

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

A PERSPECTIVE ON FREE EDUCATION  
AT ALL LEVELS IN NIGERIA

by

Ken C. Prince Asagwara

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KEN C. PRINCE ASAGWARA

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of  
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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DEDICATED

IN LOVING MEMORY

OF MY BELOVED PARENTS

MAZI ISSAC O.

AND

MRS. AGNES N.

ASAGWARA

AND

TO MY WIFE

DORIS AND CHILDREN

CHICHI, UZOMA

OGECHI AND CHINWE

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## CHAPTER I

### NIGERIA - THE SETTING

#### Introducing Nigeria: A Brief History

The political entity known as Nigeria was created by the British colonial administration. It came into existence in 1914 when the Northern and Southern parts under "British Protectorate" were amalgamated. Sir Frederick Lugard and his wife are credited for coining the name "Nigeria" in description of the "Niger area", that is, the hills and basins through which the River Niger and its tributaries flowed into the ocean. The Portuguese and the British were the first Europeans to arrive in the area, and they were also the first to show interest in the exploitation and development of the rich mineral and agricultural resources of the area. Their first article of interest in the region was the slave trade between West Africa and the New World. When the slave trade was abolished, following the pioneer work of Granville Sharp and the Quakers, they became interested in other forms of trade and began to penetrate the interior of the region.

Following the amalgamation of the Protectorate of the Southern Nigeria with that of Northern Nigeria in 1914 (the Colony of Lagos had been ceded to Britain by King Akitoye in 1861), the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria came under a unitary administration presided over by a Governor General. The first Governor-General was Sir Frederick Lugard. For administrative convenience, the country was divided into four, namely, the Colony of Lagos, the Northern, Eastern and Western Provinces.

Under the 1922 constitution, the British Government introduced for the first time in Nigeria, the principle of direct election into the

legislative council. The system of direct election was limited to only representatives from Lagos and Calabar (the then administrative centres). This was a significant development because earlier Nigerian nationalists and political elites had been calling for a directly elected instead of hand-picked representatives of the people in the legislature.

Between 1946 and 1951, different constitutions were introduced, and these gave Nigerians their first representative and then responsible government (Nigeria Handbook, 1977). Under the 1946 constitution, a federal form of government was introduced. The country was divided into three regions - the East, West and North with their regional capitals at Enugu, Ibadan and Kaduna respectively. A regional House of Assembly was established for each of the regions, while a central legislature at Lagos was created to administer the whole country. The regional Houses of Assembly were mandated to "act as advisory bodies to the central legislature on regional matters" (Ibid., p. 28).

There were more and greater political developments in 1954 and 1957. In 1954, Nigeria's Federal structure was reaffirmed (Nwagwu, 1986). And in 1957, regional self-government was granted to Eastern and Western Nigeria. The Northern region attained the same status in 1959. The federation of Nigeria gained political independence from Britain on October 1, 1960, and in 1963, it became the Federal Republic of Nigeria, and retained membership in the Commonwealth. Nigerians are a very politically minded people, and the division of the country into political units always has generated a lot of controversy. A Mid-West region was carved out of the Western region in 1963, bringing the number of regions to four. In 1967, the ruling military government that overthrew the civilian government in 1966 divided the country into a

twelve state structure. In 1976, the military government of General Mohammed increased the number of states to nineteen. In October 1987, two more states were created by the present government of General Ibrahim Babangida, bringing the total number of states in Nigeria today to twenty-one. It is not yet known, how many states there will eventually be in Nigeria, because there is a continuous agitation for more from minority groups.

Nigeria fought a devastating civil war from 1967-70. The events that led to the civil war, and the struggles of the Eastern region which declared itself Biafra in 1967 in order to secede from Nigeria, are well documented by writers like Madiebo (1980), Obasanjo (1980), Ikejiani and Ikejiani (1986), Ademoyega (1982), Stremlau (1977), Kirk-Greene (1971), Nwankwo and Ifejika (1969), and Garba (1981). It has been said that the attempted secession and the consequent civil war constitutes an important watershed in the history of Nigeria (Nwagwu, 1986). Many Nigerians today believe that the carnage and horrors of events of 1966-70 have helped to ensure the survival of Nigeria as one nation. As Nwagwu (Ibid., p. 6) put it, "the national crisis established more firmly the interdependence of the various peoples and units of the country and the need to remain united".

#### The Land

Nigeria lies within the tropics between latitudes 4° and 14° north of the Equator and longitudes 3° and 14° east of the Greenwich Meridian. It is bounded on the west by the Republic of Benin, on the North by Niger Republic, on the East by the Republic of Cameroun, and on the south by the Atlantic Ocean (Nigeria Handbook, p. 1, 1977). The coastline is

intersected by an intricate network of creeks and rivers and by the great Niger delta. The northern parts reaches up to the Sahara Desert (Ibid.). The River Niger and River Benue divide the country roughly into three drainage zones which help to demarcate the land into highlands and lowlands, and the country into political regions (Nwagwu, 1986, pp. 6-7). Nigeria has three main highland areas. There is the Jos Plateau with a beautiful semi-temperate climate stretching from Kaduna state to Bauchi state in the north east. On the eastern axis up to the boundary with the Republic of Cameroun is an extensive mountainous area that leads into the Cameroon mountains. The third highland area stretches from the south-west to the south-east ending in the Udi Hills around Enugu. The Lowland areas lie between the highlands. They include the valleys of Rivers Niger and Benue, the coastal plains and the Niger Delta, the Sokoto River Valley in the north-west, and the low area near the Lake Chad in the North-east (Ibid., p. 7).

Nigeria has a tropical form of climate characterized by high temperatures all year round, with high atmospheric humidity. There are only two main seasons, namely, the dry season and the rainy season. The former begins in November and stays till April, and the latter begins in May lasting till the end of October. There is also the very severe, dry dusty harmattern weather which blows from the dry areas of Northern Africa through the Sahara Desert into Northern Nigeria to the Southern parts of the country. The harmattern weather begins in early December, lasts till the end of January, and it is usually severe in the northern parts. There is the August-break - an interlude of little or no rainfall in the midst of the heavy rainy period. It can last from one week to a few weeks. The northern area is characterized by Savannah or grasslands,

while the south features heavy dense rain forests.

### The People

Nigeria has a very ancient history. But little is known about its inhabitants because there was no written account of its people before the Europeans colonized it. The present people of Nigeria belong to different ethnic or tribal groups usually classified into linguistic affiliations. There are over 250 ethnic groups in Nigeria, but, "in almost all cases traditions have been complicated and interwoven with unreliable legends" (Oboli, 1974, p. 64).

There are very large ethnic groups with millions of people as well as very small groups with only a few thousand people. Nine groups are particularly large, with these statistics according to the 1963 census:

Table I.I  
The Nine Large Ethnic Groups

---

Hausas	11.7 million		
Yorubas	11.3 million	Ibibios	2.0 million
Ibos	9.3 million	Tivs	1.4 million
Fulanis	4.8 million	Ijaws	1.1 million
Kanuris	2.3 million	Edos	.95 million

---

Source: H.O.M. Oboli (1978). A New Outline Geography of West Africa, 8 ed. Harrap Books, London, p. 64-65.

The Hausas, Fulanis, Kanuris and Tivs inhabit the northern part of the country. Most of them are Muslims with interspersed Christian populations in their midst. They are mostly farmers, and their major products are cotton, groundnuts, yams, and cattle. The southern part of the country is inhabited by the Yorubas, Ibos, Ibibios, Ijaws and Edos. Their major occupation is also farming, and their major cash and

grain products are maize and rice, cocoa, rubber, palm oil and kernel. Most of the people in the southern region are Christians because the first contact the Europeans had when they came was with the people along the Southern sea coast. The disparity in educational development between the north and the south is often attributed to this fact.

Nigeria is riddled with ethnic minority problems. Before 1966, the politics and government of the country was dominated by the four largest groups: the Hausas, Fulanis, Yorubas and Ibos. But the civil war provided the minority groups a perception of the balance of power in Nigerian politics of which before this time they were not aware. The 245 or so minority groups make up the "largest single group and their combined population is greater than that of the four main ethnic groups that dominate the scene" (Nwagwu, 1986, p. 9). Jordan (1978) notes that in spite of the collective strength of the ethnic minorities, they can have few illusions about being separately strong enough to stand alone to fight or compete with any of the major ethnic groups. Often, there are neither permanent ethnic friends nor foes in the political power struggle.

The 1977 National Policy on Education contains a clause which stressed the importance of language in the educational process, and as a means for preservation of cultural identity. Because of this, the Federal government recommended that in the interest of national unity, each Nigerian school child will have to learn one of the three major languages of Nigeria outside the child's own ethnic tongue. Needless to say, this directive is being resented by the larger ethnic minorities who see it as an attempt to impose other cultures on them. There have been calls for a common language for all Nigerians. But it has been

bogged down by controversies that range from which ethnic language or combination and amalgamation of languages to outright apathy. There are Nigerians who feel that the local "pidgin" or "broken" English spoken generally across ethnic and cultural lines would be the best solution to the problem of lingua franca.

There are other interesting aspects of the Nigerian people. "One is that most of the population is young, about 50 percent of the total is below the age of 20 years, and only about 5 percent are over 65 years old" (Nwagwu, Op.cit.). As Nwagwu (Ibid.) has remarked, the youthful nature of the population has serious implications for educational planning and development. The exact Nigerian population figure is not known. It was estimated at 52.4 million in 1960, 63.9 million by 1970, 85.9 million in 1980, and 102.6 million by 1986 (Alminbar, 1987, p. 56). All previous census figures have been rejected as inaccurate, incorrect, falsified or grossly inflated for political gains. According to Nwagwu (Op.cit.), this prompted a Canadian expert Wolfgang Stopher who once came to Nigeria to assist in planning the education system and the economy to write a book reflecting his experiences titled, Planning Without Facts. This uncertainty in population figure notwithstanding, Nigeria is regarded as the most populous black nation on earth.

Another outstanding feature of Nigerians is their acceptance and belief in the powers of education. Nigerians believe that education is like the legendary "Arabian Nights" command word "Open Sesame", for they believe that education can open any door. For this, Nigerians have "earned the reputation for being insatiable questors after knowledge", and "there is hardly a country or region in the world where there is not a Nigerian, studying" (Taiwo, 1985, p. 59). Nwagwu (1986) makes the

point that Nigerians have a reputation for generosity and hospitality to visitors and strangers, especially when they know that their visitors have not come to "settle and exploit" them. Once one is able to speak the local language of the community, they will be more than happy to make the person feel at home with them.

Nigerians are very sensitive to the abuse of human rights. They cherish democratic system of organization. This is why absolute dictatorial military governments have not lasted in Nigeria. They may have a military government, but it has to have the makings of a democratic government to remain in power. This sensitivity to freedom and democracy is attributed to the relatively high level of intellectual exposure in the country and among Nigerians. There are numerous newspapers in the country considering the ratio of people that can read and write. No individual in public or private business nor any institution is beyond criticism. Perhaps, this is why Nigeria appears to have the freest press in black Africa.

The final characteristic of the Nigerian in this introduction is that they are ostentatious, they love being flamboyant, they love titles, and they do have a sense of humour. There are very few inherited powerful traditional rulers in Nigeria: nevertheless, one would easily see and meet chiefs, kings and princes who have neither kingdoms nor subjects to rule and govern. "Some bought their titles, some installed themselves with the title, while some were conferred the title by their people because of their achievements or meritorious services to the community" (Nwagwu, Ibid., p. 11). It is common for a visitor to Nigeria to see and hear people call themselves or be called by their admirers names like doctor, chairman, senator, captain, tycoon, professor,

engineer. There are village herbalists and medicine men who though they can neither correctly spell nor write their names address themselves as "doctor" with all kinds of degrees after their name. A grade 10 office typist calls himself professor and even armed robbery gang leaders, money doublers, drug dealers and motor park touts call themselves general, businessman, merchant, captain and other names like that. One needs to be there to see and believe.

### The Economy

Nigeria is an agricultural country but resource utilization is inefficient. In spite of the abundant untilled arable land, there have been persistent shortages of food and raw materials with declining agricultural exports. Nigeria used to be the leading exporter of cash crops like groundnuts, palm oil and kernels and cocoa. This neglect of the agricultural economy is as a consequence of the oil boom. What is required is a basic replanning of the agricultural sector centred on the effective rejuvenation of the rural economy. This was the thinking of the last military government when it initiated "Operation Feed the Nation" (OFN), and the last civilian government when it launched the "Green Revolution." There are dams and irrigations that have been constructed all over the country. There is currently the Directorate of Food, Roads, and Rural infrastructure whose effort at land reform and peasant organization should be encouraged. These changes are needed (1) to provide raw materials for a robust agro-based industrialization strategy, (2) to build a solid base for self-sufficiency in food supply, (3) and rescue the desperate plight of the peasantry.

However, Nigeria produces rice, beans, maize, millet; cattle, sheep, goat and poultry are also produced. But production is not large

enough to halt the need for imported foods. There are cash crops whose production levels have fallen; they are timber, palm oil and kernel, rubber, tobacco, sugar, cotton, cocoa and groundnuts (peanuts). Most of these are also for local industries. Nigeria is also rich in valuable mineral resources. Although crude oil is the leading export, other important resources are coal, columbite, tin and cassiterite, natural gas, limestone, marble, iron ore, potash, clay and hydro-electric energy. The annual production of most of these during 1960-83 is indicated in Table I.II. Coal and gas are supplementary sources of energy, while limestone and clay are also produced for domestic use in the construction sector. Columbite, tin and cassiterite are, however, produced mostly for export. While the output of coal has been declining since 1966, those of columbite, tin and cassiterite have been falling since the oil boom in 1974. But the production of gas and limestone has increased steadily over the years, with gas output jumping from 20.6 billion cubic metric tons in 1978 to a peak of 30,060 billion cubic metric tons in 1979. The overall picture is that reliance on oil has tended to slow the development of these other minerals, especially the ones that are not yet exploited in commercial quantities, like uranium and gold.

The oil boom notwithstanding, Nigeria is still predominantly an agricultural country. Like the rest of tropical Africa, Nigeria is yet to generate a successful agrarian revolution. Despite all these problems the country is still one of the richest if not the richest black nation on earth. The country's vast land area of 923,768.00 square kilometers spans several ecological zones and soil formulations, from the swampy creeks of the coastal belt through the deciduous rain forest to the

Table I.II

Nigeria's Production of Principal Minerals, 1960/83

Year	Crude Oil (barrels 000)	Coal (000 tons)	Columbite (tons)	Tin and Cassiterite (tons)	Gas (cubic metric tons)	Lumeshr Metric (tons 000)
1960	6,367	564.7	2,201	8,310	144	-
1961	16,802	596.5	2,416	10,596	310	-
1962	24,624	615.7	2,185	10,634	486	-
1963	27,913	600.2	1,941	11,275	426	-
1964	43,997	698.5	2,448	11,845	1,029	-
1965	99,354	731.2	2,580	12,154	2,670	-
1966	152,428	740.9	2,147	12,818	2,876	-
1967	116,553	93.7	1,682	12,872	2,593	-
1968	51,907	29.2	1,525	12,714	1,462	-
1969	197,204	17.0	1,193	12,999	4,126	-
1970	395,836	50.8	1,622	11,876	8,068	-
1971	558,679	195.0	1,386	10,932	12,996	813
1972	643,207	343.0	1,365	10,051	17,122	1,406
1973	750,593	327.0	1,248	9,137	20,566	1,801
1974	823,318	309.3	1,368	7,380	39,170	1,811
1975	651,507	248.0	991	6,284	18,995	1,698
1976	758,058	309.9	670	5,019	22,092	1,073
1977	766,054	264.5	860	4,409	21,935	1,096
1978	667,609	218.9	567	3,980	20,588	1,184
1979	842,474	171.9	567	4,116	30,060,152	1,735
1980	752,498	176.0	554	3,542	24,486,688	2,336
1981	522,102	115.9	377	3,364	17,347,509	1,424
1982	-	56.0	161	2,418	15,381,703	1,735
1983	-	52.7	80	2,118	15,192,274	1,455

Source: Federal Office of Statistics (FOS) Annual Abstract of Statistics (Various Issues). Lagos, Nigeria. 1960-1983.

savannah in the hinterland and upwards to semi-desert in the northern belt (Alminbar, 1986, p. 55). Much of these zones is fertile arable land that support most tropical products, livestock grazing, and fish production from the expansive seaboard to numerous rivers and lakes. In spite of the wasteful predominantly shifting cultivation in the country, rapid rising population and rural migration, "it has been estimated that more than 50 percent of the country's arable land is still fallow (Ibid.).

The total values of agricultural production and exports are shown in Table I.III for 1960-82. While the value of agricultural output was N1.4 billion in 1960, it rose to N1.8 billion by 1970, N5.7 billion in 1980 and N5.9 billion by 1982. Correspondingly, the value of agricultural exports was N282.5 million in 1960, fell to N280.5 million by 1970, rose slightly to N340.5 million in 1980 and dropped sharply to barely N92.0 million during the second year of the depression in 1982. While the total agricultural values increased slowly over the years, the export values fluctuated widely from a minimum of N92.0 million to a maximum of N468.0 million in 1979 as indicated on Table I.III. This was due to the ebb and flow of the world export market for primary products.

The availability of agricultural and mineral resources have resulted in the establishment of many industries at Port Harcourt, Warri, Kaduna and Lagos, and more are expected to be built soon. Nigeria began producing iron and steel in 1981. There are two factories, one at Aladja in Bendel state now in operation, and the main steel mill at Ajaokuta which will soon be finished.

Nigeria is suffering from the social and economic problems of rural to urban migration. This is because most of the industries and factories

Table I.III

Agricultural Earnings in Nigeria, 1960-1982

Year	Valuable of Agricultural Products (N Million)	Agricultural Earnings As % of GDP	Value of Agricultural Exports (N Million)
1960	1,423.8	63.4	282.5
1961	1,465.2	61.7	283.0
1962	1,609.6	61.2	260.0
1963	1,675.0	59.7	285.9
1964	1,678.0	57.6	303.9
1965	1,691.8	54.9	327.3
1966	1,784.1	55.6	292.5
1967	1,713.0	56.1	264.5
1968	1,726.0	55.0	263.7
1969	1,743.8	53.2	278.7
1970	1,787.4	51.3	280.5
1971	3,399.7	36.0	265.2
1972	3,575.3	32.0	190.1
1973	3,351.8	27.9	278.4
1974	3,246.5	24.7	297.8
1975	3,372.7	23.4	267.3
1976	3,943.0	23.95	251.8
1977	4,898.3	20.56	342.7
1978	5,143.4	19.23	-
1979	5,389.1	19.69	468.0
1980	5,656.8	18.00	340.5
1981	5,744.19	13.27	178.4
1982	5,942.29	13.68	92.0

Notes: 1960-75 was based on 1974-75 factor cost;  
 1975-80 was based on 1980 factor cost;  
 1981-82 was based on 1982 factor cost;

Sources: 1. S.O. Olayide, Economic Survey of Nigeria, 1960-1975 p. 26,  
 Table 3.1;  
 2. Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN), Economic and Financial  
 Review, various years (Lagos).  
 3. CBN, Annual Report and Statement of Accounts, various  
 years (1960-82) (Lagos).

are concentrated in the cities, and the resultant high social life of modernization available in the cities is absent in the rural areas. This phenomenon has worsened the food problems in the country because "youths abandon the farms in the rural areas to seek wage employment" and modern social life in the cities. The argument that modernization, urbanization and mass education generates unemployment holds true for Nigeria. The average income in the rural areas is very low but is quite high in the urban areas. There is constant unemployment in the cities while it is very hard to obtain hired labour for the farms and the rural economy. The problem and the solution, were very succinctly summarized by Nwagwu (1986) when he noted:

The problem of "back to the land" which has been preached in the past twenty years has no appeal for youths. With the social demand for education and increased opportunities of access to education, every family strives to educate its children to the highest possible level according to their abilities. Having received such education and after seeing the disparity in incomes and standards of living between urban and rural areas, neither boys nor girls have any desire to live, work or farm in the countryside. The future of the Nigerian economy therefore depends on the modernization of living conditions in the rural areas. This means the establishment of industries in these areas, and the provision of modern utilities like electricity, pipe-borne water, recreational centres and employment opportunities (p. 8).

#### Human Resources

It was pointed out earlier that Nigeria's population was estimated at 102.6 million in 1986. This is the basic source of the country's supply of labour force and skilled manpower which together constitute the national stock of human capital. According to Onimode (1984), "the human element is the most critical of all the resources of a country as it determines its capacity for harnessing, expanding and utilizing the other natural and physical resources as well as the quality

of national leadership" (in Alminbar, Ibid., p. 56). It is this leadership that accounts for the quality of national economic management, political stability and social cohesion, because the most abundant resources may be wasted and the country itself may be destroyed through bankrupt leadership (Ibid.). This came close to happening in 1966-70 when the civil war was fought.

The potential dynamics of the population centre on its high growth rate of about 3 percent annually which has been higher than the growth rates of the economy and food production in the 1980s. The offsetting factors (Onimode, Ibid.) have been the low life expectancy of 36.5 years in 1950, 40.5 in 1960 and 48.5 by 1985 as well as the high infant mortality rate of 207 by 1950, 185 in 1960 and 114 in 1985. But the total fertility rate is also high and rising at 6.8 in 1950, 6.9 by 1960 and 7.10 in 1985.

The quality of these human resources is reflected in their education and training. While the overall literacy rate was about 15 percent in 1960, it rose to around 18 percent by 1970 and stood at about 35 percent by 1985 (Ibid.). The Ashby Commission's Report of 1960 (which shall be reviewed and evaluated in detail later) on post-secondary education laid the foundation for higher education in post-colonial Nigeria. The enrolment in university education associated with it subsequently is depicted in Table I.IV. It shows total enrolment as 7,709 in 1965-66, 14,468 in 1970-71 and 57,542 during 1979-80 with an average annual increase of about 16 percent. By 1987 the total number of universities in the country rose to 31. The phenomenal increase in the number of universities and the high turn out of university graduates have resulted in growing numbers of unemployed graduates.

Table I.IV  
Growth of Enrolment in University Education in Nigeria  
1965/66 to 1979/80

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No.	Year	Enrolment	Annual Increase	Annual Growth Rate (%)
1	1965/66	7,709	1,002	14.9
2	1966/67	8,711	1,002	13.0
3	1967/68	7,058	-1,653	-19.0
4	1968/69	8,588	1,530	21.7
5	1969/70	9,695	1,107	12.9
6	1970/71	14,468	4,768	49.2
7	1971/72	17,093	2,625	18.1
8	1972/73	20,889	3,796	22.2
9	1973/74	23,228	2,339	11.2
10	1974/75	27,025	3,797	16.3
11	1975/76	32,212	5,187	19.2
12	1976/77	39,902	7,690	23.9
13	1977/78	46,846	6,944	17.4
14	1978/79	49,577	2,731	5.1
15	1979/80	57,542	7,948	16.0

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Source: Compiled by Onimode (1987) from the records of the National Universities Commission, Lagos, Nigeria, in Alminbar, (1987) p. 56.

Government and Politics

As has already been stated, Nigeria was formerly governed from London as a British colonized territory. It gained political independence in October 1, 1960. The country had a parliamentary system of government which was headed by the Prime Minister. The parliamentary system of government headed by Alhaji Tafawa Belewa lasted from 1960 to 1966 when the first military take-over of Nigerian politics occurred. Under the parliamentary system of government (1960-66) there were three major political parties in the country. They were the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC) - a Northern-based party whose membership dominated the federal parliamentary government of Alhaji Tafawa Belewa; the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) with a federal structure but also dominated by the Ibos; and the Action Group (AG) Party based in the Western region and predominantly Yoruba.

These three major political parties, as can be seen, were regionally based, and ethnically dominated. However, there was a coalition of two of the three political parties which formed the federal government from 1960-66. They were the NPC as a senior partner in the coalition, having won the majority of seats in the House though not enough to form the government alone, and the NCNC as a junior partner. The Western region based, Yoruba dominated Action group party formed the opposition party in the House. Unfortunately, the coalition government of the NPC and the NCNC fell apart by 1965. In the same year, serious political crisis erupted in the Western region following regional elections that were riddled with accusations and counter accusations of rigging, mal-practices and fraud. The crisis was so serious that it threatened the very existence of the Nigerian federation. This prompted the military

intervention in January 15, 1966. Following the military coup, the Nigerian Armed Forces were invited to take over the government of the Federation, and a military government was established. There was a counter-coup in July, 1966. This was followed by a series of disturbances all over the country and an exodus of people of former Eastern Region origin from their places of residence. This crisis could not be resolved and the former Eastern Region seceded from the Federation of Nigeria. A civil war ensued which lasted from 1967 to 1970 culminating in the reintegration of Biafra into the Nigerian Federation. All this time General Yakubu Gowon was the Head of state and Head of the Federal Military Government. In 1975, another military coup swept General Gowon from office. He was replaced as Head of State and Commander-In-Chief of the Nigerian Armed Forces by Brigadier Murtala Mohammed.

