontent, impatience of any control and unjustifiable assumption of self importance
This kind of attitude by British officials, coupled with Nigerian elites who had studied abroad and had been exposed to the then popular black consciousness ideology, prompted nationalist activities in the country. They were able to conclude that the colonial government was the enemy. They criticized the uneven distribution of education in the north in particular, and agitated for establishment of higher education institutions in the country and even sponsored some to study abroad. They succeeded in driving out the colonialists, but they could not decide who or what group of people will control the country.

From the beginning, the way the various tribes were balkanized together, it is obvious that it was only for administrative convenience of the colonial government. It was not because they believed the people could live together in peace and unity. In fact, the colonial government maintained superficial peace by policing the colony. The government did whatever it took to stop the

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disruption of its commercial and economic interests; to the colonial government it was very necessary to keep the north and south separated by executing different laws in both places. For instance, education in the north was largely secular with little or no interference with the established Islamic education. The government even encouraged and helped build more Islamic schools. Most of the schools were operated by British teachers and assistants who had no commitment to the people they taught or the country. Even when the question of unity was raised in education reviews they helped to compile, there is little evidence to show it was taken seriously or how it was to be taught in the classroom. This was common to all educational reviews in all the regions.

The political organizers or leaders themselves did not make the situation any better. In their bid for authority, they realized that their most secure base for support would be the people of their own group. As Claude Ake well observed that insecurity makes political actors struggle even more grimly and tenaciously for political power and the high premium on political power inclines political
actors to use any method which will produce desired results rather than confine themselves to methods of competition which are real or legal.\(^2\) In Nigeria, the political leaders employed ethnic loyalties as a conscious instrument in their politics. Mobilization of resources, both in terms of ethnic loyalty and voluntary associations, took more or less a regional character. In order to maintain this position, the political leaders resorted to distortion of facts; indeed as Balewa said, it is the politicians and our newspapers who preach disunity for their own ends and thereby fostering bitterness (Official Report, Vol. II, Session 1957-58, 728-741). By agitating for a loose federation, the opportunity for a cohesive education system was destroyed. Ethnic loyalty provided the political organizers with available resources for collective action, and the system of government (House of Representatives), including the power of patronage, was largely regionalized.\(^3\) This decentralization widened the gap


between the north and south in terms of progress and hindered the evolution of a Nigerian political culture. This is in line with Alex Inkeles contention that "to leave men in a condition of poverty so extreme that they are outside politics, in effect non-citizens, is to create an apathetic mass which is not integrated in society and cannot be mobilized for the purposes of national growth and development." The result is that everyone is busy struggling for the crumbs from the national cake and Nigerians came to believe that unless their own men are in government, they will not be able to secure socio-economic amenities. The further implication of this is that development is retarded because under these conditions, neither culture nor industry can flourish. And in that case, makes the planning of a dynamic and progressive education system almost an impossible task.

But since the military government came to power, there has been major development in the allocation of educational facilities. More schools are being built in rural

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4 Alex Inkeles "Participant Citizenship in Six Developing Countries, American Political Science Review 43 No. 4 (December 1969):1134.
areas. The north in particular is enjoying this change and still gets a larger part of resources allocated. The federal military government established curriculum development commission which works on improving the curriculum passed down from the colonial era to suit Nigerian situation, especially social studies.

One of the major problems to effecting a viable social studies curriculum is implementation. Dr. Okobiah, in his article, the "New National Policy on Education and the Development of Social Studies Curriculum for Nigerian Schools", argued that those affected by any program must be involved from the inception through to development and implementation. His studies showed that the teachers who are the backbone of the program are the least involved. They are inadequate in number, ignorant of the concepts objectives and the methodological approaches of social studies. It is not surprising to note that there are serious oppositions by specialists in the traditional subject areas like geography, economics, history and

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government, who feel insecure and threatened by the introduction of social studies in the schools. They do not only need a retraining in social studies, but more also a re-orientation to appreciate the need for social studies at the primary and secondary schools instead of the separate systematic disciplines for which they were trained.

However, there are books like History for West African Students by A. Dahunsi and A. Adetoro published by Nigerian authors. Works of literature like Things Fall Apart, No Longer at Ease by Chinua Achebe are expressive of the political climate of the country and the elite dilemma. Religious studies was eradicated as a compulsory subject and schools, including missionary schools, became secular.

The quality of education has continued to drop since the period of self-government to independence and thereafter. The governments have often underestimated both the qualitative and quantitative implications of Free Universal Education. Most times, they are not able to meet the financial commitment needed for quality teachers in particular school buildings and educational materials.6

6 Ibid. p. 76
Teachers are often underpaid and command little respect in the society. In short, the noble profession is yet to be made attractive enough to get the best.

The focus of education in Nigeria since Ashby Commission is still manpower needs, but the irony is there are more graduates than are jobs to absorb them. The question of unity is yet to be adequately addressed. The philosophy of education continues to be British-oriented, which is elitist and acquisitive.

As Nnoli adequately observed that "the truth of the matter is, as in many spheres of national life, Nigeria has merely followed the footsteps of their erstwhile colonial masters without fully appreciating the latters' motives ...". They need to fill their lack of historical perspective to social phenomena, to understand why the colonial government emphasized what was different among rather than what was common to them. If all goes well, they might be able to increase production and direct the education system towards productive aspects of social life, rather than depend on the manipulation of

distribution of social amenities and benefits. Unless the elites stop thinking of unity as the co-operation of the bourgeoisie which can only be achieved by means of constitutional arrangements, that allocate them areas of exploitation, national unity will continue to elude the country.


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