General Mohammed (he was promoted to the rank of general after the coup) established a programme for handing over the government to an elected civilian democratic executive for 1979. He was murdered after six months in office during an unsuccessful coup attempt. His chief of staff, Supreme Headquarters, General Olusengun Obasanjo succeeded him as Head of State. He paved the way for a return to a civilian government, and ultimately handed over the government to an elected democracy headed by Shehu Shagari in 1979.

In December 1983, the democratically elected government of Alhaji Shehu Shagari was overthrown by the military again as a result of economic malfeasance, Nigerians were told. General Mohammed Buhari became the new military Head of State. In 1985, General Buhari was overthrown by his Chief of Army Staff and Minister of Defence, General Ibrahim Babangida. General Babangida is presently the President and Head of State. He and

his government have formulated a programme designed to ensure another transition from military to civilian rule in 1992. The structure of government at the federal level is the Supreme Military Council; the National Council of States, and the Federal Executive Council. At the state level, each state is governed by a military governor, who presides over the State Executive Council which includes civilian members.

Table I.V below depicts the nature of political and administrative leadership from 1960 to the present (1989).

Table I.V

The Nature of Political and Administrative Leadership in Nigeria from 1960-88

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Years		
1960-66	Democratic Civilian Government	Sir Abubakar Ta- fawa Belewa
Jan. 1966-July 1966	Military	Gen. Aguiyi Ironsi
July 1966-July 1975	Military	Gen. Yakubu Gowon
July 1975-Feb. 1976	Military	Gen. M. Mohammed
Feb. 1976-Oct. 1979	Military	Gen. O. Obasanjo
Oct. 1979-Dec. 1983	Democratic Civilian	Alhaji Shehu Shagari
Dec. 1983-Aug. 1985	Military	Gen. M. Buhari
Aug. 1985-Present	Military	Gen. I. B. Babangida

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Source: Compiled by Researcher from Documents from the Federal Ministry of Information, Lagos Nigeria.

Background to the Study

The Nigerian government and its people have come to regard education as the key to overall development. Because of this perception, the federal government of Nigeria introduced free education at all levels in 1981. The concept of universal free education is not new in Nigeria.

What is new is free education at all levels. Perhaps this accounts for much of the controversy surrounding this development. In the 1950s, Southern Nigeria's political leaders sought and gained legitimacy chiefly by promising and providing more of the good things of life if they were elected into political offices. And one of these good things was to make education available to everybody. As Abernethy (1969) noted, "free education was perfectly adapted to the populist goals of Southern Nigerian leaders, for it benefitted large numbers of people and enabled previously disadvantaged groups - the poor, females, Muslims, inhabitants of areas neglected by the voluntary agencies, and others" like illiterate adults "to reach the level of more privileged groups" (p. 132).

As can be seen, the politicians who promised and initiated free primary education programmes in the Southern regions acted in the best interest of their regions and country. But it was also designed to promote and protect their own political careers. As Abernethy (Ibid.) argues, "in order to appreciate the function performed by universal free primary education in linking political leaders with the masses, one must view the programme as a classic instance of welfare politics" (p. 135) and as anyone who has studied the Nigerian socio-political system knows, welfare politics is a central feature of Nigerian life.

In 1976 the new federal military government (under General Obasanjo) that ousted the Gowon regime launched the second phase of universal free primary education. There are those who think that this act was designed to achieve legitimacy from the people. (We shall find out in the subsequent chapters of this study). This time universal free education was implemented nation-wide. As I have already mentioned, when the universal free primary education was first introduced in 1955 and 1957,

it was exclusive to the Western and Eastern regions of Nigeria both of which comprise what is called Southern Nigeria. This was because in the 1950s primary education was the responsibility of the regional governments. In addition to the above was that, while the Southern governments were committed to the introduction and maintenance of universal free education of children, the North, on the other hand chose selective adult education programmes. Other historical and cultural factors, such as the tradition of Islamic education in the far North, were of course operative as well.

By the time federal military government took over the control of education in the 1970s the fruits of the universal primary education launched in the Southern regions were visible, and perceptibly, the Northern region was highly disadvantaged. So, in order to counter the dangerous effects of this one-sided educational advantage of the Southern regions, the Federal military government launched its own universal free education that embraced all areas of Nigeria in 1976.

Shortly after the introduction of UPE (as the programme is now called) educators and interest groups started clamouring for a universal free education at all levels. What is implied here is that education would be free of cost to every Nigerian from primary school to the university level. Both the Southern regions' earlier free education programme and the new federal military government's free education scheme stopped at the primary school level. Secondary and university education were not free, though they were heavily subsidized, particularly university education.

The demand for universal free education at all levels generated a lot of exciting controversy in Nigeria. The proponents and supporters of the free education scheme at all levels argued along these lines: an

informed citizen would make a democratic system of government more feasible. Uneducated democracy, they claimed, is a fine recipe for disaster. A lack of education breeds ignorance, illiteracy, disease-- a good deal of this is in Nigeria and is perennial, caloric deficiency, dependence on subsistence agriculture, excessive widespread unemployment of the rural population; deficiency in technology, capital and technical and managerial know-how (AWO, 1979, in Ehiamentalor, 1986, p. 307). Furthermore, they argue that education is the prime determinant of total development process.

The realization of equality of opportunity is also a major concern of the proponents of a universal free education at all levels. The argument here is that:

A country's educational system is linked to the drive for equality in several ways. One is that education may be considered an egalitarian end in itself, that is, that a certain amount of schooling may be regarded as the right of every citizen and part of the minimal package of welfare services a government ought to provide . . . Since a school system is one of the chief agents of stratification in any society, the amount of schooling available to the average citizen and the degree to which recruitment to specialized roles is based on academic achievement will determine in large measure the extent to which equality of opportunity is actually realized in that society. (Abernethy, Op.cit. pp. 223-236).

The above argument is particularly pertinent for the fact that:

(1) Nigeria used to be a colony of Britain whose official language is English and can be best taught and learned in schools; (2) Nigeria is a country with powerful and prestigious public institutions whose members are often recruited on the basis of their educational accomplishments; (3) Nigeria is a Third World country very eager to join the club of the industrialized nations, and (4) The Nigerian government is desirous to promote national unity through the integrating forces of education. Therefore, the need for free education at all levels appears imperative.

Amazingly enough, the unpropitious side of a gigantic project like free education at all levels for a developing economy such as Nigeria was not adequately explored. Problems like finding employment for those educated in the new schools, the rapid increase in the number of school leavers at a time when employment opportunities within the modern sector is increasing slowly, and the huge cost of implementing and sustaining free education at all levels were not debated.

In 1976, the UPE was launched nationally. Earlier projections was that 2.3 million children would be expected; instead, 3 million children showed up, "resulting in under estimation by 30 percent" (Fafunwa, 1987, in Alminbar, Op.cit. p. 175). The fall-out was a serious shortage of classroom spaces, teachers and equipment. The UPE scheme ushered in an unprecedented rise in pupil population. Enrolment figures increased "from 6 million in the year preceding UPE (1975/76) to 8.7 million in 1976/77, the first UPE year and to 12.5 million in 1979/80" (Ibid.). By 1984 the pupil population was more than 14 million. Shortly after, in 1980, free secondary education was introduced. There were 315 secondary schools with 16,000 students in 1960, and by 1986 the number of schools rose to 6,000 with 3.6 million pupils. In Cross River state, for example, the enrolment increased from 59,346 in 1976 to 162,058 in 1981. In Bendel state, the secondary school enrolment rose from 186,952 in 1979/80 to 281,952 in 1980/81 session, an increase of 51 percent in one year (Nwagwu, Op.cit. p. 9; see also Fafunwa, Ibid.).

In 1977, the Federal Government, without consultations or previous discussions, abolished tuition fees in the universities. The universities have grown from two (University of Ibadan and University of Nigeria, Nsukka) in 1960 with a student population of a little over one thousand

to 31 universities in 1987 with over 120,000 students (Onimode, Op.cit. p. 56, also Fafunwa, Ibid.). (See Appendix B). Definitely, no one in his or her right mind would dispute the liberating effects of a good, well planned and well sustained educational system. The problem with all these is that there has been a decrease in national revenue, and an increased and increasing demand for education. There is a financial crisis in the country, and the country has been forced to go to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for a loan in 1986. Thus Nigeria is facing the dilemma of popular education. Due to the above, and the overriding concern with the impact of education upon the course of socio-economic and political development, wider knowledge of the consequences of free education at levels in Nigeria at this stage of her development "may have a sobering influence on those who entertain exaggerated hopes and expectations regarding the returns on an investment in education" (Coleman, Op.cit. p. 523).

#### Purpose of the Study

Between 1976 and 1986, free education was a hot topic in Nigeria. It was even placed in the Federal Constitution of 1979. The general purposes of this study therefore are, (1) to trace and describe the historical origin of free education at all levels in Nigeria, and analyze the political, economic, and socio-cultural factors behind it, and (2) to examine and analyze the consequences of free education at all levels in Nigeria.

#### The Statement of the Problem

In 1976, the Federal Government of Nigeria launched the Universal

Free Primary Education or the UPE as the programme is now called. Shortly after the introduction of the UPE, educators, politicians and interest groups started clamouring for a universal free education at all levels. What is implied here is that education would be free of costs to every Nigerian from primary school to the university level.

The demand for universal free education at all levels generated a lot of excitement and controversy in Nigeria. To an outsider or a casual observer of the Nigerian political scene, it would seem obvious that a third world country like Nigeria with a uni-dimensional economy, that is, one export product, namely oil, cannot sustain a prestigious and mega-dollar project like free education at all levels. In addition, there are visible cases of abandoned projects such as the construction of express highways which had been started because it was erroneously believed that the price of oil would keep rising, or at worst remain the same for a while.

Nevertheless, the Nigerian federal military government introduced free education at all levels, and even the 1979 Constitution, section 18, sub-section 1-3 provided for free education at all levels in Nigeria. In the case of the military government, it was during the 1977 convocation address to students and scholars of the University of Ibadan that the then Head of State, General Obasanjo, announced that by the next academic year, education at the secondary, technical, polytechnic and University levels would be free, specifically, secondary, technical and polytechnic were made both tuition and boarding free while university education was made only tuition free (Africa, No. 66, p. 32). In the case of the constitution it states:

(1) "Government shall direct its policy toward ensuring that there are

equal and adequate educational opportunities at all levels",

(2) "Government shall promote science and technology",

(3) "Government shall strive to eradicate illiteracy, and to this end, Government shall as and when practicable, provide:

(a) Free, Compulsory and Universal Primary Education,

(b) Free Secondary Education,

(c) Free University Education,

(d) Free Adult Literacy Programme. (The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1979, Federal Ministry of Information, Lagos, Nigeria).

But a lot of problems have emerged. The problems are so serious at all the three levels (primary, secondary and tertiary) that almost every week, the Nigerian press devotes much space to the country's educational trauma. Some members of the public have also called on the government to consider a modification of the policy of free education at all levels because of the huge amount of money such a project would entail. Because of this development, these research questions were addressed.

1. What factors led the Nigerian government to introduce free education at all levels? The answer to this question was derived from examining and analyzing the following:

(a) what socio-cultural factors were considered by the federal government of Nigeria as it introduced its policy of free education at all levels?

(b) what political factors were considered by the federal government of Nigeria as it introduced its policy of free education at all levels?

(c) what economic factors were responsible for the introduction

of free education at all levels in Nigeria by the federal government of Nigeria?

2. What has been the results of the policy on--
  - (a) the number of people educated at all three levels,
  - (b) the physical facilities available at the three levels of education,
  - (c) the quality of education being given at the primary level of education,
  - (d) funding problems at each of the three levels,
  - (e) growing educated unemployed youth,
  - (f) drop-outs, and
  - (g) the issue of ethnic and regional educational imbalance?

All of the above were examined and analyzed to ascertain the consequences of free education in Nigeria in the past ten years.

#### Significance of the Study

The examination of the literature on Nigerian education so far reveals that there have been no systematic and comprehensive study documenting the problems of free education at all levels. There are however, fragmented and singular studies by both Nigerians and non-Nigerians on the various aspects and levels of education in Nigeria. Nwagwu (1978), Bray and Cooper (1979), Fafunwa (1982), Ukeje (1986), Ehaimetalor (1986), Oyeneye (1980), Peil (1982), Harber (1982), Daeth (1975), Taylor (1981), Ocho (1986), Enahowo (1986) and Esen (1986). Others are Adesina (1983), Adaralegbe (1983), Awokoya (1983), Ndagi (1983) and Ogunsanju (1983). All of these writers conducted a study on one aspect or the other of Nigerian education. But none of their studies contain a detailed and comprehensive review and analysis of the

socio-economic and political implications of free education at all levels in Nigeria.

In addition, this study is intended to complement and extend all other related studies in terms of substantial focus and analysis of Nigerian educational problems. It also intends to provide information and guidance into the complex problems faced by third world countries when they embark upon prestige projects like educational expansion at all levels without due and proper consideration of their nation's economy and consequent financial burden.

Kazim Bacchus (1981, p. 271) argues that the demand for more education has resulted in an increasing numbers of educated unemployed, especially in third world countries. See also Martin Carnoy (1975). There is the need, therefore, for "a new approach to development which will necessitate more profound social and economic changes . . ." which "will call for a radical rethinking and reform of the existing educational policies and priorities if it is hoped to increase the contribution which qualitative improvements in the human resources of countries" like Nigeria "can make towards" its "development" (Ibid.). Hence this study to pinpoint the areas where major defects lie, and to suggest a possible solution and/or alternative.

It is also hoped that students of educational administration, politics of education, development economics, educational planning, educational finance and nation building may find this study of interest and significant because it describes the planning and strategy of educational development in Nigeria in general and focuses on the significant developments that have taken place at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels of education from 1976 to 1986. The study should

also be of interest to politicians and governmental planners who may wish to modify their policies in wake of the issues and problems that have surfaced. It is also hoped that the findings in this study would provide some insight for other African and Third World countries contemplating similar prestigious educational expansionary projects. The lessons from the Nigerian experience, if properly and well articulated, could serve as an eye-opener that can prevent any possible fiasco in future development policies. Finally, it is expected that this study has contributed to knowledge by confirming and/or contradicting previous related studies in terms of substantive focus and contextual analysis.

#### Methodology and Rationale

There was a time it was thought that quantitative research was the only valid path to truth. Fortunately, the legitimacy of qualitative approaches in conducting research has now been established (Spindler and Spindler, 1985), so that now, research can have a variety of purposes, and the research design which is most appropriate for any given project will depend on its purpose (Welch and Comer, 1983, p. 66). Given the purpose of this study and the statement of the problem being investigated, the researcher has chosen a descriptive/analytical qualitative methodology.

According to Best (1977, p. 116), a descriptive research looks at "conditions or relationships that exist, opinions that are held, processes that are going on, effects that are evident, or trends that are developing". This approach also involves documentary analysis and anecdotal records. Given that the central trust of this research will

be an understanding of all of the above variables in terms of free education at all levels in Nigeria, descriptive/analytical qualitative approach is deemed most appropriate for this study.

Further more, Ary et al.(1972), Isaac and Michael (1978), argues that a descriptive research does not necessarily involve hypothesis testing. And according to Sowell and Casey (1982, p. 37), and Moore (1983), p. 174), research which "does not require any manipulation of variables" is descriptive. Obviously, none of the above conditions is expected to be present in this study; therefore the choice of a descriptive qualitative methodology is in order. However, Peter Woods (1986, p. 14) argues that "one should not be a slave to one method, but select according to the issue and problems under examination". In the same fashion, Morgan and Smireich (1980, pp. 491-500), remarked that "qualitative research is an approach rather than a particular set of techniques, and its appropriateness derives from the nature of the special phenomena to be explored". Van Mannen (1979, p. 520) supports these two writers with the following argument:

The label qualitative methods has no precise meaning in any of the social sciences. It is an umbrella term covering an array of interpretive techniques which seek to describe, decode, translate, and otherwise come to terms with meaning, not the frequency, of certain more or less naturally occurring phenomena in the social world.

Because of these, and in order to make the maximum use of the array of qualitative approach available, I drew from other qualitative strategies as they provide deeper and better understanding of the issue being explained. The essence of this multiple method approach is called "triangulation". Triangulation, according to Smith (1975, p. 273) was derived from navigation and military maneuvering/strategy where multiple

methods are used to locate the position of a thing or an object. Denzin (1978, p. 291) defines triangulation as "the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon". McCarthy (1986, p. 6) in supporting the triangulation formula posits that "the use of multiple methods to investigate diverse problems holds promise for richer, deeper understandings . . . because no longer is any one method considered the single path to truth". The theme of all these is that the significance of what is being studied should determine a researcher's methodology. Besides, no research methodology is perfect.

#### Kinds of Data

This study relied on two kinds of data, namely primary and secondary data. "A primary source is the original repository of a historical datum, like the original record kept of an important occasion, an eye-witness description of an event, a photograph, minutes of organizational meetings and so on" (Kerlinger, 1973, p. 702, in Stapleton, 1975, p. 65, an unpublished Ph.D. thesis). A secondary source is an account or record of an event or changes in a situation one or more steps removed from an original repository (Ibid.). It is recognized that both primary and secondary data are just like raw materials from which polished answers to major questions of this study were gathered.

#### Sources of Data

Primary: - the documents that were examined include:

(See Bibliography for explicit listing)

1. Official policy documents of the Federal Nigerian Government's Ministry of Education.
2. The Federal Government of Nigeria's National Policy on Education in 1977 and 1981.

3. Annual Reports of the Nigerian National Universities Commission in Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
4. The Federal government of Nigeria Handbooks and Year books, 1979-1987, Government Printer, Federal Ministry of Information, Lagos, Nigeria.
5. The Reports of Committees, Commissions, Agencies (UNESCO and Nigerian) study groups and individuals sponsored or appointed by the Federal government of Nigeria.
6. The Reports and Proceedings of the Fifth International Inter-visitaton Programme (IIP) entitled: Educational Administration and Planning at the Crossroads, held in Nigeria, 1982.
7. The Reports of a Symposium on Trends and Issues in Nigerian Education, 1983, from the Institute of Education of the University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria.
8. Reports and Documents from the School of Education of the University of Lagos, Nigeria.
9. Reports and Documents from the Commonwealth Council for Educational Administration, London, England.
10. Reports and Documents from the Nigerian High Commission in Ottawa.
11. Official and unofficial publications in public places or in limited circulation.
12. Documents and publications from the Nigerian Institute of Social Science and Economic Research, Ibadan, Nigeria.
13. Documents, Reports and Publications from Michigan State University Library. This University has a very large pool of first hand information on Nigerian Education. This is as a result of the inter-visitaton programme between the University of Nigeria and Michigan State University dating back to 1965.

Personal interviews were originally planned to be a part of the data gathering technique. But serious financial constraints did not permit this technique. It is a known fact that availability of finance or non-availability of it plays a big role on the extent and nature of data gathered and used. At the same time I wish to point out that the views and opinion of the people that might be interviewed have been written, documented, and published for the past decade and half. Up till now, those views and opinions have not changed a great deal, and most of the publications bearing their views and opinions are in my possession. In which case, interview omission did not tamper with the quality of the study. However, I do realize that personal interviews can clarify and provide support for reconstructing a personal picture and the examination of documents. The way to get around this problem is discussed under the treatment of data.

Secondary Source: In addition to the examination of primary documents, secondary sources were used. There was a review of the related literature which include:

1. Relevant and related publications, newspaper and journal articles, projects and programme evaluation reports.
2. Dissertations available at the University of Manitoba.
3. Dafoe Library, the Education Library (D.S. Woods), St. John's and St. Paul's Libraries - all at the University of Manitoba.
4. The University of Manitoba Inter-Library Loan Services.
5. Publications from UNESCO and World Bank.
6. The Library of Congress in the United States of America.

### Treatment of Data

The dependability and reliability of data obtained from both primary and secondary sources are not always one hundred percent. In view of this, the researcher adopted "a skeptical attitude toward all sources and information gathered from these sources" (Stapleton, Ibid. p. 65). The data were subjected to appropriate and recognized scholarly forms of external and internal criticisms as discussed by Jacques Barzum and Henry Graf (1970, cited in J. Von Stein, 1984, p. 14, an unpublished Ph.D. Thesis). External criticism is the search for sources and the evaluation of their authenticity. Internal criticism is the evaluation of the relevance, meaning and dependability of the data obtained from the sources (Stapleton, Ibid., pp. 64-65). So, the data were examined for bias and contradiction, and were validated by the researcher's independent judgement. Any direct statement connoting expression of personal feelings, judgments, criticisms, and evaluation were noted in that order and duly appraised for reliability and validity, and any conclusions drawn from the data are stated accordingly.

### Scope and Limitations of the Study

The period for this study is from 1976 when the first national free education at the primary level was introduced, to 1986 during which time education at the secondary and tertiary levels were officially declared free by the Federal government. But in order to put issues in their proper perspective, and to present supportive evidence to conclusions drawn from the data, reference was made to events that occurred earlier than 1976 and after 1986 as the case may be.

Although, the title for this study refers to education at all levels,

the study deals primarily with free education at the three traditional levels of schooling, that is, primary, secondary and university levels. Pre-primary education, adult education, correspondence education, technical and vocational education, in-service training programmes, educational programmes for the handicapped, teacher training education all are beyond the scope and limits of this study. But as the need arise, reference was made to pertinent points in any of these areas. Otherwise, the study is limited to the delineated areas and period mentioned above. The omission of interview as a data gathering technique, and the possibility of incomplete documentation should be considered a limitation.

Once again, this is a descriptive qualitative case study. It is historical, and analytical in nature. The researcher tried to provide an account and explanation of the socio-cultural, political and economic factors that led to the introduction of free education at all levels in Nigeria.

#### Assumptions

According to Gay (1981. p. 71), "An assumption is any important 'fact' presumed to be true but not actually verified". (Hoy and Miskel, 1987), "An assumption is a statement that is taken for granted or accepted as true" but is "not necessarily self-evident". In light of these definitions, the researcher made the following assumptions:

1. The data, that is, reports, documents, proceedings, books, journals/ articles, dissertations, and recommendations used in this study were written, compiled, or produced by people who were directly involved, and had first-hand information in those studies, projects or programmes, symposiums and commissions.

2. Description of information obtained from both primary and secondary sources are absolutely free from the researcher's bias, that is, reported as it is while noting and evaluating for reliability and validity.
3. That the study provides knowledge which may be of value and interest for future studies dealing with other aspects of educational development in Nigeria.
4. That the knowledge and findings derived from this study could be applicable and/or adaptable in government development of educational policies in other African countries in particular, and in Third World countries at large.
5. That the knowledge, findings, and problems encountered in this study could be replicated by another researcher using the same data and information this researcher used for the study.

#### Definition of Terms

The following definitions of terms were held for the purposes of this study:

Free Education At All Levels is used to denote the Federal Nigerian government directive that schooling at the primary, secondary, and tertiary levels be tuition free.

Socio-Cultural factors refer to social circumstances, which taken together contributed to the Federal Nigerian government's introduction of free education at all levels. The operative circumstances here include pressure groups, eradication of illiteracy, national unity and national integration, equality of opportunities for all Nigerians, and

correction of the educational imbalance amongst the ethnic groups and between the north and south in particular.

Political factors included those political circumstances, which taken together contributed to the Federal Nigerian government introduction of free education at all levels in Nigeria. The operative circumstances here also include democratic leaders, geo-politics, perceived stake in political outcomes, the military and civilian government's search for legitimacy, sense of citizen duty, nation-building, and national unity.

Economic factors refer to the economic arguments that contributed to the Federal Nigerian government introduction of free education at all levels. The operative circumstances are the need for human resource development, buoyant and growing economy, acquisition of appropriate skills, abilities and competencies to handle the economy, and self-reliant and self-sufficient nation.

Consequences refer to the issues and problems that have surfaced and attracted serious attention in the Nigerian programme of free education at all levels. They include:

- (a) quality of education (see definition),
- (b) increase in the number of people being educated,
- (c) funding problems,
- (d) physical facilities, and
- (e) drop-outs.

The Poor is used to denote those Nigerian parents who without the free education scheme will not be able to support their children's education.

Other ethnic minorities are used to denote people who are not members of any of the particularly nine largest groups, that is, the Hausas, Yorubas,

Ibos, Fulanis, Kanuris, Ibibios, Tivs, Ijaws, and Edos. Any group other than these dominant nine groups are in the above definition.

Disadvantaged groups refer to the poor, females, Muslims, inhabitants of areas previously neglected in the allocation of education facilities, and other ethnic minorities who are far behind the educational levels of the more privileged larger groups.

Commission refers to a group of people appointed to study a problem and recommend solution.

Education is used in this study to denote the aggregate of all the processes by means of which a person develops abilities, attitudes, knowledge, and other forms of behavior of positive value in the society in which he/she lives; it is the art of making available to each generation the organized knowledge of the past (Good, 1973, p. 202).

Higher Education is used in this study to describe education beyond secondary schooling; it includes colleges, institutes of technology, universities and all forms of post-secondary education.

Formal Education is used to denote conventional, structured and systematic training, usually based on traditional academic practices and procedures.

Illiteracy denotes total inability to read and/or write one's native/cultural language, as well as any other languages needed to function in a society (Barnhart & Bernhart, 1984, p. 1052).

Non-Formal Education refers to "non-school ways of helping people learn the kinds of things they need to know to function better in their society" (Miller, 1977, p. 1). It also refers to "any organized educational

activity outside the established formal system .. whether operating separately as an important feature of some broader activity . . . that is intended to serve identifiable learning clientele and objectives" (UNICEF/ICAE, 1973, p. 12).

Programme (often spelt "program" in North America) denotes "a brief outline or explanation of the order to be pursued or the subjects embraced in a public exercise performance, or entertainment", a prospectus, or syllabus (Webster, 1966, p. 1812).

Drop-outs described students who enter the school system but are unable to stay in and complete the required grades; they abandon their studies or are forced to quit.

Quality Education is used in this study to denote student learning achievements, in terms of traditional curriculum and standards, the relevance of what is taught and learned-to how well it fits the present and future learning needs of the particular learners and society in question, given their particular circumstances and prospects. It also refers to significant changes in the educational system or sub-system itself, in the nature of its inputs (students, teachers, facilities, equipments, and supplies); its objectives, curriculum, and educational technologies; and its socio-economic, cultural and political environment (Coombs, 1985, p. 105).

Quantity Education denotes the increase in number of students and the rise in educational participation rates at each level of schooling.

Universal Primary Education (UPE) is used to discuss the Federal government of Nigeria's national programme for compulsory primary education introduced in 1976.

University Programme refers to any combination of University credit courses that has a set of coherent organizing principles and goals and leads to a degree, diploma, or certificate awarded upon successful completion (Von Stein, 1984, Op.cit. p. 16).

### The Organization of the Study

This study consists of eight chapters and a conclusion. Chapter one embodies a brief introduction of the setting, that is, Nigeria, an overview and background information to the study, the statement of purpose, the statement of the problem, the research questions to be addressed, the significance of the study, the methodology and rationale, kinds of data used for the study, sources of data, treatment of data, scope and limitations of the study, underlying assumptions and definition of terms.

Chapter two is a review of the related literature. This chapter reviews and brings into perspective current issues and writings that deals with the importance of education for nation building, for individual development and social growth, in promoting equality of opportunity, in fostering political integration, and in the development of human capital.

Chapter three is divided into three sub-sections. Sub-section one begins with an overview of the two systems of education in Nigeria before the arrival of the European colonizers. One is the traditional/informal system of education. The other is the Islamic education in most Northern parts of Nigeria. This is followed by sub-section two containing a description of the colonial era and the development of Western education in Nigeria. The last section in the chapter embodies the description of education in post-Independence Nigeria from 1960 to 1986. In both

sub-sections two and three only landmarks in the development of education are examined.

Chapter four examines the socio-cultural factors that brought about the introduction of free education at all levels in Nigeria. In this pursuit, the cultural and colonial education heritage, the need and importance of equality of opportunity, the Udoji salary review award, pressure groups and social activists, the need to eradicate illiteracy, and the social demand for education are discussed in detail.

Chapter five follows a similar pattern and is an examination of the political factors that contributed to the introduction of free education at all levels. There is a transparent belief in education by political leaders in Nigeria, as "the master instrument for changing attitudes, transforming social structures and accelerating economic growth and determining, new political pattern" (Coleman, 1965, p. 522). Because of this apparently remarkable pliability of education, its effects on the dynamics of change in a developing country like Nigeria experimenting with a system of free education at all levels are described, covering issues like the search for national unity, the military government's desire for political legitimacy, party politics of education and the quest for electoral votes, and regional inequality--North and South educational imbalance.

Chapter six, as in chapters four and five and because of their interconnectedness examines the economic factors that contributed to the government introduction of free education at all levels. Here the need for educated manpower, the availability of money in the 1970's and the booming oil economy, and the desire for human capital development for indigenous control of the economy are presented in detail.

Chapter seven is an impact chapter containing a description and analysis of some of the issues and problems that have emerged, and their implications for Nigeria. Here the researcher reviewed the achievements made in terms of quantity and rise in educational participation rates at each level; the expansion in school buildings, school facilities, and creation of more new universities; greater public awareness of the need and the importance of education. Following this, the enormous problems that have surfaced in terms of the huge amount of money involved; the consumption-oriented nature of the entire economy; the lack of finance; the unexpected sudden downward turn in the national economy and its effects, such as mass and graduate unemployment, the dangers of educated unemployed restless youths, the perennial internal diversities in the country which free education at all level is supposed to eradicate; failure to achieve the egalitarian objective of free education at the university level, that is, that the university system is still elitist in nature; and the quality of education, particularly at the primary level are all examined and analyzed in great detail.

Chapter eight, titled "What can be done" embodies the call for a reappraisal of the policy of free education at all levels in view of the issues and problems that have emerged noted in chapter seven. Here suggestions, options and/or guidelines and recommendations on how to provide achievable and feasible free education at the primary and junior-secondary levels, and how to make senior-secondary and university education readily available to anyone that may need it without it being cost-free are presented.

And finally, is the conclusions of the study in which the researcher calls for the abandonment, at least for now, given the adverse economic situation in the country, the idea of free education at all levels.

## CHAPTER II

### THE REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

Education in the development of a nation cannot be over-emphasized. It broadens the horizon of the citizen, prepares him to accept change, imparts the knowledge and ability to adapt himself and his business to environmental change, raises the level of production and helps to improve the general quality of life (West Africa, May 20, 1985, pp. 996).

This is a descriptive/analytical qualitative case study of the problems of free education at all levels in Nigeria. The Nigerian federal government accepted the fact that education is and can be a very powerful instrument for nation building, social change and economic development. In view of this acceptance, it continued to spend a large proportion of the nation's budget on education services. For the 1977-78 fiscal year, the federal government of Nigeria budgeted N1.3 billion (Naira) for education out of a total national budget of N8.6 billion (Naira). This was 15 percent of the total national budget. In addition, the then 19 states of the federation jointly allocated 23 percent of their total budget to education. As can be seen, the Nigerian federal government has a magnetic view of the role of education in national development. This chapter, therefore, will review and bring into perspective current issues and writings detailing the importance of education for national development. The review will specifically discuss the role of education in the promotion of the following:

- (a) nation building,
- (b) individual development and social growth,
- (c) equality of opportunity,
- (d) political integration, and
- (e) the development of human capital.

## Education and Nation Building

If a nation expects to be constant and free, in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be. Enlighten the people generally, and tyranny and oppression of the body and mind will vanish like evil spirits at the dawn of day (Thomas Jefferson).

The powers of education for the purpose of nation building have been invoked by educators, political leaders and nationalists at various stages and places in the history of modern society. Christopher Lucas (1972, p. 412) recalls the famous words of Johann Fichte at a time when his countrymen were laboring under the occupation forces of French Conquerors:

It is education alone which can save us from all the evils of which we are oppressed. The sphere of educational activity (is) the only domain in which a subject people could begin the work of social reconstruction. "National education" in citizenship and loyalty to the fatherland could be the means for re-creating a nation fit to regain its place as a leader in the civilized world. The easy cosmopolitanism so prevalent among German intellectuals (is) a luxury that could no longer be afforded. A universal system of compulsory education for all classes and both sexes was sorely needed now, a kind of schooling designed to foster patriotic virtues.

Following the defeat of Germany in the World War I, the Weimer Republic resorted to using the national education system to resuscitate patriotic fervor amongst the German people. According to Lucas (Ibid. p. 48), the new constitution proclaimed, "In all schools efforts shall be made to develop education . . . in the spirit of German nationality and reconciliation with other nations . . .".

In recent times, education has been considered to be "the prime determinant of development process . . . the master instrument for changing attitudes, for transforming social structures, for sparking or accelerating economic growth, and for determining new political patterns." (Coleman, 1968, p. 522). Furthermore, Coleman argues that democratic

institutions cannot exist without education because democracy functions only when the people are informed and are aware, thirsting for knowledge and exchanging ideas (Ibid.). In every nation, education is expected to stimulate development by demonstrating that changes can, and do take place, and by presenting a hopeful outlook. As Coleman puts it:

Education makes possible the economic democracy that raises mobility, for it is education that insures that classes are not frozen and that an elite of whatever kind does not perpetuate itself (Ibid., p. 523).

Writing on the importance and role of education in nation building, Johns and Morphet (1969, p. 2) argue that "a substantial proportion of the resources of each nation must be devoted to education if the lot of mankind is to be improved because education is an investment." This investment in human beings may and should help the society to avoid catastrophe and to develop an ever improving civilization. However, the most probable way to accomplish this, Johns and Morphet opined, is that schools and other educational institutions must be adequately supported and financed in every part of the world.

Richard D'Aeth (1975, p. 10) noted that education contributes to nation building by "fostering a growing respect for each nation's own culture and traditions, and by aiding the development of political maturity, which would be capable of combining orderly leadership with freedom of thought and expression, and respect for individual rights".

Adam Smith (1937, p. 941) noted that:

An instructed and intelligent people are always more decent and orderly than an ignorant and stupid one . . . they are more disposed to examine, and more capable of seeing through, the interested complaints of faction and sedition, and they are, upon this account, less apt to be misled into any wanton or unnecessary opposition to the measures of the government. (In Ronald Dore, 1976, p. 84).

Homer Bartlett reinforces Adam Smith's views when he commented that:

I have never considered mere knowledge . . . as the only advantage derived from a good common School education. I have uniformly found the better educated as a class possessing a higher and better state of morals, more orderly and respectful in their deportment, and more ready to comply with the wholesome and necessary regulations of an establishment. And in times of agitation, on account of some change in regulations or wages, I have always looked to the most intelligent, best educated, and the most moral for support and have seldom been disappointed . . . they will generally acquiesce and exert a salutary influence upon their associates. But the ignorant and uneducated I have generally found most turbulent and troublesome, acting under the impulse of excited passion and jealousy. (in Bowles and Gintis, 1976, p. 108-109).

Homer Bartlett was a Massachusetts industrialist. He expressed the above views in a letter he wrote to Horace Mann in 1941 in support of his crusade for the government provision of free universal public education. Horace Mann was a strong believer in the use of education for the development of the individual, the society and for welding the nation together.

According to Caleb Mills ( a nineteenth century educator) education does help to maintain social cohesion by providing a mechanism for reducing social inequalities. That public schools can work to reduce class conflict was succinctly put by Caleb Mills when he argued that:

Public Schools contribute more than any other one agency, to mold and assimilate the various discordant materials to be incorporated into the body politic and render them homogeneous in character and in sympathy. How often have we all seen in those nurseries of knowledge, aristocrat pride humbled, plebeian roughness refined, rustic conceit corrected, haughty insolence rebuked and repressed, gentle modesty emboldened, unobtrusive worth encouraged, and the many asperities of character give place to lovelier traits, all contributing to swell the aggregate of human happiness, domestic peace and civil freedom. (Charles Moores ed. Vol. III, No. VI, 1905, p. 585, See also Garins et al, 1978, p. 49).

The importance of education in nation building is also underscored by these comments from John and Morphet (Ibid., p. 1):

The educational system of every nation interacts in various ways with the many other social systems and subsystems and, from a long-range point of view, significantly affects national development . . . . The educational system of any nation or state -- if appropriately planned, modified, operated, and supported -- can probably do more than any other agency, organization, or institution to create an open society that can effectively utilize the feedback from its environment, not merely to maintain itself but also to keep itself viable by continuously increasing its capacity to improve the status and conditions of its citizens.

Furthermore, Johns and Morphet argue that the future and stability of any nation will depend on the elimination of educational disparities that exist within nations because educational attainment invariably leads to the improvement of human conditions. The perception that education is like an electric broom that can sweep away all of society's dust is emphasized in this remark by Benjamin Bloom (1966, p. 212). "Education is looked to for solutions to problems of poverty, racial discord, crime and delinquency, urban living, peace, and even for problems arising from affluence".

Education is also given credit in some of the advanced countries for reducing serious diversity and promoting similarity of outlook, language and behavior. Examples that easily come to mind in the use of education to foster nation building include the Americanization of the children of immigrants to the United States of America, the creation of a German nationalism in the various petty states during the first half of the nineteenth century as was noted earlier, and the increasing acceptance of late, of Yugoslav nationalism as opposed to Crahan, Serbian, Macedonian, and Slovenian loyalties (Adams and Bjork, 1975, p. 44). According to Adams and Bjork, when and where education has created greater attachment to the national state symbol, reactionary governments seldom succeed in using "divide and rule" tactics to stay

in power.

In societies where steps have been taken to use education successfully to increase the attachment of the people to the national state, the result is often an accelerated process of development. This has seemed more obvious in countries like Japan, the Soviet Union, and even Cuba. In the case of Japan, Adams and Bjork (Ibid., p. 36) noted that the new elite of Japan during the early period of development saw basic education as a crucial ingredient of rapid transformation perhaps more consciously than in any of today's developed countries. They cite a Ministry of Education publication of 1963 which states:

It is noteworthy that in the 30 years after the introduction of the modern school system, compulsory education was almost universally observed, and the general modernization of Japan was achieved in the same period . . . it must be emphasized that the people as well as their leaders entertain great expectations of modern education and made utmost efforts for its development. (Ministry of Education, Government of Japan, Japan's Growth and Education, Toyko, 1963, pp. 32-33 noted in Delcmis & Bjork, Ibid.).

As observed by Johns and Morphet (1975, p. 4) education contributes to the solution of many of the unresolved problems with which modern society is confronted.

The importance of education in nation building can be summarized in these touching lines often used by educators, politicians and nationalists, that "uneducated democracy is a fine recipe for disaster".

#### Education and Individual Development and Social Growth

Education is a companion which no misfortune can depress, no crime can destroy, no enemy can alienate, no despotism can enslave. At home a friend, abroad an introduction, in solitude a solace and in society an ornament. It chastens vice, it guides virtues, it gives, at once, grace and government to genius. Without it what is man? A splendid slave, a reasoning savage. (Joseph Addison cited in Ikejiani 1964, p. 19).

It is generally said that education is a means of socialization

into a particular society. Also, available evidence suggests that formal education helps to change patterns of social stratification (Simmons, 1980, p. 177). A study by George Psachanopoulos (1972, p. 54) indicates that people with more education earn higher wages relative to people with less education. According to Psachanopoulos, the average earnings of a male college graduate in the United States in 1959 was \$9,255 and the corresponding earnings of a high school graduate was \$6,132. By a simple calculation, one can see that a college graduate would earn, annually, more than his/her working high school graduate by \$3,123 over his working life. Furthermore, Psachanopoulos observed that increments of schooling are associated with a predictable pattern of increments in earning power of the individual.

The findings of Psachanopoulos's study seem to be corroborated by Garins et al (1978, p. 46) in which they remarked that most people change jobs several times during their working years, and that a well educated person can adapt more easily to new job situations and opportunities which in turn provides a shield against future unemployment. This is tantamount to the concept of "marketability", a term that is very often used by people with high level education to describe their place in the changing fortunes of the labor market. There are also other benefits which accrue to the individual as a result of education but which are not easily exchanged for money. One example is that acquiring a certain level of education or attaining a certain professional degree could open the door to an exclusive club which others can only dream about. The other is that a high school education is a valuable opportunity to go to college or to be selected for on-the-job-training in business or government.

The external benefits of education to the individual and to the society is expressed in this excerpt from Garins, Guthrie, and Pierce (1978, p. 47):

. . . Economic benefits of education are closely related to the increasing interdependence of modern industrial society. Most work processes today, whether in industry or in government require the coordination, cooperation, and interaction of many people. Consequently, the training and skills of each worker rub off on other workers. Just as the pressure of good students in a classroom appears to enhance the performance of their classmates, so advanced training of a worker or supervisor is reflected in the productivity of his or her colleagues. The process of transferring benefits to other workers can be very simple. A better educated person may set an example for others to emulate.

As can be seen, education may make an individual become in tune with modern technology, or more adaptable and flexible in the use and application of new ideas to work or new equipments.

Garins et al also argues that the other benefit of education is the long-term cost savings to a community which result from being educated. They posit that there is a fairly strong relationship between lack of education and criminal activity. So by providing education for all its citizens, a community will reduce the cost of dealing with crime and delinquency, which in turn would reduce welfare costs, and may increase taxable income. The effect of this may even go beyond increasing the tax-base because observation and social statistics indicate that families and individuals within the higher income bracket are likely to consume less of public services.

The importance of education for individual development and societal growth is documented in this Japanese Education Law which stated in its preamble:

Every man only after learning diligently each according to his capacity will be able to increase his property and prosper in his business. Hence knowledge may be regarded as the capital for

raising one's self; who then can do without learning . . . It is indeed that henceforth universally (without any distinction of class or sex) in a village there shall be no house without learning, and in a house no individual without learning (Kikuchi Dairoku, Japanese Education, 1908, pp. 68-69, in Adams and Bjork, 1975, pp. 34-35).

The importance of education cannot be over emphasized, and it has long been recognized as a central factor in development of any sort. In 1978, the General Conference of UNESCO made this observation:

By the very complexity of the problems which it must help to solve, education must be conceived in an interdisciplinary context as a factor of multidimensional development of which man is both the end and the instrument (Ad'Obe, West Africa, Sept. 1980, p. 1890).

Furthermore, Ad'Obe Obe argues that education is a means of meeting other basic needs. He contends that "Education influences and is in turn influenced by access to other basic needs," such as "adequate nutrition, safe drinking water, health services, and shelter." (Ibid.). He likens this to the argument often presented by experts that health programmes could be accelerated more by teaching the people basic principles of hygiene than the provision of sophisticated medical science.

Wadi Haddad (1981, p. 11) discusses the importance of education to development along the lines argued by Ad'Obe in three interrelated ways: One is that education is a basic need because people need education that gives them a base of knowledge, attitudes, values, and skills on which they can build in later life and equips them with the potential to learn, to respond to new opportunities, and to adjust to social and cultural changes. The second is that education is an instrument to support programmes designed to meet other basic needs. The third is that education is an activity that sustains and accelerates overall development. Its value with respect to total development is in training

skilled workers at all levels, in facilitating the advancement of knowledge of all kinds, in providing the knowledge and manpower to deal with environmental issues, and in enabling the individual to identify with his changing culture and find a constructive role in society.

Because of these three interrelated ways in which education functions for the development of society, Haddad argues that:

The evolving, multifaceted role of education in the development process underlines the need of every country for a more flexible, comprehensive network of provisions for education and training, diverse enough to respond to varying needs yet sufficiently unified to avoid channeling students into dead-end or inferior choices. Modes of delivering education - formal, nonformal, and informal - should not be conceived as alternatives but as complementary activities within a single system. (p. 12).

In recognition of the contribution of education to the development of the individual and to the social and economic activities of the society, a report by the Task Force for Economic Growth (1983) in the United States of America stated that nothing is more important than education. Education, according to the Task Force, is the public enterprise that is closest to the people's hearts and most important to their lives. The report further stated that "education is the enterprise that is crucial to the success of everything (the United States) attempts as a nation."

John Locke wrote:

Of all the men we meet with, nine parts of ten are what they are, good or evil, useful or not, by their education (or lack of it). It is that which makes the great difference in mankind. (John Locke in Gay, 1964, p. 20).

As can be deduced from the above dictum, John Locke prescribed education as the desiderata for the development and nurturance of the individual and society. This once again underscores the overwhelming acceptance of the importance of education in the development of the individual

and well being of the society. D'Aeth (1975, p. 8) lends credence to this argument when he noted that:

. . . education would overcome ignorance and open the way for individuals to lead richer lives, to establish better social relationships within communities, and so enable the local communities to gain in self-respect and become more demonstrative and responsible, more able to take initiatives for their own improvement and to become outward looking.

Perry (1952, pp. 411-12) extended the thrust of the above argument when he observed:

Through education men acquire the civilization of the past, and are enabled both to take part in civilization of the present and make the civilization of the future. . . Because the future is only partially and uncertainly predictable, and because human faculties are inventive and resourceful, education for the future implies education for a future which is one of man's own making. This has been held to be the essentially . . . democratic idea of education (cited in Ikejiani, Op.cit., p. 20).

#### Education and Equality of Opportunity

One of the goals of the federal Nigerian government's National Policy on Education (1977 and 1981) is the provision and promotion of equality of opportunity through the educational system. It is therefore pertinent to review some of the literature that support the use of education as a means to attain equality of opportunity.

According to Frank Freeman (1924):

It is the business of the school to help the child to acquire such an attitude toward the inequalities of life, whether in accomplishment or in reward, that he may adjust himself to its conditions with the least possible friction (in Bowles and Gintis, 1976, p. 102).

Abernethy (1969) argues that equality is a norm that is often encountered in modern and contemporary political time. Though very desirable, no society can yet claim to have attained perfect equality. This failure to achieve total equality for all persons has not deterred

the struggle for equality of participation in the entire realm of society. The history of equality goes back to ancient times. Aristotle identified justice with equality and differentiated between proportionate equality and numerical equality. In numerical equality he argues that everybody should be treated alike, and in proportionate equality, he posited that the share of what is due to a person should be based on merit. The major flaw in Aristotle's exposition on equality was that it only applied to free men. As he saw it, "the male is by nature superior, and the female inferior; and the one rules and the other is ruled. It is clear then, that some men are by nature free, and others slaves, and that for these latter slavery is both expedient and right" (John Porter, 1982, p. 1). Aristotle's "others" in his distinction of free men and slaves would include women. I wonder what he would have said if he lived in the present day society.

The Biblical treatment of equality, it can be argued, is not very radically different from Aristotle's views. The Bible and Christianity emphasizes the Fatherhood of God, and asserts the brotherhood of man. The role of women is not clearly stated. In the Bible, there is an implicit understanding that men are equal before God and therefore, are meet for redemption. Every act of honor and glory to God ends with "Amen" rather than "Awomen". (See Porter, Ibid.).

The exclusive application of the concept of equality to men began to change with the emergence of liberal thinkers like John Locke, Rousseau and others in the eighteenth century. The first formal statement that all persons are equal can be found in the Declaration of Independence. The Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen adopted in 1789 by the Constituent Assembly in Paris provided a more explicit statement on

equality (Ibid.). It stated:

The law is an expression of the will of the community and all being equal in its right are equally eligible to all honors, places and evolvment according to their different abilities, without any other distinction than that created by their virtues and talents. (Schapiro, 1958, in Porter, Ibid.).

The Liberal minded men that lived in this era of the "Enlightenment" did a lot to promote the concept of equality through their utterances and writings. John Locke argued that:

Men being as has been said, by nature free, equal and independent, no one can be put out of his estate and subjected to the political power of another without his own consent. (John Locke, 1942, reprinted in Schapiro, Ibid., p. 115, cited in Porter, Op.cit. p. 2).

Adam Smith (a liberal British economist) had this to say:

Every man as long as he does not violate the laws of justice, is left perfectly free to pursue his own interest in his own way, and to bring both his industry and capital into competition with those of any other man, or order of man. (Adam Smith, 1937, in Porter, Ibid.).

Alexis de Tocqueville (a French aristocrat) was fascinated by the inevitable wind of equality that was blowing across his country that he sojourned to the United States of America to live and witness it firsthand. Based upon what he saw, he wrote:

The gradual development of equality of conditions is therefore a providential fact, and it has all the chief characteristics of such a face: It is universal, it is durable, it constantly eludes all human interference, and all events as well as all men to contribute to its progress . . . Can it be believed that the democracy which has overthrown the feudal systems and vanquished Kings will retreat before the tradesmen and the capitalists? (Alexis de Tocqueville, 1956, p. 29).

Abernethy (1969, p. 234) argues that the growth of governmental power and political pressures have combined to quicken the realization of "equality of conditions" of which Tocqueville wrote about. This is being done through the process of "progressive taxation to reduce the

income gap between rich and poor, and by other measures to provide a minimal level of welfare services for all citizens". (Ibid.). It has been recognized that everyone has an equal right to education, food, shelter and health care.

In recognition of the above social imperative, the United Nations General Assembly, in 1948, adopted "the Universal Declaration of Human Rights." It embodies among other things, the inalienable rights of every human being. Article 26 of the Declaration proclaimed the right of every one to education. This education is mandatory, and should be free at least in the elementary and primary stages. According to the "Declaration", elementary education should be compulsory, while technical and professional education should be made generally available to people. On higher education, the General Assembly declared that it should be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit. The right of priority to choose the kind of education that should be given to children was given to parents. So it is not difficult to understand why liberal governments and individuals have waxed eloquent in speeches about the importance of and role of education in equalizing opportunity.

But as Porter (1982, p. 3) summarized it, "Principles do not necessarily lead to practice". As was observed by Abernethy "equality is not easily established in modern societies because of the high degree of stratification that inevitably develops in complex, dynamic institutions". (Abernethy, Op.cit., p. 235). In addition to this, there are strong and powerful interest groups that have refused to accept the principle of equality of social and economic conditions. As Porter (1982) noted, the more privileged sector in the society has since the 1970's fought hard to scuttle the modest achievement in

equality. Moreover, other views have emerged which strongly challenge the generally and widely held view of education as the great equalizer of opportunity in the society. Those other views will be discussed in later chapters of this study.

In spite of the above problems, "We can see the working out still of Tocqueville's prediction with the demands for equality, and indeed preferential treatment, of women, black, native peoples and other deprived groups to compensate for past injustices" (John Porter, et al, Op.cit. p. 4). The demand for equality and sometimes for preferential treatment of these groups of people is especially strong where there is evidence of high educational attainment. So education continues to be seen as central to providing opportunity. To what extent might education serve as the great equalizer? Abernethy (Op.cit.) makes the following point:

A country's educational system is linked to the drive for equality in several ways. Education may be considered an equalitarian end in itself: that is, a certain amount of schooling may be regarded as the right of each citizen and part of the individual package of welfare services a government ought to provide. Since primary education can be dispensed so widely and easily, it has not surprisingly become "the most universally approximated implementation of national citizenship." And schooling at any level provides a set of experiences which students of widely different backgrounds hold in common. (pp. 235-236).

Furthermore, he contends that:

Education may also be considered a means to the realization of equality. Widespread schooling qualifies large numbers of people for participation in politics and enables the authorities to install an egalitarian ethic in the younger generation through civics courses and other means. Since a school system is one of the chief agents of stratification in any society, the amount of schooling available to the average citizen and the degree to which recruitment to specialized roles is based on academic achievement will determine to a large measure the extent to which equality of opportunity is actually realized in that society. (Ibid., p. 236).

The two other basic arguments often advanced for the expansion of

education are for the development of "the talent of individual for his own benefit" and "to produce the skills needed for the society." (Porter et al. Op.cit., p. 6). In 1972, the Commission on Post-Secondary Education in Ontario justified the large expansion of higher education a decade before with the following argument:

Higher education was praised as an ascending ladder of social and economic mobility; it was defended both as an avenue of personal self-fulfillment and as a way of enlarging society's knowledge of itself and of nature (Report of the Commission on Post-Secondary Education in Ontario, Toronto, 1972, P.G. cited in Porter et al., Ibid.).

The achievement of equality of opportunity through education is expected to foster other social goals. Charles Silberman (1970, p. 60) posits that "the purpose of public education was to give the lower classes the habits of obedience and submission necessary for public peace, a docile labor force, and the protection of property." As can be seen, there seems to be a universal acceptance of the role of education in fostering the achievement of equality of opportunity. According to Porter et al. (Ibid.) the Robbins' "A report in England", and the "Parent Commission" in Quebec "had as their terms of reference an examination of the educational system in their respective jurisdictions in order to make recommendations about how equality of opportunity might be increased". The emanating view from both Commissions' report was that expansion and equipment of schools would bring to fruition this objective.

Walter Garins et al. (1978, pp. 49-50) argue that to the extent that people still believe that the amount and kind of education plays a significant role in determining the distribution of income in the society, the availability of free public education may dampen demands for more rapid redistribution of wealth and privileges. "The ability of

each new generation to rise above its social and economic beginnings, in other words, encourages tolerance of remaining social and economic inequalities" (Ibid.).

As was mentioned earlier, there have emerged other views which seem to contradict the supposed role of education in bringing about the goal of equal opportunity. These other views began with James Coleman's publication of his findings on education and equality of opportunity in the 1960's. The two basic findings in Coleman's survey were that resources were not very different between schools; and that a difference in resources was not related to a difference in effects as measured by achievement scores. Others like Christopher Jencks (1972), Bowles and Gintis (1972), Katz (1971), Fleming (1974), Porter et al (1982) and many more published opposing and supporting views. In any case, and whatever the argument may be, some inequalities will always be regarded as customary as long as there is a channel for everyone to strive for his/her meritorious share of the reward. The idea that rewards are open for grab by anyone able to do so gives some legitimacy to unequal distribution of rewards. The reason is that both those that have more and those that haven't as much will feel that their efforts justified their lot. So "equality of opportunity in education creates social mobility and emphasizes meritocracy" which is supposed to give everybody a fair chance to be the best he/she can be. We will find out in subsequent chapters of this study, the extent to which educational expansion has accomplished or fostered equality of opportunity in Nigeria.

Education and Political Integration

Are there cultural and structural mechanisms for transcending conflict - that is, for focusing attention on those things that unite the members of a political unit in spite of their differences? Are there mechanisms for limiting conflict, so that it may be channeled through existing political institutions with a minimum of disruptive violence? Is it possible to manage conflict creatively, so that in the very process of competing with each other people contribute, almost by accident, to holding their society together? A polity is integrated to the extent that it is able to transcend domestic conflict, limit conflict to a certain level of intensity while providing political channels for its expression, and has cleavages that cut across rather than reinforce each other. (Abernethy, 1969, p. 253).

From ancient times, educators, statesmen, and writers have shown great concern in the relationship between education and the polity. Plato in The Republic argued that, education was the master instrument needed in the process of selecting and training the "philosopher kings" who will assume the mantle of state leadership. Aristotle and other political philosophers after him were apt to coin phrases such as, "As is the state, so is the school," or things like, "What you want in the state, you must put into the school" (Kandel, 1959, p. 274; Barker, 1957; Marquis de Condorcet, June Barraclough ed., 1955). According to James Coleman (Op.cit., p. 6) "A prominent strand in democratic theory is the assumption that education is a correlate, if not a requisite, of a democratic order." Edward Reisner (1922), Bruce McCully, 1950), J. L. Talmon (1952), Alfred Cobban, (1938), Franz Newmann (1946), Paula Freire (1985), and David Abernethy (1969) all noted the role of education in the growth of modern nationalism and political movements. Helen Luidell, (1948), A. N. Shuster (1953), Daishiro Hidka in Kenneth Colton et al (1956), M. B. Jansen, (1957) and R. P. Dore in R. E. Ward and D. A. Ruston (1964) have also noted "the political objectives and consequences of post-war educational reorganization in occupied Germany and Japan".

(Coleman, Op.cit., p. 7).

Furthermore, Coleman (Ibid., p. 116) argues that political capacity is manifestly dependent upon modern education because "a certain level of formal mass education is indispensable for the development of a modern communications system," which is socially important in resolving the "two most general and most fundamental problems in political modernization", namely, the "changing of attitudes and reducing the gap between the ruling elites and the less modernized masses" (Lucien W. Pye, 1963, p. 13 cited in Coleman). In essence, the point being made here is that in order for the government to achieve effective political control, and for the purpose of meaningful citizenship, mass education as well as attitudes that foster political integration are necessary. Education, especially at the higher reaches of the society, makes possible the modern intellectual system from which emerge elites whose political net-working often cut across ethnic and cultural lines.

To this point, the integrative role of education in political development appears not to be in doubt. But, the question is how would this be accomplished? To answer this question, David Abernethy's theory on education and integration will suffice. According to Abernethy (1969), a necessary recipe for integration is the possession of certain commonalities and a strong belief that those commonalities are important. If there is allegiance to communal values and institutions whose function cuts across ethnic and cultural boundaries, it is unlikely that people will "permit conflicts among them to reach the point where they threaten the continued existence of the community" (Ibid., p. 255). The essence of Abernethy's argument is that people can live in unity amidst cultural diversity. The quintessence of this belief is typified

in the American motto, "E Pluribus Unum", or in the so-called "melting-pot."  
This expression of unity can also be found in the first and former  
Nigerian National Anthem, verse one, line three and four:

Though tribe and tongue may differ,  
In brotherhood we stand . . .

So "a successful emphasis on unity that transcends conflict -  
without necessarily eliminating it - will be termed national integration"  
(Abernethy, Ibid., p. 256). Furthermore:

If political socialization into the national polity has been and  
is effective, and if the process of recruitment to bureaucratic  
and political roles have become regularized and legitimated, it is  
reasonable to assume that the society concerned is effectively  
integrated (James Coleman, Op.cit., p. 30).

Earlier it was postulated that the development of a modern communications  
system is important in resolving two most fundamental problems in any  
polity - the changing of attitudes, and reducing the gap between the  
various classes or groups in the society, and that modern communications  
system is a common lingua franca or language system. Abernethy (Op.cit.)  
argues that the introduction of common language, English, to an entire  
younger generation of Nigerians was a "major contribution to national  
integration made by educational expansion" in the country. He states:

As a result of their schooling, Ibos and Yorubas can talk with  
each other and with Northerners who have attended European type  
schools. English is not only a common language among the educated  
but also the official language of the country. In this respect,  
Nigeria, along with virtually all sub-saharan African countries,  
is fortunate in not possessing indigenous written languages of  
long standing, whose claim to official status might put various  
linguistic groups against each other. (Ibid.).

He cites the language controversy which dominates the politics of nations  
such as India, Sri-Lanka, Malaysia and other Asian countries. This is  
in contrast to other sub-saharan African nations in general, and to  
Nigeria in particular where educational expansion and other "related

programmes have made possible communication among all moderately educated persons." Other writers like John Spencer (1963), R. B. LePage (1964), S. Harrison (1960), and W. H. Wiggins (1960) share Abernethy's views. Dankwart Rushow (1967, p. 56) has also noted:

In a country where only a small elite can read and write, it makes little difference in what language the vast majority are illiterate. Concerted drives for literacy and mass education, by contrast, emphasize the importance of the linguistic alternatives.

The teaching of a common language is not the only thing an educational programme can do to foster national integration. Again, Abernethy argues that schools do provide a common cultural experience for people from diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds. According to him, a common dilemma usually faced by African leaders is the polarity of cultural entities on one hand, and the congruence of culture in other areas such as "negritude" or "the African personality"; there is not so much cultural commonality, and no culture is purely an exclusive given of any particular state. The schools serve as a vehicle to get around this contradiction because when people attend the same school, study together, and share common school and classroom activities, "they are building up a common store of experiences" which can easily be translated to the national polity in future years.

There is also a lot more that schools or the educational system can do to foster national integration. As Abernethy further postulates:

A school can . . . through its recruitment policies . . . bring together members of many different groups, and the school can become a miniature nation by instituting cooperative habits among a diverse student body. This integrative function is particularly important when one considers that grammar school and university graduates constitute a substantial portion of the elite whose decisions will affect a country's destiny. If leaders of competing groups have in common an "old school tie", and the memory of eccentric teachers, mutual friends, and devilish pranks that binds Old Boys everywhere together, it is more likely that political

differences can be mediated than if their educational experiences are quite dissimilar. (Ibid., p. 257).

So one other consequence of education and educational institutions is that schools do have the capacity to provide their students the kind of personal contacts with different and other groups which can bring into being genuine national identification and loyalty. This is very much in line with the argument advanced by Garins et al (Op.cit., p. 49) when they observed that:

Democratic government requires a citizenry with a common fund of values and an understanding of commitment to the rules of democratic government. Inculcating an understanding of history, geography, and of the cultural heritage of nation and community is an often overlooked task of education . . . Knowledge of other languages . . . and interpersonal proficiency enable children better to communicate and interact in community setting . . . education passes on from one generation to generation the rules by which social and political discourse is conducted. In a democracy a large proportion of actions are voluntary. Individuals are not required to participate in community affairs, to vote, to work, or do many other things that are essential to the functioning of a democracy. Education helps perpetuate the norms and values which guide citizens' behavior in a free society.

#### Education and the Development of Human Capital

The Great Investment of a democracy  
is its educational system.  
- Ikejiani

Schultz (1963) wrote:

Laborers have become capitalists not from a diffusion of the ownership of corporation stocks, as folklore would have it, but from the acquisition of knowledge and skill that have economic value. This knowledge and skill are in great part the product of investment and, combined with other human investment, predominantly account for the productive superiority of the technically advanced countries. To omit them in studying economic growth is like trying to explain Soviet ideology without Marx. (in Charles Benson ed. 1963, p. 14).

Adam Smith long time ago pointed out the relevance between education and human capital investment. He wrote:

A man educated at the expense of much labour and time to any of those employments which require extraordinary dexterity and skill may be compared to one of those expensive machines. The work which he performs, it must be expected, over and above the usual wages of common labour, will replace to him the whole expense of his education, with at least the ordinary profits of an equally valuable capital (Adam Smith, 1776, BK1, Ch. 1).

It has become a recognized statement that investment in education is an investment in human capital. What is implied here is that education can be regarded as something that is purchased because it is expected to yield benefits in future. This is a development different from the traditional consumption view in which education should be seen as an end in itself, future benefits or not notwithstanding. This development has given rise to the growing interest in the study of the economic value of education. George Psacharopoulos and Maureen Woodhall (1985, p. 3) argue that education, like other forms of investment in human capital, can contribute to ensure development and raise the incomes of the poor just as much as an investment in physical capital, such as transport, communications, power, or irrigation.

The World Bank, (a leading international Agency that provides technical and financial aid to developing countries) has changed from its original policy of no funding for "the construction and equipment of schools, colleges and universities" to active investment in education. This change in policy has been attributed to the World Bank's recognition of the importance of investment in education. (Ibid.). According to the World Bank's Education Sector Policy Paper (1981), education plays a multifaceted role in the development of human capital and should therefore be treated to a flexible comprehensive network of input and resources sufficient enough to cater for the varying needs of students within a single system.

Most of the educational development patterns in the developing nations since the 1960's seems to be geared in the above direction.

The surge during the past two decades in the study of the economic value of education was described by Bowman (1966) as the "human investment revolution in economic thought." Other writers who have argued and postulated on the concept of education as an investment in human capital include Denison (1962, 1967), Krueger (1968), Sheehan (1973), Benson (1961, 1963), Becker (1964, 1975), Garins et al (1978), Psacharopoulos and Woodhall (1985). There are also more others who have tried to measure education's contribution to economic growth such as Schultz (1961, 1963), Myrdal (1957), Galbraith (1958), and Harbison (1973). The theme of Schultz's argument is that increase in the value of observed aggregate output in relation to the increase in the existing factors of production is attributable to the investment in human capital. He posits that:

Truly, the most distinctive feature of our economic system is the growth in human capital. Without it there would be only hard, manual work and poverty except for those who have income from property. There is an early morning scene in Faulkner's "Intruder in the Dust," of a poor solitary cultivator at work in a field. Let me paraphrase that line, "the man without skills and knowledge leaning terrifically against nothing." (1963, in Benson 1963, pp, 19-20).

Myrdal, Galbraith, Benson, Bowman, and Harbison seem to be in apparent agreement with Schultz. Harbison further emphasized that the wealth of a nation lies in its human resources rather than in material resources or capital income. He asserted that human resources are the active agents in the production of wealth while natural resources and capital are the passive agents. Finally, he noted, any country that is unable to develop the knowledge and skills of its population and apply them fully in the management of national economy may not be able

to develop any other resource. (see also, Longe, 1982, p. 14).

A study by the American Chamber of Commerce Committee on Education (1954) emphasized that education is an investment in people. The study reported, among other things:

Although . . . nations vary greatly in their natural resources, climate and cultural heritage, the high correlation between literacy and per capita income indicates that education is a dominant factor in the economic well-being of any people (p. 42).

Henry Villard (1960, p. 376) observed that:

Additions to knowledge are something that society has only just begun to realize that it can buy directly. In the past they have mainly been a by-product of the transmission of existing knowledge; only the innate and quite uneconomic intellectual curiosity of scholars has led to additions to knowledge, as new discoveries obviously tend to reduce the economic value of existing knowledge.

Benson (Op.cit., 1961 p. 350) argues that even if the new knowledge does not immediately pass beyond the stage of invention to innovation, it still represents opportunities that can be exploited when the society see fit. Furthermore, he posits that a society, like an individual, is richer (in a real sense) as it comes to face a large number of attractive alternatives.

A complementary statement of the Benson thesis is that from Schultz (1961, pp. 74-75).

. . . Although women who pursue education and then choose to raise families often cannot point to an economic return to their education, it is likely, however, to improve their families' cultural and social opportunities and enhance their children's educational prospects. The economic value of education for those who do not enter the labor force, in other words, is not necessarily lost. Educated parents tend to motivate their children to obtain an education, and to excel in school. Education of one generation is passed on to the next, and thus, plays an important part in the perpetration of an educated citizenry (cited in Garins et al, 1978, p. 47).

In an inter-country comparative study by Tilak (1977) it was found

that education plays a significant role in boosting economic growth in the under developed countries and that a 70 percent rate of literacy, a 50 percent enrolment ratio at the primary stage and a 30 percent enrolment ratio at the secondary stage are absolutely necessary for any country which aims at reaching a level of economic growth commensurate with a per capita income of \$500. (Ibid., p. 113). On the effects of education on poverty and income distribution, Tilak (1978) found that population below the poverty line can be reduced by increasing literacy levels and expanding first and second levels of education. In addition, Tilak found that "improvements in secondary and higher levels of education obviously increases the share of the lowest 40 percent population in the national income" and also that "educational development reduces the shares of the 20 percent of population in the case of national income" (Ibid., p. 114).

According to Thias and Carnoy (1972, p. 59) a World Bank study in Kenya that calculated age-income profiles and rates of return to rural and urban education has shown that the incomes of self-employed small landowners in that country do increase with level of education (cited in Psacharopoulos and Woodhall, Op.cit., p. 46). Lockheed, Jamison, and Lau (1980) reports that a survey by the World Bank in eighteen studies of farmers in low-income countries that explored the relation between education and agricultural efficiency on productivity, measured in terms of crop production found that farmers who had completed four years of elementary education produced, on the average, 8.7 percent more than the farmer with no education (See also Psacharopoulos and Woodhall, Ibid.).

Other Views

In spite of all of the above credit attributed to education in national development to this point, the assertion that general and massive educational expansion is a precursor to social, economic and political expansion is increasingly being questioned. The call to re-evaluate the role and importance of education for development especially in developing countries began more than a decade ago. Gillette (1979, p. 270) expressed this view.

A review of the literature, discussions with specialists and a search of personal experiences with educational structures over the last two and one half decades - all leave one with an indelible image; a slow motion film of a house being blown up.

In 1968, Philip Coombs predicted World Educational Crisis and three years ago (1985) he published a sequel, The World Crisis in Education. Mark Blaug (1977, p. 4), a noted education economist in developing countries stated that "the golden days of the economics of education in developing countries are over." Han Weiler (1978, p. 247) described the development of theories and practices in educational planning as a "progression from confidence to doubt and from consensus to disagreement." Todaro (1977, p. 236) remarked:

Many of the early claims made on behalf of the unfettered quantitative expansion of educational opportunities - that it would accelerate economic growth; that it would raise levels of living, especially for the poor, that it would generate widespread and equal employment opportunities for all . . . have been shown to be greatly exaggerated and, in many instances, simply false.

Kazim Bacchus (1981, p. 218) argues that though education has not been directly responsible for the problem of unemployment but as there is increased demand for more and higher levels of education and the government continues to meet these demands, additional resource will have to be diverted to the education sector. The diversion of more

funds to the education sector instead of its use to finance other productive job creating projects retards economic growth thereby worsening the unemployment problem that is already in place (Ibid.). Coombs (1968, p. 52) advised, "Education cannot continue to command a rapidly increasing share of available resources." There are still others who have argued that expanding education facilities does not necessarily create equality of opportunity. James Coleman (1966) reported as one of his findings that differences in education resources on qualities of schools had little effect on educational development. Christopher Jencks (1972, p. 53) comments:

Our records has convinced us not only that cognitive inequality does not explain economic inequality to any significant extent, but that educational inequality does not explain cognitive inequality to any significant extent. The amount of schooling an individual gets has some effect on his test performance, but the quality of his schooling makes extraordinary little difference. We have therefore abandoned our initial belief that equalizing educational opportunities would substantially reduce cognitive inequality among adults. This does not mean that we think cognitive inequality derives entirely from genetic inequality, or that test scores are immune to environmental influence. It simply means that variations in what children learn in school depend largely on variations in what they bring to school, not on variations in what schools offer them.

So, the question being asked now is, what percentage of a nation's resources should be devoted to education expansion programmes. How far has the expansionary projects in educational development contributed to human welfare when there is growing unemployment among the educated in the street of major cities in most Third World countries. This is what Husen (1979) feels may well be a permanent feature. As Tilak (1982) puts it, all these developments may lead one to agree with Kerr (1978) when he said on higher education that "the golden age was a short-lived one" and paradise was lost. Hence today, there are words

and slogans like "educational disenchantment (Tilak, 1982), "educational crisis" (Coombs, 1968), "School is dead" (Reimer, 1971), "education without schools" (Buckman, 1973), "deschooling" (Illich, 1971), the "screening and labelling mechanism of education" (Arrow, 1973), the "educational cobwebs" (Freeman, 1976), "management of decline" (Boulding, 1975), "the school in question" (Husen, 1979), "the great training robbery" (Berg, 1970), "The diploma disease" (Dore, 1976), "Spiral theory" (Emmerji, 1974), "the great classroom hoax" (John, 1978), "the continuing educational crisis (Naik, 1980), and "the world crisis in education" (Coombs, 1985).

As Amin (1978, p. 15 in Tilak, 1982) noted, "Education is becoming dysfunctional, a sort of useless luxury for an ever-increasing majority of the population."

Tilak (1980) argues that the interaction of social demand and political pressures result in over-optimistic growth by public investment in education as a whole and in mis-allocation of resources within the educational sector. And that any form of misallocation reduces the effectiveness of investment in the education sector as a whole.

Blaug (1970, p. 129) views the situation this way:

The total expenditure on education is determined by a political process that is only vaguely connected with any of the objectives we have described as economic and non-economic; the size of the educational budget seems to be largely the outcome of an attempt to maximize electoral support.

In summary, the effort in this literature review has been to present the views on the role of education in national development around the world during the past two decades and half, and to use the information derived to evaluate the Nigerian programme of free education at all levels

in the context of prevailing universal educational debate. As Tilak (1982) has opined, it is important to note that any disagreement in the role of education in social change stems from a crisis in development as a whole. The problems are rooted in a complex structure of inter-related and inter-dependent socio-economic and political relationships national in character and some of them have international dimensions. In spite of all the variations in the views expressed concerning the role of education and national development, the powerful magnetism of education as a precursor for development still looms valid especially in developing countries. Hence Nigeria's enamor with free education at all levels.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATIONAL PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

The prosperity of a country depends not on the abundance of its revenues, nor in the strength of its fortification. It consists in the number of its cultivated citizens, in its men of education, enlightenment, and character. Here are to be found its true interest, its chief strength, its real power. - Martin Luther in Ikejiani.

The history of educational development in Nigeria has been well recorded by several writers and is a relatively well documented field. Ikejiani (1964), and Fafunwa (1974) describe the historical origin of Western system of education in Nigeria from the Colonial era to Nigeria's independence in 1960. Abernethy (1969) discusses the dilemma of educational expansion in Nigeria from the 1840's to the 1960's. Fafunwa (1970) and Okafor (1971) both described and analyzed the development of higher education in Nigeria. Esen (1986) and Fafunwa (1986) discuss the development, administration and control of education in Nigeria. There are also others who discussed various issues and problems in the development of Nigerian education system. They are, D'Aeth (1975), Adesina (1977, 1981), Ukeje (1980, 1986), Ocho (1986), Ogunsanju (1983), Akinyemi (1983), Ojelabi (1981), and Nwagwu (1983). The impact of certain events in the Nigerian educational system are also discussed in these sources, Taiwo (1986), Obasi (1987), Enaohwo (1986), Ndagi (1983), Woodhouse (1985), Ukeje and Aisiku (1982), McDowell (1980), Taylor (1985), Oyedeji (1976), and Fajana (1978).

This chapter on planning and the development of education in Nigeria is divided into three sections. Section one provides a brief overview of the traditional/informal and Islamic forms of education that were in existence before the coming of the Westerners. The words traditional and informal are used interchangeably in this study. They are used here to connote the same concept, that is that they are coterminous, and at some

points, one is a juxtaposition of the other. They are used to differentiate the organized, structured and often rigged Colonial education system. Section two reviews the transition from traditional/informal, and Islamic forms of education to Western System of education. Here the Colonial policy for the development of education in Nigeria up until 1960 is discussed. And Section three discusses educational development policy in post-independence Nigeria--1960-1986.

A. Traditional/Informal Education

Nigeria has a definite way of life despite the assumption of some anthropologists who have implied that Africa south of the Sahara has no culture worthy of the name. Some mistakenly feel that the "primitive" African mind could be easily changed by imposing another culture upon it. "There was no 'tabula rasa' of the Indian mind, no clean slate on which the moving finger of progress could write, and therefore there could be no joyous embrace of a new revelation such as an African of the primeval forest might experience." . . . . Undoubtedly, this attitude, which springs from the fact that Africa, south of the Sahara, has no elaborate recorded history and possesses no accumulated historical data on her civilization and accomplishments, led to serious mistakes on the part of the British who brought Western civilization to Nigeria and assumed that a new and better order could be brought about by an outright transplantation of western ways and culture into Nigerian society. Equally certainly, the studies of modern Africanists should serve to convince the sceptics that a West African Sudanic culture of note was in existence long before the coming of the white man to the West Coast of Africa. Ikejiani

It is true that the geographical entity now known as Nigeria did not exist before 1914, (this was the date that both Northern and Southern Nigeria were amalgamated to form one country--Nigeria. See Chapter 1). There were "social institutions of a civilization that pre-dates the arrival of the first Europeans" (Woodhouse, 1985, p. 120). Traditional or informal education was one such institution. The exposition of this form of education that was in existence before Western educational influence came to this area is necessary in view of the erroneous belief held by some less-informed Westerners that education was brought to Nigeria in particular, and to Africa in general by the Christian missionaries. This obvious fallacy necessitated this remark from E. B.

Castles (1966, p. 23).

One of the saddest mistakes of early missionaries was their assumption that they brought education to an entirely uneducated people. If literacy and formal schooling constitute the whole of education, they are right; but insofar as education is a preparation for living in the society in which we are born, they were profoundly wrong. For in the deepest sense African customary education was a true education.

Furthermore, Castles (Ibid.) in Woodhouse (Op.cit., p. 121) posits that given that education "refers to the broad function of preserving and improving the life of the group through bringing new members into shared cultures, the means through which Nigerian cultures perpetuate themselves are truly educational." In pre-colonial Nigeria, education could be described as "a far broader process than that which occurs in schools. It was an essential process through which communities continued to exist."

Tracing the foundation of education in Nigeria, Fafunwa (1974, p. 15) contends:

No study of the history of education in Nigeria is complete without adequate knowledge of the traditional or indigenous educational system prevalent in Africa before the arrival of Islam and Christianity. In Nigeria, Islam pre-dated Christianity by well over 300 years. But these two important religions which have influenced Nigerian education in no small measure are of recent development compared with the indigenous system of education which is as old as man himself in Africa. (See also McDowell (1980, p. 50) and Woodhouse (Ibid., p. 122).

Fafunwa continues:

After all, education is the aggregate of all the processes by which a child or young adult develops the abilities, attitudes, and other forms of behavior which are of positive value to the society in which he lives; that is to say, it is a process for facsimilating culture in terms of continuity and growth and for disseminating knowledge either to ensure special control or to guarantee rational direction of the society or both. All educational systems, whether traditional or Western-oriented, seek to achieve these goals irrespective of the curriculum, methods and organization designed for the purpose. (Ibid.).

Ogunsanju (1983, pp. 246-47) lends credence to Fafunwa's thesis when he argues that "Every society or group has a method of educating its

children to suit its objectives, and the society takes pride in the way its children are educated. The goal of education may differ depending on the state or nation, but regardless of the method used the end is usually achieved."

McDowell (Op.cit.) equates traditional education with indigenous education and goes on to define it as "the learning processes locally derived, as in the community context. . . . having continued for a long period of time, some more recent, being local responses to perceived incompleteness or inadequacies in the total education programme of the community."

A major function of traditional education is to inculcate in the individual the ways and means of living and socialization in the society. To this effect, Akinpelu (1974, p. 413) describes traditional education in this manner:

Education, at least for non-literate (traditional) societies, falls somewhere between socialization or enculturation and formal schooling. It can be described as the process through which selected cultural patterns and the socially accepted values of a society are transmitted, especially to its as-yet uncultured members, through interaction with the other members in that society.

Implicit in Akinpelu's argument is that there is more to traditional education than mere socialization, such as "problem-solving and conceptual thinking." Traditional education differentiates "between literacy and education" (Woodhouse, Op.cit., p. 121). Any attempt to measure the literary values of traditional education on the basis of Western perspective may not validate its adequacy because it should be seen and evaluated "by its performance within a given social context" (Fajana 1978 in Woodhouse Ibid.).

According to Woodhouse (Ibid.), the fundamentals of traditional education are derived from "a philosophical view of man that is quite

distinct from that implicit in Western education." In traditional societies, people tend to hold a dualistic view of the "nature of Man." This is contrary to the Christian dualist perception of the body and soul. Woodhouse (Ibid.) expressed it in this manner:

. . . traditional Nigerian societies view man as both visible and invisible, as demonstrated by the relationship between the living and the dead. The ancestors are invisible but in close contact with the living. Education in such societies aimed at maintaining this dual nature of man and at making adequate preparation for the invisible state when the individual is alive and visible. These religious objectives influence the methods of education.

Taiwo (1980) had expressed similar views when he reported that:

First, there were religious sanctions against non conformity to customs and religious practices. Many prohibitions were linked with sanctions which were expected to be implemented by the gods. Secondly, although the children normally followed the occupations of their parents, the practice in some communities was subject to the family oracle. (cited in Woodhouse, Ibid., p. 123).

So taken from a philosophical and religious perspective, the aim of traditional education was to "produce a disciplined member of the Society," while its purpose was to prepare the individual for adult life and to accept responsibilities in the society. Fajana (Op.cit., p. 4) argues that traditional education, among other things, was expected "to discipline all the faculties of the individuals; to bring out the best human qualities; and to help them at different stages to become useful members of the society."

The precept of traditional education was not only philosophical and religious, it was also participatory and functional. It was participatory in the sense that it was people learning by doing, by involvement in political, social, religious and economic activities of the Society. And it was functional in the sense that it was a means of bringing the community together where learning included story-telling, narration of ancient and ancestral history, poetry, legends, reasoning, local

geography, and sing-songs. There were also "proverbs, riddles, experimentation; imitation roles; and apprenticeship," (Akinpelu, Op.cit., p. 413). Recreational activities included "soccer, running, acrobatic display, wrestling, dancing, dreaming and dancing" (Ogunsaju, 1983, p. 247).

According to Fafunwa (Op.cit.) traditional education was an integrated experience; a combination of physical training with character building and manual activity with intellectual training. The end of each stage was evaluated according to age level and years of experience following which "the child was given a practical test relevant to his experience and level of development and in terms of the job to be done."

(Ogunsaju, Ibid.). This was a life-long process which ultimately ended in a ritual ceremony, or initiation into the next phase of adult life.

Fafunwa (1974, Op.cit., p. 20) identifies seven categories of traditional educational objectives in the Nigerian Society:

1. To develop the child's latent physical skill.
2. To develop character.
3. To inculcate respect for elders and those in positions of authority.
4. To develop intellectual skills.
5. To acquire specific vocational training and to develop a healthy attitude toward honest labor.
6. To develop a sense of belonging to participate actively in family and community affairs.
7. To understand, appreciate, and promote the cultural heritage of the community at large.

The education of the individual in the Nigerian Society starts in infancy within the context of the family, the kin groups and peer groups. The

individual learns from parents and the immediate environment. And with the passage of time, uncles, aunts, and relatives are involved in the education of the person. This involves sending the child on minor errands, teaching him/her good manners, forms of obedience and respect for adults. This is a very important aspect of traditional Nigerian education code of behaviors. "A young man or woman should not look an elder in the face," because it is a sign of disrespect. Given that this code of behavior is generally seen as implying dishonesty and deceit in this society, I have often wondered what the elders that I have had to interact with feel on those occasions that I have out of respect and custom refused to look them in the face.

So traditional education in the Nigerian Society was seen as a means to an end and not an end in itself, and its purpose and aim were clear. This simple and informal pattern of education in traditional Nigeria Society was what prompted some Western writers, missionaries and visitors to Nigeria to assert that pre-colonial Nigeria had no system of education. Those who have become informed enough to acknowledge the existence of educational activities in traditional Nigerian society have because of the absence of school buildings or written records, denied its efficacy and branded the informal education as primitive and below standard in quality. Others still describe it as a "complex educational activities." It is now obvious that there was some form of education in pre-Colonial Nigeria and that it stressed economic and psychological independence, and encouraged political participation and respect for the bonds of kinship.

#### Islamic Education

Another form of education that was in existence before the first European missionaries came to Nigeria was the Islamic religion. According

to Fafunwa (Op.cit., p. 15), in Nigeria, Islam pre-dated Christianity by well over 300 years. Islamic religion along with Islamic education was brought to the savannah region of West Africa in the eighth century. It spread to parts of Northern Nigeria, specifically to the area known as Kanem-Bornu in 1085 A.D.. By the 14th Century, the religion had reached and dominated Hausaland. Before long, the religion spread all over Northern Nigeria, and as it spread, so did Islamic education. By the early part of the 19th century, Islam and Islamic education had reached many parts of Yorubaland in the South. Despite the militant and aggressive nature of this religion, it was not able to penetrate any part of the other half of Southern Nigeria, that is, the former Eastern Nigeria. That notwithstanding, Islam has had its impact on Nigerian education from the time of its arrival in Northern Nigeria in 1085 A.D. to the present.

The coming of the European missionaries to Nigeria along with the introduction of the Western System of education could not stop the spreading influence of Islam and Islamic education. This was because Islam, with its Arabic influence had a long history of firm establishment in Northern Nigeria. So, while Western education came to be the dominant form of education in the south after the Europeans came, Koranic education was, for a very long time, the only form of formal education in the Northern part of the country. The influence of Islamic education in the North was so strong that the first British High Commissioner for the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, out of fear of running into armed conflict with Northern Islamic rulers, declared in 1902 an education policy which specifically advised the Christian missions to direct their proselytizing to the non-Islamic parts of the North. So as can be seen from this review, Nigeria, in terms of some kind of educational activity was not a tabula rasa waiting to be written full when the first European

Missionaries arrived. David Lamb (1985) concurs with the above views when he commented:

Part of what makes Nigeria different from the rest of black Africa is its history, for it is no cultural upstart. The Nok were casting iron and producing terra-cotta sculpture before the birth of Christ. The northern cities of Kano and Katsina were cosmopolitan terminals on the trans-Saharan caravan routes when William the Conqueror ruled England. And when the first Europeans reached Benin in the fifteenth century--a good many years before Columbus set off for the Americas--they found a highly organized kingdom with a disciplined army, an elaborate ceremonial court, and artisans whose work in ivory, bronze, wood and brass is prized throughout the world today for its craftsmanship and beauty. (pp. 299-300).

#### B. The Colonial Era and the Development of Education

If we admit that the African can be a skilled worker, a foreman, a manager, we will have to allow also that Africa is capable of full, industrial development, on its own account; we will have to say: "It must be accepted that Africa is destined to become a citizen of the world, in equality with Europe, the Americas, Russia." The suggestion may seem laughable, especially to those who know anything about Africa. It is obvious that such a development will take a very long time. But to see that it is possible is important because it alters the whole approach to the African problem. - Joyce Cary in Ikejiani.

The transition from traditional/informal education to the Western System of education began in 1842 when the first English speaking Christian missionary arrived in Badagry near Lagos, Nigeria. A lot has been written that provide the nitty-gritty of educational development during this period. Examples are Ikejiani (1964), Fafunwa (1974 and 1983), Fajana (1978), Taiwo (1980), Awokoya (1983), Akinyemi (1983), and Esen (1986). It may not contribute much to knowledge to reproduce in any extensive measure the minute details already covered by the writers mentioned above. But for the scope and limits of this study, only landmarks in the history of colonial education in Nigeria will be examined.

The Rev. Thomas Freeman and Mr. and Mrs. D. Graft of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission were the first European missionaries that arrived at

Badagry from the then Gold Coast (now Ghana) in 1842. They began a mission there and started the first Western oriented school in 1843.

Fafunwa (1974, p. 81) commented:

The primary objective of the early Christian missionaries was to convert the benighted African to Christianity via education. Knowledge of the Bible, the ability to sing hymns and recite catechisms, only available in the English version at that time as well as the ability to communicate both orally and in singing were considered essential for a good Christian . . . They also realized the importance of training (preferably through the medium of English and the local language) the local clergy, catechists, lay readers and pious or God-fearing teachers who would minister to the needs of their own people.

The above was not the only objective of the early Christian missionaries. The Colonial government also needed clerks and court-interpreters. The organization and administration of education was left to the missionaries who were now composed of the Methodist, Anglican, Catholic, Baptists and the Church Missionary Society (CMS). This policy of non-interference by the colonial government lasted from 1843 to 1882. It has been reported that the colonial government at the early stage was not interested in the education of Nigerians. (Fafunwa (1974), Esen (1986)).

The first sign of interest of involvement in educational affairs began in 1882 when the first Education Ordinance was introduced. This ordinance contained provision for the establishment of a Board of Education to advise the Government on:

- (1) the opening of government schools;
- (11) granting of financial assistance to schools for school buildings and
- (111) granting of financial aid to schools for the payment of teachers' salaries. (Ojelabi, 1981, p. 1).

Following the above ordinance and between 1882 and 1943, three more education ordinances and two commissions of inquiry were instituted.

They were:

- (a) The Nigerian Education Ordinance of 1887,
- (b) The Education Ordinance of 1916,
- (c) The Phelps-Stokes Commission 1925,
- (d) The Education Ordinance of 1926, and
- (e) The Elliot Commission of 1943.

In 1944, formal planning for educational development in Nigeria began following the World War II. From 1944 to 1960 when colonial administration ended in Nigeria, two development plans and three more commissions of inquiry were instituted to study educational development in Nigeria and to recommend future directions. They were:

- (a) The aborted 1944, and the 1946 Ten Year Development Plans,
- (b) The 1953 World Bank Mission, and
- (c) The 1959 Ashby Commission.

It will enrich our knowledge of educational development in Nigeria at this time if these landmarks are reviewed.

#### Nigerian Education Ordinance of 1887

This education ordinance provided for the following:

- (a) The establishment of rates and conditions for grants in aid of private schools,
- (b) The standardization of examinations,
- (c) The classification of teachers' certificates,
- (d) The authorization of scholarships for secondary education, and
- (e) The grant of financial assistance to school be based on (i) good organization (ii) discipline (iii) enrolment of student population and (iv) the principle of "payment by results."  
(Ojalabi, Ibid., p. 2).

Education Ordinance of 1916

This ordinance came into effect just two years after the Northern and Southern regions of Nigeria were amalgamated in 1914. As it may be recalled, both areas of the country were separately administered up until this time. The amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Nigeria necessitated the integration of the separate educational policies in operation during this period. So the 1916 ordinance resulted in;

- (a) The modification of the 1887 ordinance and introduction of a new basis for grants-in-aid of schools.
- (b) The principle of "payment by results" was re-emphasized.
- (c) Because of the change in (b) the following became a criteria for payments:
  - (i) Quality of classwork;
  - (ii) Result of periodical examinations;
  - (iii) Tone;
  - (iv) Discipline;
  - (v) Organization;
  - (vi) Sanitation; and
  - (vii) Adequacy and efficiency of staff. (Ibid.)

The Phelps-Stokes Commission of 1925

Phelps-Stokes was an American philanthropist who at the time of her death had created a fund for the promotion of Negro-Education. In 1920 and 1924, an Education Commission under the sponsorship of Phelps-Stokes visited Nigeria. The Commission's Report and the Memorandum that were submitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1925 were the cornerstone of a formal British Colonial policy on education in West Africa in general, and in Nigeria in particular. According to Esen (1986,

p. 39-40), the policy favored Government's general control of educational agencies. It called for the establishment of an Education Advisory Board whose membership would represent all educational agencies. It also recommended that Government Agencies provide for the "teaching of native languages and the adaptation of educational activities to the needs and traditions of the African Societies" (Ibid.).

Imogie (1978, p. 5) argues that the Commission's report did not do much to meet the genuine desires of Nigerians, because the Commission report also contained this statement:

. . . it seems probable that for some years to come African Colonies must depend upon Europe and America for University Training (Phelps-Stokes Commission Report on Education in Africa, 1922, p. 48).

The above recommendation did not sit well with the nationalists who already were agitating for the establishment of more schools and higher education in Nigeria, and for more active government participation in education in general. Fafunwa (1986, p. 23) argues that prior to 1925 the British government had no clearly defined policy on education in her African colonies. Before this date missionary schools had grown and multiplied, and many Nigerian communities and individuals had established hundreds of schools on their own. According to Fafunwa (Ibid., pp. 23-24) by 1922 there were only 195 government assisted schools with a population of 28,000 while the unassisted schools started by missions, communities and individual Nigerians numbered 2,400 with 122,000 pupils. Albeit, the 1925 recommendation that "Education should be adapted to local conditions in such a manner as would enable it to conserve all formal elements in local traditions and social organization . . .," and "the study of the educational use of the vernacular and the provision of textbooks in the vernacular" were notable landmarks (Ibid., p. 24). This is because it was the first time that the colonial government allowed the use of native language in

native education. The introduction of native language as a subject and as a medium of instruction was approved only for the first two classes at the primary level. So this 1925 memorandum laid down the formal system of education in Nigeria.

#### The Education Ordinance of 1926

Following the Phelps-Stokes Commission Report and the Memorandum that was submitted, an education ordinance was introduced in 1926 to effect the following changes in the educational system.

- (I) The Departments of Education in Northern and Southern Nigeria were merged in 1929 following this ordinance.
- (II) The conditions for the operation of schools became minimal.
- (III) The Governor was given the power to close down any school that was below minimum standard.
- (IV) All teachers were to be registered.
- (V) Missionary bodies were required to appoint their own supervisors, whose duties were set out in the new education code.
- (VI) Provision were made for code of conduct for teachers, syllabus for teachers' examinations, and the curriculum contents of the various types of schools.
- (VII) There was a resultant increase in government expenditure from one percent to five percent increase in the number of government assisted schools, and more government participation in educational activities (Ojelabi, Op.cit., p. 4).

#### The Elliot Commission of 1943

In 1943, the British government appointed the Elliot Commission to

inquire into Higher Education in West Africa, to report on the existing centers and recommend future University development options. As the Commission submitted its report in 1945, an obvious disagreement was contained in the report which necessitated the submission of a minority report. The minority report had recommended the establishment of only one new university for West Africa, while the majority report had recommended three Universities for West Africa. Until this time, the countries of Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone and Gambia were all administered as colonies of Britain. The minority report recommending one new university for West Africa was accepted. So as a result of the Elliot Commission, the University of Ibadan in Nigeria was established in 1948.

#### The Beginning of Educational Planning in Nigeria

Ogunsanju (1983, p. 246) argues that formal educational planning in Nigeria did not occur until 1945, and this has prompted some people to believe that Nigeria's educational development preceded its planning. 1945 was the year that the 2nd World War ended, and shortly after, "the entire world was subjected to a barrage of scientific and technical, economic and demographic, political and cultural changes that touched almost everything" (Ibid.). As Sylvain Lourie (1984, p. 248) put it:

. . . the imperatives of reconstruction and limited resources, increasing concern with regard to social matters and a population boom led a large number of European countries--in addition to the socialist countries--to resort to educational planning.

The developed countries such as the Soviet Union, Britain, France, and the United States of America quickly saw that education was the path to the needed reconstruction and immediately took steps such as creating crash-programmes, building more classrooms, and giving emergency training in order to cope with the manpower shortage. So, it could be argued that the term "educational planning" was uncommon until 1945; but this

does not mean that planning has not been tried before then. Other experiments in economic planning had been done "in France (the Tardieu Plan, 1929; the Marguet Plan, 1934); in the United States (New Deal, 1933; Puerto Rico, 1942); in Switzerland (Wahlen plan for Agriculture, 1941)" (Ibid.).

From the initial experiment with educational planning in the above mentioned countries, the concept grew so fast that it became a top priority for most governments and international agencies. In order to understand why a lot of emphasis has come to be put on the concept, and why it was introduced at the time in Nigeria, it is necessary to first understand the meaning of the term and its changing process. A UNESCO planning team (1984) defined planning as "an essential instrument of development, translating into clear terms the close links which must be established between objectives on the one hand and resources on the other." It is also the "process of preparing a set of decisions for future action directed at the achievement of specific goals." Educational planning, in its broadest generic sense, is the application of rational, systems analysis in the process of educational development with the aim of making education more effective and efficient in responding to the needs and goals of its students and society (UNESCO, Educational Planning, Vol. 1 1984). The Inter-American Seminar (1958) defined educational planning as follows:

The overall planning of education is a continuous, systematic process, involving the application and coordination of social research methods, and of principles and techniques of education, administration, economics and finance, with participation and support of the general public, in private, as well as state activities, with a view to securing adequate education for the people, with definite aim, and in well-defined stages, and to providing everyone with an opportunity of developing his potentialities and making the most effective contribution with social, cultural and economic development of the country (in UNESCO, Elements of Educational Planning, Paris, 1963, p. 13,

Also in Adams & Bjork 1975, Op.cit., pp. 141-142). According to Adesina (1981, p. 2) educational planning in another general sense "is the process of applying sensible or rational procedures to the process of educational growth and development so as to ensure the efficiency and effectiveness of the educational system." This definition according to Ogunsanju (1983, pp. 245-46) shows that educational planning is ideologically neutral, and its adaptability makes it easier to be used in any situation ranging from the unrefined to the most highly sophisticated form. Its flexibility, Ogunsanju continues, does not necessarily mean that educational planning is rigid and must be imposed uniformly on all situations.

#### The 1944 and 1946 Development Plans

As it should be obvious by now, Nigeria was still a colony of Britain as the United Kingdom was caught in the euphoria of educational planning. So in Britain, the 1944 Education Act made it compulsory for each of the 146 local authorities responsible for education to prepare a development plan. As a result of this initiative, the Ten-Year Development And Welfare Plan was introduced in Nigeria in 1946. It was drawn up with little or no participation by Nigerians in the planning process. The plan came into effect on April 1st, 1946; it was to be in place till March 31, 1956. This development plan incorporated 1944 Plan which had been proposed by the then Governor, Bourdillon. The 1944 Plan was scheduled to end in 1954. According to Adesina (1977, p. 26) the 1944 Plan was a long range plan for the development and improvement of education in Nigeria. Its aims were:

1. A type of education more suitable for the needs of the country.
2. Better conditions of service for teachers employed by the missions and other voluntary bodies in order to provide a better trained

and more competent staff.

3. More adequate financial assistance to missions and other voluntary educational bodies.
4. Financial assistance to native administration to assist them to expand education in their areas.

Even though that the 1944 Plan contained noble aspirations, it "was more of a catalogue of small, interrelated proposals with vaguely defined goals and seemingly incoherent statements of policy" (Adesina, Ibid., p. 29). It could not be executed because goals were not properly defined, and no mechanisms were in place to see it done. But its revised version incorporated into the framework of the 1946 Development and Welfare Plan had a clearer vision even though it was also plagued by lack of finance.

#### Educational Planning in the 1950's

Near the end of the ten year development plan period (1946-1956) Nigerians accepted the federal structure of government. The Federation came into existence in October 1954 thereby replacing the old provincial group structure. This new federation consisted of the Northern, Eastern, and Western Regions, and in addition, were the former Western Cameroons (a British Mandated Territory), and the federal territory of Lagos. It should be remembered that Nigeria's fourth region, the Mid-West separated from the Western region did not come into existence until 1963. The 1950's also witnessed a period of internal self-government for the three regions of the federation. There was enthusiasm on the part of federal government and the regional governments to urgently identify and respond to the educational needs of their people. This they did by embarking on a programme of educational expansion at all levels. It was also during this time that regional school systems emerged. The Western region

operated a 6-6 system, the Eastern region had a 7-5 system, Northern region experimented with 7-6 and the federal territory of Lagos retained the 8-6 system. The school system was standardized in the 1970's into a 6-5 system throughout the country. A new system of 6-3-3-4 introduced in 1980's will be discussed in latter chapters. Help was sought from UNESCO experts and a series of conferences were held. In 1952, the Cambridge Conference on African Education for Eastern and West Africa was held. A major item on its agenda was "the need to introduce Universal Primary education in the Various areas," (Ojelabi, Op.cit., p. 7) and "a proposal of certain targets to be achieved by 1980." (Ogunsanju, Op.cit., p. 252). As a result, Western Nigeria introduced free primary education in 1955, and Eastern Nigeria did same in 1957. The Northern region decided to experiment with selected education programmes, like adult education.

During the Cambridge Conference, the Chairman, Sir Philip Morris remarked:

The new phase which ought to succeed the Cambridge Conference must inevitably take place in Africa. It is in the territories themselves that policies must be framed, their cost calculated and provided for and the understanding and cooperation of organization and people sought and secured (African Education, A study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa, (1953), p. 160, cited in Adesina, Op.cit., p. 34).

This was what happened exactly one year later with the invitation to the World Bank by the governments of Nigeria and Britain to investigate the economic development potentials of the country and to recommend practical measures for the nation's economic development.

#### The World Bank Mission

The World Bank Mission that arrived in Nigeria in September 1953 was organized by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Its exact term of reference as summarized was:

To assess the resources available for future development, to study the possibilities for development in the major sectors of the economy and make recommendations for practical steps to be taken including the training and coordination of development activities (The Economic Development of Nigeria: Report of a Mission Organized by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1955, P. VII in Adesina Ibid., p. 35).

The World Bank Mission had ten full-time members and five part-time consultants drawn from diverse areas as the Netherlands, Australia, France, Italy, the United States, Britain, and Turkey. It is not within the scope of this study to summarize the entire recommendation of a 700 page report. So this study will confine itself to treating the educational recommendations contained in the report released in 1955.

The World Bank Mission plan of action included a design for the acceleration and growth of the educational system between the period of 1955-1960 and emphasized the need for the availability of trained teachers (Ibid., p. 565) especially at the primary level. The Mission noted the unprecedented demand for education in the country and warned against increased enrollment at the primary level when the pace of growth in other sectors such as the teacher training colleges was seriously lagging behind. "The problem," as the Mission pointed out, "is to provide a proper balance between the urge for rapid expansion of educational facilities and the need to maintain adequate standards of instruction" (Ibid., p. 567).

As Adesina (Op.cit., p. 36) noted, during this period, there were about 42,000 primary school teachers in Nigeria, and two-thirds of them had no education beyond the first eight years or any kind of special training. The one-third deemed "qualified" held certificates that varied from two years post primary training in the elementary training centers to the highest sub-graduate certificate called Grade 1" (Ibid.). Because

in 1953, the elementary training centers and the higher elementary colleges could only produce 1,800 and about 800 teachers respectively, the World Bank Mission recommended that these two institutions should produce by 1958 3,100 and 1,600 respectively. As Adesina (Ibid., p. 37) noted, the achievement of the proposal depended on two overriding factors, one, "that those who were so trained would remain in teaching," the other, "that a rapid increase in primary enrolments would not dilute the teaching force."

The Mission also expressed disappointment at the condition in which the nation's technical education was found despite the priority given to it in the (1946-56) Ten Year Plan for Development and Welfare. The Mission attempted to rectify the structure by recommending the reorganization of the existing institutions and the creation of more new trade centers. The Mission failed to address the problem of developing further higher education facilities in the country even though that an earlier Commission (the Elliot Commission) had expressed the view that "the need for highly trained Africans is too great to be met in any other way than by training them in their own country" (Report of the Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies, 1945, pp. 8-16 in Adesina, Ibid.). The Mission, however, recommended the expansion of the existing University and three campuses of the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology at Kaduna, Enugu, and Yaba-Lagos. In brief, the World Bank Mission recommendations could be summarized as:

1. The expansion of teacher training that would help in improving the standard of primary education in the country,
2. A control of rising enrolment population of pupils at the primary level in view of the limited availability of qualified teachers,

3. An expansion of the Secondary and Teacher training level education in order to enhance the quality of trained teachers, and
4. A reasonable expansion in higher education within the scope of the nation's education budget.

As can be seen, it is obvious that the Nigerian government had been dependent on foreign advisors in formulating and implementing her Educational, National Welfare and Development Plans--a practice that has been less than favorable in meeting the nation's social and economic needs. The reason for this could be because these foreign advisors invariably and erroneously analyze most third world problems from their Western perspective, contrary to the argument that development plans can be, and should be situational. This is very much so, seeing the diverse international composition of the World Bank Mission described earlier. Effective educational and national development plans should be formulated and implemented by Nigerians. The implication for my argument is that Western models of development should not be considered as easily transferrable to the developing situation. Development plans (education or otherwise) should not be viewed as structures or entities, but as "cultural artifacts dependent upon specific meaning and intention of people within them" (Greenfield and Deblois, 1976).

#### The Ashby Commission of 1959

The Commission whose findings did a lot to cement some of the loopholes in the report of the World Bank Mission was the one commonly known in Nigeria till this day as the Ashby Commission. The Commission was set up in 1959 by the Federal Government of Nigeria. The Chairman of the Commission was Sir Eric Ashby; hence the Commission and its Report

came to be known as the Ashby Report. Other members of the Commission were the late Professor Kenneth O. Dike, Professor Onabamiro, and Alhaji Shetima Kassim from Nigeria, plus an equal number of distinguished scholars from Britain and the United States of America. The Commission's terms of reference were:

To conduct an investigation into Nigeria's needs in the field of post-school certificate and higher education in the next twenty years--from 1960 to 1980 (Education in Nigeria, 1986, p. 14).

The Ashby Commission's Report formally called "Investment in Education" was expected to find a solution to the problem of manpower shortage that would likely hit the Nigerian economy after independence in 1960 since rapid technological development would depend on the availability of middle and high-level manpower. The Ashby Commission examined all the phases of the country's educational system ranging from primary to the University even though that its focus was supposed to be the intermediate and higher education levels. Adesina (1977, p. 72) describes the Nigerian educational scene in 1959 as "one which showed remarkable disequilibrium between primary, secondary, and post secondary education." He further states:

In addition to this was the proverbial lack of balance in the geographical distribution of educational facilities. Thus was revealed by the fact that only 9 percent of the children of the Northern region were in primary schools in 1958 and in certain provinces the percentage was as low as two (percent). At the secondary level, although there were about 2 million boys and girls of secondary school age only 4,000 or .2 percent of the school age were on the rolls while there were 57 Northerners altogether at the University College, Ibadan. (Ibid.).

The commission submitted its report in 1960. The following is a summary of the Commission's report findings and recommendations in each level of the educational system.

(a) Primary School Education

Findings: The primary schools already have enough places to supply the recruits the country will need in the late sixties and early seventies. However, there was a serious imbalance in the geographical distribution between the North and South.

Recommendation:

- (1) Since there was 100 percent enrolment in the South as a result of Universal primary education, the North should aim at above 25 percent enrolment.
- (11) Every effort should be made to improve the teaching of English language.

(b) Secondary Education

Findings: The sixth form represented the primary stage of higher education, and the major and most important source of supply of undergraduates to the sole university in the country, the University College of Ibadan.

Recommendation:

- (I) That the sixth form be accorded appropriate recognition commensurate with its importance as the nurseries for universities and other forms of advanced training.
- (II) An increase in secondary one intake from the level of 12,000 that it was in 1958 to 30,000 in 1970.
- (III) The production by 1970 of 29,000 School certificate holders each year out of whom 21,000 should seek jobs and 8,000 should proceed to post-secondary training.
- (IV) Of the 8,000 school certificate holders earmarked for post-secondary education 3,500 should be in sixth form

- programmes and 500 of whom should enter teaching careers.
- (V) The establishment of National High Schools which would concentrate on sixth form programmes and would be directed and financed by the Federal government to ensure that the envisaged supply of sixth form graduates is met (Investment in Education, 1960, p. 15).

The Federal Government Colleges that were established in the early 1960's at Okposi in Afikpo, in Sokoto and Ugheli were the results of recommendation five above.

(c) Teacher Training Education

Findings: The commission noted the lack of quantity and quality in the primary and secondary school teachers, (90 percent of primary school teachers and 50 percent of secondary school teachers fall into this category).

Recommendation:

- (I) Teachers with Grade 7 or "equivalent status" should be produced at the rate of 3,000 per year, as a first objective, so that by 1970, a total of 18,000 would have been produced.
- (II) Of the 3,000 produced in the first instance 2,000 would enter secondary school teaching and 1,000 would be in the primary schools (Ibid., See also Adesina, Op.cit., p. 78).

The commission saw the training of this level of teachers as the cornerstone of the whole foundation of Nigerian education without which the local economy was bound to flounder. The production of graduate teachers was left to the Universities which were expected to embark on a programme of Bachelor of Arts degree in education. The Commission did propose an annual output of 800 graduate teachers so that by the year

1970, 8,000 graduate teachers would have been produced.

### University Education

The Commission's major focus was the availability of education at the university level. On this the report stated:

We emphasize that a student population of 7,500 cannot be more than just a first objective to be reached before 1970. We have no doubt whatever that in the decade 1970-80, the student population must exceed this if Nigeria is to have all the graduates she needs; we have in mind a population considerably exceeding 10,000 (Investment in Education, Ibid., p. 22).

The report advocated the need for more Universities in Nigeria. There was a majority report that recommended four new universities, and a minority report that supported five additional universities. The Commission's recommendation led to the establishment of three new universities in addition to the existing one at Ibadan and at Nsukka. The three new Universities were located in Lagos, Ife, and Zaria, and they were formally opened in 1962. It was advised that enrolment in these new universities reflect the nation's most needed manpower such as in the technical and scientific field, and consequently, each university was planned and developed to reflect this desire. In the end, the Commission advocated the creation of a National Universities Commission whose responsibilities would include securing funds for the universities, disbursing these funds and guarantee that the undertakings of the universities are kept within the framework of the nation's higher education needs.

The Federal Government of Nigeria responded to the Commission's findings and recommendations in a Government White Paper (Number 4) published in 1961. The Government endorsed almost all of the Commission's recommendations, and it immediately raised the university enrolment

from 7,500 to 10,000 by 1970 and directed that about 75 percent of the university admissions should be in the pure and applied sciences.

The Ashby Commission report and the government's acceptance of it generated a lot of excitement and controversy in Nigeria. Adesina (1977, p. 80) suggests that:

. . . the most significant result of the Ashby Report was that as far as education was concerned, it constituted the basis for educational development in Nigeria's First National Development Plan.

His thesis seem to be in line with this view from another commentator:

Accepted almost in its entirety by Government, the Ashby Report came to be regarded as Nigeria's 'bible'; and whether in faithfulness to or in criticism of the Commission's recommendations, Nigeria's educational developments since independence have been hinged on the Commission's proposals (Asiwaju, 1972, p. 2, cited in Adesina, *Ibid.*).

Other scathing criticisms against the Ashby Commission had to do with the composition of its membership, and the flaws in its statistical projections. On the first one, since two-thirds of the members were Western, and eight out of nine Commissioners were drawn from academia, recommendations of the Commission were considered elitist. The Anglo-America bias both in the composition of the Commission and its findings and recommendations were attacked by Professor Nicol (1961, p. 374) when he argued that:

The Commission would have benefitted more from the experience of countries like Japan, China and the Soviet Union than of British and the United States for the simple reason that the appointment of the Commission was inspired by a desire to make plans for quick modernization and technological development (cited also in Adesina, *Op.cit.*, p. 75).

On the second criticism of the Ashby Commission, another commentator noted:

Highly qualified and experienced as the members of the Commission were, some of their recommendations were based on wrong assumptions perhaps through no fault of their own. For instance, the estimated

population of Nigeria in 1980 was put at fifty million, a figure that was already short of the 1963 census figures by about 5.6 million. This Commission made recommendations with regard to secondary and post-secondary education along the lines of the Anglo-America model of education and proposed massive funding of education at those levels but the serious error about the population figure rendered its main task of forecasting Nigeria's post-secondary needs up to 1980 out of date even before 1970 (Education in Nigeria, 1986, p. 14).

Whatever the shortcomings contained in the Ashby Commission Report, it is worth noting that the greatest expansion in higher education in Nigeria occurred during the period 1960 to 1980. The Ashby Commission despite its flaws in membership and statistical projections did produce a Blueprint on Higher Educational Development for Nigeria.

As can be seen, prior to Nigeria's independence in 1960, the Nigerian educational system passed through many stages of development. The primary school population grew from 238,879 in 1937 to 1,002,361 in 1951 and to 2,912,619 in 1960 while secondary education population increased from 518 in 1926 to 27,343 in 1955 and 55,235 in 1960 (Fafunwa, *Op.cit.*, p. 24). The first university college in the country was founded in 1948. It opened with a population of 104 students and reached 1,200 in student enrolment in 1959 (*Ibid.*). By the time of Nigeria's independence in 1960, the second university, the University of Nigeria, Nsukka was established.

Throughout most of the colonial period from 1842 to 1959, the state of the art of Nigerian education was a replica of the British system. This excerpt from Fafunwa (*Op.cit.*) illustrates the picture:

. . . Nigerian formal education was patterned after the English system. The assent was on "English" and an educated Nigerian was one who was only African in colour but English in thought and culture. The ability to speak English fluently and if possible with an Oxford accent was the hallmark of excellence even if the speaker was empty of thought and ideas. Indeed an illiterate who could speak English was considered educated even though he could

not read or write whereas a well cultured Yoruba, Hausa, Edo or Ibo who could read and write in his mother-tongue was considered an "illiterate." Both the early missionaries and the early English teachers discouraged and indeed kept Nigerian cultural and linguistic activities out of the school system. Instead, English culture was promoted in all of its ramifications. In effect a good British subject (Nigerian) in Nigeria before independence was one who was a Christian, a speaker of English language, who wore English clothes and exhibited English manners. In those days it was a serious offence for a secondary boy or girl to "laugh in the vernacular" (p. 24).

After Nigeria became independent in 1960 its leadership and people began to evaluate their colonial legacy and to review their role and place in the world community. Nigerians and their leaders began to see and accept education as the instrument par excellence for the overall development of the country. And consequently, the Federal government and the State government began to spend between 30 percent to 40 percent of their annual budgets on the development of education at all levels, that is, primary, secondary and university levels during the first two decades of independence. The next section examines the Federal government of Nigeria's plans and policies for the development of education in post Independence Nigeria.

### C. Education in Post Independence Nigeria 1960-1986

A government is a political institution established by a society to regulate itself in order to live well and in an orderly manner. The central purpose of economic and political institutions is to provide the material base and social conditions essential to the release and fulfilment of the creative powers of the species. These creative powers are the central focus of education. The difference between developed and undeveloped countries lies on the degree to which these creative powers of individuals have been released through education because no country can rise higher than its educational system. - Ikejiani.

As was the case in the previous section, only landmarks in the development of education in post independence Nigeria will be examined in this section. This portion of the study is divided into three subsections. Subsection

one examines the National Development Plans of 1962-68 , 1970-74 , 1975-80 , and 1981-85 as they relate to the development of education in Nigeria. The fifth National Development Plan (1986-1990) is the current plan and as such it is not within the scope of this study. Subsection two discusses the 1969 National Conference on Education, and the 1977 and 1981 statements of the National Policy on Education. Subsection three examines the present structure and governance of education in Nigeria. But firstly, let us briefly review the pattern of education that the Federation of Nigeria inherited from Britain in 1960.

Nigeria at independence had a federal type of government as indicated earlier. There were three regions--the Northern, Eastern and Western as component parts of the federation. Lagos remained as the capital and a federal territory separate from any of the three regions. The fourth region--the Midwest--was not created until 1963. There were four separate educational systems with their differentiated unit components and each of them striving to develop programmes and facilities at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels. The Federal government controlled education in the federal capital. The Regional governments had autonomous responsibility for education at all levels within their respective regions. Since education was under the autonomous jurisdiction of the Regional Governments, it can be argued that there was no national system of education, though the system of education in all the regions was basically the same. The scope of education included literacy, scientific, technical, commercial, agricultural and general studies at all levels. Other higher level and professional programmes covered were medicine, engineering, law, chemistry, pharmacy, veterinary science, business and management studies, and economics. The national system (or

systems) of education covered the whole complex of institutions and training establishments organized and financed directly or indirectly under the auspices of the governments of the federation or of the statutory corporations, and functioning either under the aegis of the Ministries of Education or under private management. The regional Ministries of Education were in charge of policy formulation. There was the Joint Consultative Committee made up of top professional and administrative staff of all the Ministries of Education. This body had no statutory power; it was simply established for administrative purposes by consent of the regional and federal Ministries of Education for the purpose of coordinating policies concerning issues of common interest.

At the university and other tertiary levels of education both the Federal government and the regional government exercised a concurrent jurisdiction. However, the Universities are autonomous and free in their formulation of academic policies and in their internal administration and government. But their funds were derived from their respective regional governments though the Federal government heavily subsidized them. There were also the two Federal government Universities of Ibadan and Lagos. These two Universities derived all of their funds from the Federal government alone. The regional Universities (Nsukka, Ife, and Ahmadu Bello) and the two Federal government Universities mentioned above received guidance from the National Universities Commission (NUC) since this body is responsible for administering federal grants on the basis of the country's manpower needs. Another body, the National Manpower Board handled the central rôle of feasibility studies thus providing statistical and other data on which manpower priorities,

forecasting and training are based.

In terms of the management of both primary and secondary schools, this was a shared responsibility between the voluntary agencies and the regional Ministries of education. But as the UNESCO World Survey of Education (1971, p. 914) noted, "over 90 percent of primary and secondary schools in all regions," except the Northern region, "were under the management of voluntary agencies." The voluntary agencies were mostly Christian or missionary organizations and indigenous groups and proprietors who owned and managed the schools with grants and subsidies from the government. It was a kind of partnership that existed between the government and the voluntary agencies in education at the primary and secondary levels. In that partnership, the government "laid down the policies, enacted the laws and regulations, provided the inspectorate, carried out the overall planning and administration, paid the teachers and" absorbed more than 90 percent "of the capital and recurrent costs, while the voluntary agencies took charge of the management of their own groups of schools in the public system" (Ibid.).

There were also some private schools at the secondary level. They were private in the sense that they often did not qualify for government grants because of failure to meet the standards for public education set by the government. These private schools offered courses mainly in technical-vocational, and commercial areas, but few of them also ventured into grammar school courses. There were a few Federal government owned and managed colleges. These were the schools proposed by the Ashby Commission as a means to foster Nigerian Unity.

So, this was the system of education in Nigeria until 1968 when the military government, that had a few years earlier taken over control of

the country, indicated its willingness to bring about total government control of education and establish a single national system of education. More will be presented on the federal government's takeover of public education in the sections that follow. A summary of school statistics from 1961-65 is depicted in Table 3.1.

#### The National Development Plans

The drive behind all of the development plans has been to transform the Nigerian Society into the technological age by accelerating all forms of formal education. The Ashby Commission Report discussed earlier provided the launch-pad from which educational development in Nigeria's First National Development Plan (1962-68) took off. The national priorities of the plan were stated this way:

The goals are many and varied: the economy is to grow as fast as possible but at least at the average rate of 4 percent which exceeds the average compound rate of 3.9 percent per annum that was achieved during the past 10 years; it is proposed to accelerate education of all kinds and at all levels, but primarily the education of technical and managerial manpower; resources are to be shifted more and more into enlargement of the directly productive capacity of the economy to provide the basis for the desirable expansion of health and education facilities (National Development Plan: 1962-68, Federal Ministry of Economic Development, Lagos, 1962, p. 21 cited in Adesina Op.cit., p. 82).

The general statement outlined in the development plan on education called for a rapid and economic acceleration of the high level manpower necessary for development, "the reinforcement of secondary education, the development of teacher training, the improvement in the quality of primary education and assistance to regional universities" (Education in Nigeria, 1986, p. 16, see also National Development Plan, Ibid., p. 87). Following the nation's political independence there were one form of political confusion and crisis or the other. Education became very

Table III.I

2. SUMMARY OF SCHOOL STATISTICS, 1961-65							
Level and type of education	Type of institution	School year	Number of institutions	Teaching Staff		Student enrolled	
				Total <sup>1</sup>	Female	Total <sup>1</sup>	Female
First Level	Primary schools, public . . . . .	1965	4562	...	...	692197	...
	Primary schools aided, private. . . . .	1965	10112	...	...	2185684	1120179
	Primary schools unaided, private. . . . .	1965	293	...	...	33861	1102230
	Total . . . . .	1965	14967	87074	...	2911742	1120179
	" . . . . .	1964	14976	85394	16518	2849488	1102230
	" . . . . .	1963	15090	94176	18553	2896382	1124738
	" . . . . .	1962	15586	99335	21840	2834010	1090949
" . . . . .	1961	15993	95586	19616	2805896	1062701	
Second Level General	Secondary grammar schools, public and private . . . . .	1965	634	7333	...	132986	33700
	Secondary modern schools, public and private . . . . .	1965	706	3028	...	66076	26024
	Total . . . . .	1965	1340	10361	...	199062	59724
	" . . . . .	1964	1307	10256	2144	195763	57391
	" . . . . .	1963	1215	10464	2280	203956	58416
	" . . . . .	1962	1127	9646	1886	188473	50546
	" . . . . .	1961	954	7658	1377	160716	39324
Vocational	Trade and craft centres and technical institutes, public and private. . . . .	1965	63	760	97	12646	733
	Commercial schools, private. . . . .	1965	43	543	...	9964	3236
	Total . . . . .	1965	106	1303	...	22610	3969
	" . . . . .	1964	69	962	81	17056(1804)	2703
	" . . . . .	1963	62	873	54	15278(1447)	1854
	" . . . . .	1962	60	805	38	14267	1373
	" . . . . .	1961	59	704	44	11896	1073
Teacher training	Teacher-training schools, public . . . . .	1965	57	...	...	9816	...
	Teacher-training schools, private . . . . .	1965	132	...	...	19429	...
	Total . . . . .	1965	189	1925	...	29245	7603
	" . . . . .	1964	268	1794	478	29373	7126
	" . . . . .	1963	*270	1951	486	30233	7528
	" . . . . .	1962	284	2016	494	30756	7355
	" . . . . .	1961	260	1891	467	27963	6204
Third Level Universities and equivalent (degree-granting)	University of Ibadan, public . . . . .	1965	1	402(9)	40	2687(39)	365
	University of Nigeria, Nsukka, public . . . . .	1965	1	275(6)	...	2579	213
	Ahmadu Bello University, public . . . . .	1965	1	197	16	946	32
	University of Lagos, public . . . . .	1985	1	168(5)	10	772(*142)	70
	University of Ife (Ibadan branch), public . . . . .	1965	1	173(18)	21	713(95)	93
	Total . . . . .	1965	5	1215(38)	87	7697(*276)	773
	" . . . . .	1964	5	936(35)	85	6717	591
	" . . . . .	1963	5	670	68	5148	409
Non-University Teacher training	Advanced teacher-training colleges, public . . . . .	1965	6	135	24	1681	342
	Total . . . . .	1965	6	135	24	1681	342
	" . . . . .	1964	6	116	21	1234	283
	" . . . . .	1963	6	72	14	752	176
	" . . . . .	1962	3	41	5	414	100

1. Figures in parentheses refer to part-time teaching staff and/or pupils.

Source: Adopted from UNESCO; World Survey of Education, 1971, P. 923.

highly politicized in the sense that activities and beliefs which had been ignored began to surface and assumed dimensions of importance. All these, plus the outbreak of the national crisis in 1966 and the subsequent civil war in 1967 hindered the success of the plan. The implementation of the First National Development Plan fell short of its national goals of a rapid and economical increase in the high-level manpower need of the country by more than 45 percent when resources had to be diverted to successful prosecution of the civil war.

The goals of the second National Development Plan (1970-74) were articulated in five general objectives. They were:

- (i) a united, strong and self-reliant nation,
- (ii) a great and dynamic economy,
- (iii) a just and egalitarian society,
- (iv) a land of bright and full opportunities for all citizens, and
- (v) a free and democratic society.

From the above, it can easily be seen that the general objectives of the Second Development Plan was designed in the spirit of national reconciliation and reconstruction following the three year civil war. Nevertheless, it emphasized the importance of education in the nation's goal of manpower and technological development. A portion of the plan reads:

The national scale of priorities has been duly adjusted marginally at the state level to accommodate differences in the stages of development . . . Thus, manpower development in one part of the country may entail the rapid expansion of primary school education, while in another area it may mean concentration on secondary and technical education, and yet in another, it may involve the rationalization of university education. The basic objective in all three cases is . . . to upgrade the level of available manpower for self-fulfilment and full employment (Second National Development Plan, 1980-74, Federal Ministry of Information, Lagos, 1970, p. 35; see also David Wilson, 1976, p. 68).

In essence the priorities of the second development plan, beyond national reconciliation and reconstruction, aimed at bridging the educational gap between the relatively educationally advanced areas and the less advanced others. It also hoped to tackle "the well-known question of expansion of middle-level education and the increasing enrolment in the universities for courses in science, engineering and technology (Education in Nigeria, Op.cit., Adesina, Op.cit., p. 90).

The Third National Development Plan 1975-80 was the biggest and the richest since the beginning of national planning in Nigeria. According to the then Head of State, General Yakubu Gowon, the plan was:

. . . designed to bring about a radical transformation of the national economy--Federal and State. It will undoubtedly bring about significant improvement in the standard of living of every citizen of our dear country (Harrigan, 1974, p. 19).

The plan provided an estimated expenditure of N30,000,000,000 (then valued at \$45 billion U.S. dollars) over its five year period. This is a very modest figure when viewed from the perspective of developed economies like the United State of America or Canada. When seen from the standards of a Third World country, it is very impressive.

The Guidelines for the Third National Development Plan on providing for education enunciated the following objectives:

- (i) To expand facilities for education aimed at equalizing individual access to education throughout the country,
- (ii) To reform the content of general education to make it more responsible and responsive to the socio-economic needs of the country,
- (iii) To rationalize and strengthen the machinery for educational development in the country, and
- (iv) To rationalize the financing of education with a view to making

the educational system adequate and more efficient.

In specific terms, the Third Development Plan introduced the era of Universal Primary Education, the establishment and expansion of more secondary and technical schools, the establishment of thirteen new universities and more funding for existing ones; expanded student enrolment at the university level from the number 23,000 to 53,000 by 1980 on a ratio of 60:40 between the sciences and humanities; streamlined admission so that students with low academic records could still be admitted for remedial courses in the university; and cut in-campus accommodation in order to encourage off-campus residence for students.

The plan also proposed that the admission policy of the university system be reevaluated to make it more responsive to the great need for expanded student intake in the interest of manpower requirements of the country. Adequate care would, however, be taken in the process to strike a balance between this expansion need and the equally important goal of maintaining high quality in the university system. In effect, the new policy aimed at liberalizing the admission system of the universities and aligning it with a course system that allowed both qualified and inadequately prepared students to enter the universities. The new system would offer remedial courses to the latter to enable them to proceed within their chosen fields of study. This was very much in line with the egalitarian goal of the 1977 National Policy on Education.

The Fourth National Development Plan 1981-85 was more or less a continuation of the previous plan, that is the 1975-80 plan. It continued to implement the priorities carried over from the plan before and it established more institutions of higher-learning (seven technological universities, four university colleges, and seven State universities).

There was one new outstanding feature in the 1981-85 development plan. It was a new functional secondary programme scheduled to begin in September of 1982. The economic down-turn in the price of crude oil in the 1980s affected its implementation. It finally was implemented in the 1985-86 academic year. The new programme designed to make secondary education more functional is the 6-3-3-4 system. This new system describes six years of primary education, three years of junior secondary education, three years of senior secondary education, and four years of university education. "The junior secondary is basic and pre-vocational while the senior secondary is both general and specialized" (Education in Nigeria, Op.cit., p. 60). The reason behind the introduction of this new system is to "ensure a re-orientation from the predominantly grammar-type secondary education to a diversified multi-faceted education system that would facilitate the development of Nigeria "by the end of this century" (Ibid.). This new system is employment oriented and covers a wider spectrum of options for students with varying degree of talents.

From what has been discussed so far, it can be argued that since the 1960s, there have been two approaches to educational development in Nigeria. One is the social demand approach, and the other is the manpower approach. The former regards "education as a social infrastructure for development purposes" and thereby serves as a means to an end. The latter approach emphasizes education as a means to produce indigenous manpower and technical knowledge.

#### The 1969 National Curriculum Conference

The National Curriculum Conference was held at Lagos, Nigeria in September 1969. The conference participants met for approximately one

week at subcommittee levels following which subcommittee reports were submitted for debate in a plenary session before the final report was produced. Fafunwa (1986) described this curriculum conference as "a major landmark in the history of Nigerian and, indeed, in the history of education in Africa." He further observed:

Such a national conference had never been held before, not even in Europe, Asia, or America. This does not mean of course that the various countries of the world have not reexamined the goals or the content of education. Indeed, many have done so through royal commissions, imported experts, professional associations, etc. What was unique in the Nigerian situation was the idea of involving a cross-section of people in curriculum reform. The 1969 conferences was not a conference of experts and professional organizations but of the people, in that it comprised the representatives of trade unions, farmers' unions, women's organizations, religious bodies, teachers' associations and other professional organizations (medical, legal, engineering, etc.), university teachers and administrators, as well as ministry officials, youth clubs organizers, women's groups, businessmen and representatives from the governments of most of the twelve states of Nigeria. The conference was not concerned with preparing a national curriculum, nor was it expected to recommend specific content and methodology. Rather, in the first place it was to review old and identify new national goals for Nigerian education, bearing in mind the needs of youths and adults in the task of nation building and national reconstruction for social and economic well-being of the individual and the society (p. 26).

As can be seen from the composition of the conference panel, it was the first time that Nigerians came together to debate the aims and contents of their country's education. The conference participants examined nine particular areas identified as crucial to the conference objectives.

They were:

1. national philosophy of education,
2. goals of primary education,
3. objectives of secondary education,
4. purposes of tertiary education,
5. the role of teacher education,
6. functions of science and technical education,

7. the place of women's education,
8. education for living, and
9. control of public education.

One week after the national conference started, a total of sixty-five recommendations on the direction of future education in Nigeria was released. For the needs of this study, only those that are relevant to the primary, secondary and university are presented here. The Report of the Conference contained the following broad philosophy of education for Nigeria:

- (a) Inculcation of right types of values and attitudes.
- (b) Training of the minds in building valuable concepts and generalizations about the world.
- (c) Acquisition of appropriate skills, abilities, and competence of both mental and physical nature.
- (d) Acquisition of relevance and balance of the knowledge of facts about local and world phenomena.

At the primary level, the report recommended that education:

- (i) prepare children for life,
- (ii) provide children with the necessary background and the opportunity to proceed to secondary schools,
- (iii) inculcate in children good character and moral training,
- (iv) enhancement of the child's creativity and development of skills.

At the secondary level, the goals of education recommended included:

- (i) diversification of secondary school curriculum,
- (ii) inculcation of self-reliance, self-discipline, industry and versatility in youths, and
- (iii) raise a generation of creative and reflective minds who have respect for opinions other than their own and accept the dignity

of labour.

At the university level, the functions of a university were defined to include (a) teaching, (b) research, (c) dissemination of information, and (d) community service and professional training. Because of the comprehensive nature of the above definition, the aims of university education were spelt out in six objects:

- (i) to develop and transmit a national cultural heritage and blend it with the larger world,
- (ii) to develop the national conscience and consciousness,
- (iii) to disseminate information,
- (iv) to provide intellectual life sustained by the intellectual community,
- (v) to act as a catalyst for change, and
- (vi) to encourage and develop critical and analytical attitudes (Ojelabi, Op.cit., pp. 16-18).

Following the National Curriculum Conference Report recommendations, the Federal Government of Nigeria organized in June 1973 a National Seminar of distinguished educational experts under the chairmanship of Chief Simon O. Adebo, "the former Nigerian Permanent Representative at the United Nations" and at the time, Chairman of the National Universities Commission, "to deliberate on all aspects of a National Policy on Education" (Federal Republic of Nigeria, National Policy on Education, 1977, p. 3). The composition of this Seminar was made up of representatives from Christian and Islamic religious organizations, the Universities, National Universities Commission, interested external agencies, Ministry of Education, private individuals and experts in various other public sectors who had shown a manifest interest in the

development of the country's educational objectives.

Earlier the Government had stated:

It is Government's wish that any existing contradictions, ambiguities, and lack of uniformity in educational practices in the different parts of the Federation should be removed to ensure an even and orderly development of the country . . . For the benefit of all citizens, the country's educational goals in terms of its relevance to the needs of the individual as well as in terms of the kind of society desired in relation to the environment and the realities of the modern world and rapid social changes should be clearly set out (Ibid.).

Unlike the composition of the National Curriculum Conference, this Seminar was made up of experts in the various areas of education. There were also a series of workshops between 1973 and 1976 "on curriculum and material production levels" (Fafunwa, Op.cit., p. 27). The workshops were organized by the Nigerian Educational Research Council, the Joint Consultative Committee on Education, the National Council for Education and the Federal Ministry of Education. According to Fafunwa (Ibid.) the purpose of the workshops was to prepare "Syllabuses and textbooks in anticipation of the proposed new educational policy." The Comparative Education Study and Adaptation Centre (CESAC), a curriculum development unit of the Federal Ministry of Education, also organized some complementary study activities designed to cover materials expected in the new national policy on education.

The document that emerged in 1977 as the "National Policy on Education" was based on the extensive recommendations of the 1973 National Seminar, reviewed and refined in its passage through the above-mentioned workshops and activities. The 1977 National Policy on Education is the topic of the next part of this subsection of the study.

#### National Policy on Education 1977

Wilson (1976, p. 70) described the report of the 1973 National

Seminar on a National Policy on Education as:

A comprehensive document which translates Nigeria's national objectives into educational objectives, outlines an educational philosophy for Nigeria and defines the elements of its educational policy.

In the introduction to the National Policy on Education, the Federal Government of Nigeria stated:

Education in Nigeria is no more a private enterprise, but a huge Government venture that has witnessed a progressive evolution of Government's complete and dynamic intervention and active participation. The Federal Government of Nigeria has adopted education as an instrument par excellence for effecting national development. It is only natural then that Government should clarify the philosophy and objectives that underlie its current massive investment in education, and spell out in clear unequivocal terms the policies that guide Government's education efforts (National Policy on Education, 1977, p. 3).

The National Policy on Education is a twelve section document embodying far-reaching recommendations that are expected to transform almost every aspect of the Nigerian society. For clarity of purpose, the entire philosophy of Nigerian education as spelt out in the National Policy on Education is reproduced here. And for the purpose of this study, the sections on primary, secondary and university education are summarized. The philosophy of Nigerian education as contained in the 1977 National Policy on Education are as follows:

1. Since a national policy on education is Government's way of achieving that part of its national objectives that can be achieved using education as a tool, no policy on education can be formulated without first identifying the overall philosophy and objectives of the Nation.

The five main national objectives of Nigeria as stated in the Second National Development Plan, and endorsed as the necessary foundation for the National Policy on Education, are the building of:

- (1) a free and democratic society;
- (2) a just and egalitarian society;
- (3) a united, strong and self-reliant nation;
- (4) a great and dynamic economy;
- (5) a land of bright and full opportunities for all citizens.

2. Nigeria's philosophy of education, therefore, is based on the

integration of the individual into a sound and effective and equal citizen and equal educational opportunities for all citizens of the nation at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels, both inside and outside the formal school system.

3. In consequence, the quality of instruction at all levels has to be oriented towards inculcating the following values:

- (1) respect for the worth and dignity of the individuals;
- (2) faith in man's ability to make rational decisions;
- (3) moral and spiritual values in inter-personal and human relations;
- (4) shared responsibility for the common good of society;
- (5) respect for the dignity of labour; and
- (6) promotion of the emotional, physical and psychological health of all children.

4. For the philosophy to be in harmony with Nigeria's national objectives, it has to be geared towards self-realization, better human relationship, individual and national efficiency, effective citizenship, national consciousness, national unity, as well as towards social, cultural, economic, political, scientific and technological progress.

5. The national educational aims and objectives to which the philosophy is linked are therefore:

- (1) the inculcation of national consciousness and national unity;
- (2) the inculcation of the right type of values and attitudes for the survival of the individual and the Nigerian society;
- (3) the training of the mind in the understanding of the world around; and
- (4) the acquisition of appropriate skills, abilities and competences both mental and physical as equipment for the individual to live in and contribute to the development of his society.

6. The desire that Nigeria should be a free, just and democratic society, a land full of opportunities for all its citizens, able to generate a great and dynamic economy, and growing into a united, strong and self-reliant nation cannot be overemphasized. In order to realize fully the potentials of the contributions of education to the achievement of the objectives, all other agencies will operate in concert with education to that end. Furthermore, to foster the much needed unity of Nigeria, imbalances in inter-state and intra-state development have to be corrected. Not only is education the greatest force that can be used to bring about redress, it is also the greatest investment that the nation can make for the quick development of its economic, political, sociological and human resources.

7. The Government will take various measures to implement the policy. Accordingly:

- (1) Education will continue to be highly rated in the national development plans, because education is the most important instrument of change as any fundamental change in the

intellectual and social outlook of any society has to be preceded by an educational revolution;

- (2) Life long education will be the basis for the nation's educational policies;
- (3) Educational and training facilities will be multiplied and made more accessible, to afford the individual a far more diversified and flexible choice;
- (4) Educational activity will be centred on the learner for maximum self-development and fulfilment;
- (5) Universal basic education, in a variety of forms, depending on needs and possibilities, will be provided for all citizens;
- (6) Efforts will be made to relate education to overall community needs;
- (7) Educational assessment and evaluation will be liberalised by basing them in whole or in part on continuous assessment of the progress of the individual;
- (8) Modern educational techniques will be increasingly used and improved at all levels of the education system;
- (9) The education system will be structured to develop the practice of self-learning;
- (10) At any stage of the educational process after primary education, an individual will be able to choose between continuing his full-time studies, combining work with study, or embarking on full-time employment without excluding the prospect of resuming studies later on;
- (11) Opportunity will continue to be made available for religious instruction. No child will be forced to accept any religious instruction which is contrary to the wishes of his parents; and
- (12) Physical education will be emphasised at all levels of the education system.

#### The Importance of Language

8. In addition to appreciating the importance of language in the educational process, and as a means of preserving the people's culture, the Government considers it to be in the interest of national unity that each child should be encouraged to learn one of the three major languages other than his own mother-tongue. In this connection, the Government considers the three major languages in Nigeria to be Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba. (pp. 4-5).

As can be seen from the above, this philosophy of Nigerian education

is comprehensive and indeed far-reaching. Whether this policy has transformed any or all aspects of the Nigerian life as envisioned by the Federal government of Nigeria is examined in chapter seven of this study. Other factors that contributed to the Federal government enunciation of this kind of sweeping philosophy of education, given the financial base of the country, are also explored in chapters four, five and six.

The summary of the National Policy on Education as it applies to primary, secondary and University levels of educations can be stated as follows:

1. Primary education should aim at
  - (a) the inculcation of permanent literacy and the ability to communicate effectively;
  - (b) the laying of a sound basis for scientific and reflective thinking;
  - (c) provide citizenship education to enable people to effectively participate in and contribute to the life of the society;
  - (d) foster in the child good character and moral leadership, and the development of sound attitudes;
  - (e) to develop in the child the ability to adapt to changing environments;
  - (f) to provide opportunities for every child to enable him develop manipulative skills necessary for survival in a competitive world;
  - (g) to provide the child with the basic tools for further educational advancement including vocational training in the crafts and trades of the locality. (Ibid., p. 7),
2. The aims of Secondary education are stated in broad and specific terms. In the former it is expected to:
  - (1) prepare people for useful living within the society; and
  - (2) to prepare them for higher education. In specific terms, Secondary education should:
    - (a) provide an increasing number of primary school pupils with the opportunity for education of a higher quality,

- irrespective of sex, or social, religious and ethnic background;
- (b) diversify its curriculum in order to provide for the differences in talents, opportunities and roles available to students after their secondary education;
- (c) to equip students to live useful lives in the modern age of science and technology;
- (d) to develop and project Nigerian culture, arts and languages in conjunction with the cultural heritage of the world;
- (e) to raise a generation of people capable of critical thinking, innovative ideas and appreciative of those values that unite us all Nigerians;
- (f) to foster Nigerian Unity by emphasizing our commonalities while deemphasizing our differences;
- (g) to inspire students to soar to high heights in these aspirations and achievements both at school and in later life (Ibid., p. 10).

3. The aims of Higher education are:

- (a) the acquisition, development and inculcation of the proper value-orientation for the survival of the individual and society;
- (b) the development of the intellectual capacities of the individuals to understand and appreciate their environment;
- (c) the acquisition of both physical and intellectual skills which will enable individuals to develop into useful members of the community; and
- (d) the acquisition of an objective view of the local and external environments (Ibid., p. 4).

Furthermore, Higher educational institution's are to pursue the above goals through the following processes:

- (i) Teaching.
- (ii) Research.
- (iii) The dissemination of existing and new information.
- (iv) The pursuit of service to the community.

(v) Being a storehouse of knowledge (Ibid.).

In order to achieve the above stated objectives, the Federal Nigerian Government enunciated some measures. At the primary level the government made primary education free and universal by implementing the Universal Primary Education (UPE) Scheme in 1976 and proposed to make it compulsory by 1982. The government also made provisions for adequate educational services by providing school library services and counselling services. At the secondary level, the government planned that secondary education should be of six-year duration and be given in two stages, a junior secondary school stage and a senior secondary school stage, each stage being of three years duration.

At the higher education level, the government proposed to establish new Universities, assume control of all the Universities in the country, and direct the National Universities Commission, the National Education Research Council and the Nigerian Council for Science and Technology to identify the areas of need and priorities. The Universities are to base their research programmes on the priorities set by these bodies. In addition, greater financial provisions for educational research programmes are to be made to the Universities and to NUC, NERC, and NCST. Furthermore, the government accepted to foster closer links between the Universities, industries and various research councils.

In the same year (1977) that the Federal government of Nigeria released the National policy on Education document, it set up a seven-member "implementation Committee for the National Policy on Education." The implementation Committee was headed by Professor S. Onabamiro with these terms of reference:

(a) to translate policy into a workable blue print and to develop programmes for the implementation of the policy;

- (b) to coordinate and monitor the implementation of those programmes developed under the policy;
- (c) to advise government on and to assist in providing the infrastructure and other requirements for policy implementation; and
- (d) to provide a continuous review and assessment of the aims, objectives and targets of the policy with a view to ensuring the adequacy and continued relevance of the policy (and those programmes developed under it) to our national needs and aspirations, and to propose modifications on any aspects as may be found necessary. (Implementation Committee for the National Policy on Education Blue print, 1978, p. 5. Also in Fafunwa, Op.cit., p. 27).)

One year later (1978) the Implementation committee produced a Blueprint that detailed all the steps and measures necessary for successful implementation of the new education policy. The Blueprint specified in clear terms "the facilities required for each level" of education, "the number and types of teachers needed, the kind of management control and most essentially, the final implication" (Ibid., p. 28). For instance, the blueprint cautioned against hasty and careless implementation of some aspects of the new education policy in order to avoid "negative and disastrous consequences on the economy, the political and the social systems."

In 1979 the Federal Government responded to the implementation Committee's Blueprint by releasing another White Paper called "Government views on the Implementation Committee's Blueprint" on "The Federal Republic of Nigeria National Policy on Education." As was expected, the Federal government accepted most of the recommendations contained in the Blueprint, rejected some of them and stayed action on a few others. This was the situation when the country returned to civilian rule in October 1979. As was noted earlier, the 1979 constitution provides for free education at all levels. But the new civilian government ordered a

review of the 1979 government White Paper following which it made some revisions on the National Policy on Education in 1981. The 1981 revised version of National Policy on Education among other things stressed the following:

"The Government will take various measures to implement the policy. Accordingly:

1. Education will continue to be highly rated in the national development plans. Education is the most important instrument of change as any fundamental change in the intellectual and social outlook of any society has to be preceded by an educational revolution;
2. Lifelong education will be the basis for the nation's educational policies;
3. Educational and training facilities will be multiplied and made more accessible, to afford the individual a far more diversified and flexible choice;
4. Education activity will be centred on the learner for maximum self-development and fulfilment;
5. Universal basic education, in a variety of forms, depending on needs and possibilities, will be provided for all citizens;
6. Efforts will be made to relate education to over-all community needs;
7. Educational assessment and evaluation will be liberalised by basing them in whole or in part on continuous assessment of the progress of the individual;
8. Modern educational techniques will be increasingly used and improved at all levels of the education system;
9. The education system will be structured to develop the practice of self-learning;
10. At any stage of the educational process after primary education, an individual will be able to choose between continuing his full-time studies, combining work with study, or embarking on full-time employment without excluding the prospect of resuming studies later on;
11. Opportunity will continue to be made available for religious instruction. No child will be forced to accept any religious instruction which is contrary to the wishes of his parents; and

12. Physical education will be emphasized at all levels of the education system.

The Importance of Language:

In addition to appreciating the importance of language in the educational process, and as a means of preserving the people's culture, the Government considers it to be in the interest of national unity that each child should be encouraged to learn one of the three major languages other than his own mother-tongue. In this connection, the Government considers the three major languages in Nigeria to be Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba." (National Policy on Education (Revised), Federal Government Press, Lagos, 1981, pp. 8-9).

As can be seen, any differences between the 1977 and revised 1981 versions of the National Policy on Education are more in semantics than in substance for the contents of both remain virtually the same.

The Present Structure and Governance of Education in Nigeria

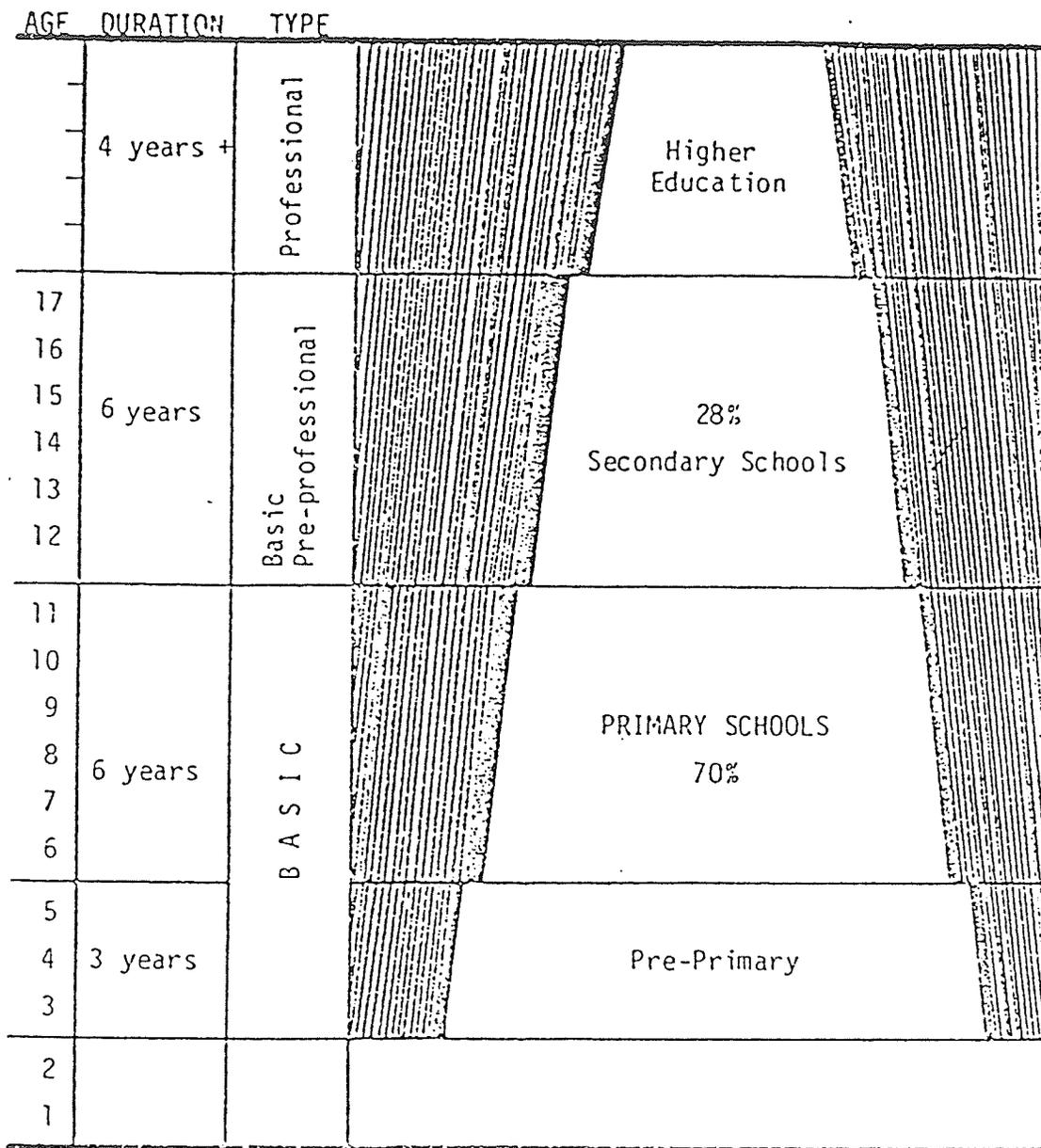
(a) Educational Structures:

There are four major classifications in the structure of education in Nigeria, namely, pre-primary, primary, secondary and higher education. The years and percentage of the various age-group participation are depicted in Figure III.I. There is an obvious uniformity of standards for all children in the first six years. About seventy percent of all eligible children are in primary school (Ukeje, 1980, p. 246).

Beyond the first six years of primary school, children are classified into three main levels of education very much along, "the European model." The first is the secondary commercial school, while the second is the secondary technical school. Both of these two are terminal in the sense that they provide a specialized form of training for those students wanting to join the labour market rather than pursuing a university education. The third category is the grammar school which specializes in pure and applied sciences and in liberal arts designed for

Figure III.I

NIGERIAN EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURES



Source: Adopted from B. O. Ukeje (1980) "The Governance and Administration of Education in Nigeria", in Educational Administration: A Comparative View, David Friesen Ed., Department of Educational Administration, The University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada. p. 246.

the students that wish to pursue a university education or to advance to higher technical colleges. The grammar schools also provide students with the Higher School Certificate programme (HSC) or the sixth form, holders of which spend three years at the university for a degree programme instead of four years.

But recently, specifically in September 1982, the Federal government, in line with the new national policy on education introduced the junior and senior secondary school system based on the 6-3-3-4 formula. The new secondary school programme calls for a six year period and is divided into two stages, one a three year junior high school programme which is both pre-vocational and academic, and the other a three year secondary school programme which is both general and specialized.

At the junior secondary school, emphasis is put on vocational subjects like metal work, masonry, auto-mechanics, home economics, carpentry and woodwork, technical drawing and lithography, and electricity. Other optional subjects also taught at this level are English language, two Nigerian languages, social studies, mathematics, science subjects, physical and health education and French or Arabic (Education in Nigeria, 1986, p. 38).

At the senior secondary level, there is a core area that includes English language, a Nigerian language, mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, history, geography, agricultural science and a vocational subject such as woodwork or metal work. The areas of specialization are science, arts, and technology. A student's choice of three major subjects and his/her area of specialization is determined by career aspirations. The thrust of the new programme is to provide educational opportunities for all children in a comprehensive education structure.

As can be seen, Nigerian education has undergone some serious changes at all levels. As Fafunwa (1986) noted, Nigerian education "has moved from the structures of service to the few to freedom of educational opportunity for many." There are now about fifteen million children in Nigerian primary schools as compared with a mere three million in 1960. The "secondary school population has" grown from 168,000 in 1960 to 2.5 million in 1982 while "the universities" have grown "from only two (Ibadan and Nsukka) in 1960 with a student population of near two thousand to" more than 26 universities "with a combined population of over 80,000 students in 1982" (Ibid.); See also Etim and Alaezi (1988).

(b) Governance and Policy

The Federal government of Nigeria involvement in all areas of education, as was noted earlier began in 1968 shortly after the military intervention in national politics. The process was virtually completed when civilian government was introduced again in October 1979.

The introduction of the free Universal Primary Education, and the abolition of tuition fees for the universities, polytechnics, and the secondary schools have become a huge government undertaking that demands painstaking planning and committed execution. All aspects of educational matters are now within the concurrent jurisdiction of both the Federal and State Ministries of Education. The ultimate power in terms of broad policy making resides with the Federal Ministry of Education which works through consultative committees. But the states' local authorities handle the minute details of its implementation. According to Ukeje (Op.cit.) communications from the Federal government come as suggestions. Because of this, decisions of the Joint Consultative Committee on Education, the National Educational Research Council and similar bodies

are transmitted to the states only as suggestions while decisions involving a change of the school year, the salary scale of teachers and national examinations are binding on the states' school authorities (Ibid., p. 247). See Figure III.II for an illustration of the governance and administration of education in Nigeria.

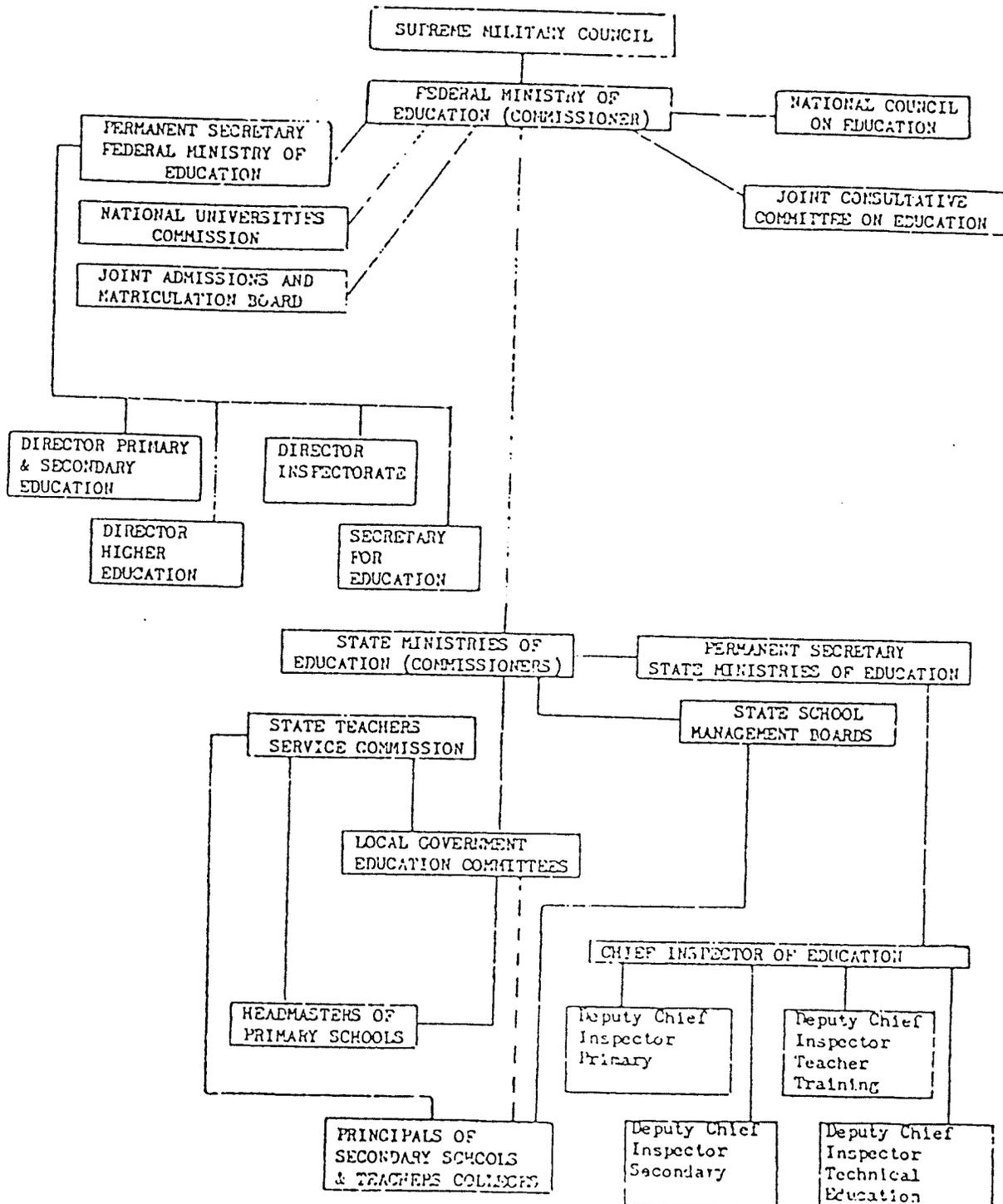
The politicization of education in Nigeria, and the realization of the powers of education in national development and individual advancement have forced the Federal government into active and direct participation at all levels. The Federal government believes that education could serve as the means to national unity and has therefore, built "Unity Schools," two in each State of the Federation.

The structure of the Federal Ministry of Education has changed appreciably from what it used to be at the dawn of Nigerian independence. More changes are expected, no doubt. The present structure of the Federal Ministry of Education in terms of its administration includes four major sections, namely, (1) Planning and Finance, (2) Inspectorate, Curriculum and Evaluation, (3) External Relations and Advisory, and (4) Non-formal Education (Ibid.).

In matters of decision-making, the Federal Ministry of Education drafts educational policies with inputs from some advisory bodies such as the National Universities Commission, the National Education Research Council and the Joint Consultative Committee on Education. The Federal Ministry of Education is responsible for the disbursement of financial assistance in the forms of Grants, Bursaries and Scholarships. It also under-takes to "organize through the National Education Research Council, educational conferences, seminars and workshops" (Ibid.). Because of the ascendancy in the power of education for national growth and individual

Figure III.II

GOVERNANCE OF EDUCATION IN NIGERIA AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM



Source: Adopted from B.O. Ukeje (1980). "The Governance and Administration of Education in Nigeria", in Educational Administration: A Comparative View, David Friesen Ed., Department of Educational Administration, The University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada. p. 248.

advancement, the Federal government now shares with the State governments and even enjoys a monopoly of power in some cases; educational decision-making at all levels "especially in the regulating, leadership, coordinating, controlling, research, planning and operational functions" are now handled by the Federal Ministry of Education (Ibid., p. 249).

Other functions of the Federal Ministry of Education include:

- (a) The determination of a national policy for the assurance of uniform standards and quality control,
- (b) Coordination of education practice in Nigeria,
- (c) Advisory services in respect of all levels of education below the university,
- (d) Federal inspectorate advisory service to help improve and maintain standards,
- (e) Coordination of educational services,
- (f) International cooperation in education,
- (g) Coordination of national school examinations and relevant teacher examinations including testing and evaluation, and
- (h) The establishment of a Central Registry for teachers. (Ojelabi, Op.cit., p. 28).

It was mentioned earlier that the States enjoy local autonomy in the grassroots implementation of the broad educational policies enunciated by the Federal government. There is a Ministry of Education in each State headed by a commissioner. The commissioner is responsible to the State Legislature. There is no standard structural division within the State Ministries of Education as one would find in the Federal Ministry of Education. But every state has a State School Board also known as the Board of Education. In terms of functions, the State School Boards with

approval from the State Ministry of Education control the courses of study, examinations, textbooks, teacher education, collection of fees and other revenue and minor needs for school buildings and maintenance. They control teachers' salaries and are responsible for the operation, management and maintenance of both primary and secondary schools. Their other functions include "the provision of scholarships, running of workshops, conferences, in-service courses and the establishment of such educational services as libraries, curriculum development centres, school broadcasting, and special education for the handicapped" (Ibid.). In fact, in 1981, the nineteen States of Federation spent N1,657,210 as recurrent expenditure on education out of a total of N4,944,450,000 (recurrent) spent on all services together (Education in Nigeria, Op.cit., p. 1). Thus inevitably the State education authorities have some form of input in decision-making processes with the "federal authorities in educational leadership, regulatory functions, coordination, research, planning and management" (Ukeje, Op.cit., p. 24).

The final arm in the structure of educational governance and administration in Nigeria is the Local Education Authorities. According to Ukeje (Ibid.) Local Education Authorities are a recent creation. "In most of the States, the local education authorities have little real responsibility and have consequently proved neither effective nor enthusiastic"(Ibid.). They suffer from perennial lack of funds which in turn destroys any form of initiative they could have. Members of the Local Education Authorities or Schools Boards as they are generally known are appointed by the Governor of the state on the recommendation of the State Commissioner for Education. While the State School Boards are responsible for the provision and maintenance of post-primary

institutions, the Local School Boards are responsible for the provision and maintenance of primary school institutions. Because the Local School Boards suffer from perennial lack of funds, the State School Boards often take over most of the functions that are given to them by the law. Even if the Local School Boards were to have the necessary funds, since they are a creation of the State School Authority, the latter is unlikely to relinquish its power of decision-making to the Local School Boards. This situation notwithstanding, "a good deal of local support and local participation in educational decision-making" is emerging "through Parent-Teachers Associations and Boards of Governors" (Ibid., p. 250). The Boards of Governors (wherever they exist) do assume the responsibility of soliciting community support in the form of provision of funds and facilities for the schools." Accordingly to Ukeje (Ibid.) some have voluntarily levied themselves for the provision of facilities for the schools and have contributed immensely in maintaining sound school discipline in line with the African concept of self-help or "Ujama."

As can be seen, Nigerian education since independence in 1960 has undergone a revolutionary change from being solely controlled and managed by religious organizations, agencies and private individuals to a virtual takeover in management and control by the Federal and State governments of Nigeria. Nigeria has practically brought education to the door step of every Nigerian and has invested billions of Naira to provide education free of cost at all levels. The next three chapters examine the socio-cultural, political and economic factors that contributed to this staggering and huge investment in education.

#### CHAPTER IV

### THE SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS THAT CONTRIBUTED TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA'S INTRODUCTION OF FREE EDUCATION AT ALL LEVELS

The nature of education in any society is often an inevitable product of the social, political, economic and religious climate of the time and place. The decision to make free education at all levels the cornerstone of a broadly based national development of Nigeria was in essence a social, political and economic one. Richard D'Aeth (1975, p. 10) cites this thinking enunciated by the former Western region of Nigeria:

The principles that must be given due consideration in any educational policy today are economic, political and cultural . . . The economic principle that must underlie educational policy is one which aims at a comprehensive economic development of the country . . . Any political principle governing educational policy at the present stage of our development must regard as a top priority the provision of such an education as will establish the most vigorous form of self government and independence. . . We want men in whom the elements of [modern] civilization are fully integrated and harmonized with indigenous African culture, men without mental dichotomy.

The purpose of this chapter therefore, is to examine the socio-cultural factors that brought about the introduction of free education at all levels in Nigeria. In this pursuit, the topical sub-heads are 1) the cultural and colonial heritage, 2) the pursuit of equality of opportunity, 3) the 1975 Udoji salary review award, 4) pressure groups and social activists, and 5) the social demand for education.

#### The Cultural/Colonial Heritage

A society that makes no arrangements to educate its own creative writers, condemns itself to consume the literature of alien societies as its spiritual staple diet. Such a society doesn't create and recreate its own values. It is content to borrow those of other societies. Like all borrowers in a merciless world, it ends up paying high interest rates and exorbitant loan service charges in the cultural form of irrational consumer habits and suicidal behaviour patterns (Ayi Kwei Armah, 1985, West Africa, p. 994).

In another place, Kwei Armah further posits:

Literacy is an old African achievement. Like so much else in our legacy of material and intellectual resources, it's long been lost to us, partly because our ancient rulers, knowing it was power, and unwilling to share it, kept it jealously out of the peoples' reach (Ibid., p. 995).

Along the lines of the above thesis, Woodhouse (Op.cit., p. 125) pointed out that:

where certain specific skills were to be developed, guilds were formed to transmit the skills in question. Among the Nupe (of Northern Nigeria) for example, such guilds existed for the purpose of transmitting the skills of silver and tin-smiths. Their knowledge was kept a secret, thereby preserving their social status and rank, which was high. Only those considered worthy, because of blood relationship, social rank or outstanding merit, were admitted to the guild.

In essence, in precolonial Nigeria the acquisition of knowledge whether in the form of arts and crafts, oral story-telling, and story-relays, poetry or local geography as well as riddles was of paramount importance. It was a mark of distinction and achievement to be knowledgeable in matters beyond one's immediate world. Amongst the Ibo of Southern Nigeria there is a common-place expression that a widely traveled person is often more knowledgeable and wiser than a grey-haired arm-chair critic. It is generally known that in Ibo-land, parents, uncles, aunts, and even distant relatives do sacrifice, without minding, the bare necessities of life in order to finance or sponsor the education of their promising child. And Nigerians in general have acquired the notoriety of being seekers after knowledge. This reputation is buttressed by the fact that "there is hardly a country or region in the world where there is not a Nigerian studying" (Taiwo, Op.cit., p. 59).

So the predisposition to the acceptance of education as an instrument par excellence for national development and for stemming the tide of societal problems is a cultural heritage. The significance of

this acceptance is underlined in this excerpt from Papyrus Chester Beathy IV cited by Kwei Armah:

Man decays, his corpse is dust,  
All his kin have perished;  
But a book makes him remembered  
Through the mouth of its reciter  
Better is a book than a well-built house,  
Than tomb-chapels in the west;  
Better than a solid mansion,  
Than a Stela in the temple (Opcit.).

The insatiable quest for knowledge in precolonial Nigeria transited into the colonial era with the arrival of the Europeans and their Western system of education. The already established individual competitive spirit for knowledge and the societal deference for the educated were very soon spotted and tapped by the Western missionary educators. Hence it was not difficult for them to find Nigerians ready and willing to become Western-oriented. Onwueme (1984, p. 94) argues that ever since the establishment of Western system of schools in Nigeria, education has been looked upon by many Nigerians to serve various functions. The average Nigerian views education as an instrument for social mobility, and it is on record that the first generation of Nigerian political leaders who had Western education were from the lower class of the traditional society (Ibid.). According to Onweme, the temptation among modern educated Nigerians to look at themselves as the privileged and the enlightened few has its origin among the traditional educated Nigerians like the Nupe silver and tin-smiths mentioned earlier who devised criteria for admitting people into the secrets of their knowledge. From this and other similar background, early Nigerian intellectuals after acquiring Western education developed life-styles that matched those of their European counter-parts. In the words of Onwueme:

They assumed similar consumption patterns and began to have taste for Western clothes, ideas, and habits. Education became the means for recruitment into the labor force and also a condition for belonging to various social and political clubs in the making. Thus, to this day, whether in public or private sector of the Nigerian society, education has assumed the enormous role of selecting people to various positions of power, influence, and responsibility (Ibid., pp. 94-95).

The importance attached to education as a means to almost every form of social mobility in the country has earned Nigeria the opprobrium "diploma disease," the cult of the certificate (Ikejiani, 1965, p. 111), or what is locally known as paper qualification or academic credentials. The above characterizations are terms that are used to denote possession of certificates and degrees at the various levels of education. The acquisition of certificates, diplomas and degrees is the means to rich job opportunities, further education and social status. It is a common knowledge in Nigeria that rich and wealthy half-educated politicians or businessmen who may not want to share power or prestige with their peers are generally eager and willing to court the friendship and acceptance of the well educated elite.

Thus in the modern Nigerian labour market, certificates and diplomas are required for the positions of a messenger, clerical officer, or executive officer. And at the end of each educational level, every student is expected to have successfully passed the examinations before any certificate or diploma can be award. Likewise in old Nigerian society, education was an integrated experience. As was noted in chapter three, education at the end of each stage, demarcated by age level or years of experience, the pupil was given a practical test appropriate to the experience and level of development and in terms of the job to be done. This was a cyclical evaluation that ultimately ended in an initiation

ceremony or a passout parade into adulthood. Furthermore, Mbonu (1979) observed:

Education is an important undertaking in Nigeria. It is also part of our social life. Far back before the advent of British colonialism, initiation ceremonies were crucial phases in the Nigerian system of education. When an individual attained some knowledge of the society, organization, or religion, he/she was initiated into such body by people. Initiation is an African educational custom that recognizes achievement performance-scale of people (West Africa, p. 1104).

The point being illustrated here is not that emphasis on education and the acquisition of knowledge is a unique Nigerian experience. For sure, the pursuit of knowledge, academic qualifications, and educational training are stressed in other developed and developing countries of the world. It is that the stress and emphasis on education as an instrument par excellence for the development of the Nigerian society has both residues of Nigerian cultural and colonial heritage. Thus those who aspire to the top social class or any class for that matter, would do so by dint of personal endowments and hard work. For this reason, free education at all levels seems an attractive imperative.

#### Equality of Opportunity

Especially in developing countries, education plays a pivotal role in selecting and training potential leaders. If nationals of a country do not have proper credentials (often regardless of what they actually know or the content of the school program under which they were taught) they do not have a chance in the competition for key positions in the government and in the civil service.  
- Byron Massialas

One of the guiding principles of the 1977 National Policy on Education is the Federal Nigerian Government's total commitment to the provision and promotion of equal opportunities for all Nigerians regardless of the ethnic origin, residence or place of birth. The importance of education in the geo-politics of the country was recognized

long time ago. In Nigeria before the civil war, and to a certain degree now, the ethnic group that controls bureaucratic directives is as politically significant as the geographic/ethnic origin of the President and the top Ministers. The question of who makes decisions touches the heart of the problem of ethnic political and economic dominance or preeminence. It is this problem that Ikejiani (1964, p. 117) alluded to when he argued that the relative educational advantage enjoyed by some ethnic sections of the country is not an act of biological superiority. Rather, it is the relative advantage that comes with arriving first on the scene and occupying the ground floor. The people that come later have to contend with occupying the upper floor and somehow, being far from the action.

What is implied in the above statement is that any educational advantage that some ethnic groups have in Nigeria till today is as a result of their early contact with the Western education system. But in a rapidly changing and technological world, if any ethnic group is obviously disadvantaged in its ability to control its own destiny within the society, there is bound to result some resentment. The resentment can lead to open and outright hostility. This was what happened in Nigeria in 1966, and it culminated into the Biafran war of 1967 to 1970. The intensity of the resentment and hostility of the Nigerian situation was expressed by Samuel Krislov (1974) in this manner:

In Nigeria a civil war emerged from the fantastic success of the Ibos on securing bureaucratic power over other tribes through personal efficiency--an efficiency which could only be dealt with by a massacre of the Ibos (p. 40).

The resentment and anxiety within the various ethnic groups spurred the federal government's thinking into accepting education as a national policy aimed at providing equality of opportunity for all Nigerians. So

education was seen as a tool for ensuring that there will be no repeat of the Biafran Civil War. In relating this goal to the objectives of the 1976 Universal Free Primary Education, the Federal Government of Nigeria asserted that the Universal Primary Education is:

a pre-requisite for equalization of opportunities for education across the country in all its known facts. Since equalization is a major government objectives, one of the most far-reaching policy decisions in the Plan is, therefore, the introduction of a free universal and compulsory primary education (U.P.E.), through out the Federation (Third National Development Plan, Lagos, Nigeria, 1975, p. 235).

As Kelly and Lassa (1983, p. 235) put it:

Education would iron out the inequalities that were at the heart of the country's problems; it held the key to Nigeria's continuing existence as a nation state.

As was noted in chapter three, the philosophy of Nigerian education enunciated as necessary for achieving this end of equality of opportunity aims to produce:

- 1) a free and democratic society;
- 2) a just and egalitarian society;
- 3) a united, strong and self-reliant nation;
- 4) a great and dynamic economy;
- 5) a land of bright and full opportunities for all citizens.

So in a country very ethnically and linguistically divided, the survival of the nation is dependent on a delicate balance of equality of educational opportunities. As a first step to achieving this end, the Federal Government of Nigeria embarked on the UPE scheme in 1976, and a few years later, it introduced a tuition free secondary and university education.

Another and not negligible factor is that the 20th century has generated the awareness that a certain level of education is an

inalienable right of every member of the society. In the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948 there are portions that supported this right:

Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical education and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be made equally accessible to all on the basis of merit (in Schapiro, Op.cit., p. 139).

Nigeria has gone along the route of U.N. General Assembly Declarations on education in order to provide equal educational opportunities for all.

In 1961, at the Addis Ababa Conference, African leaders emerging from the throes of colonialism came together to design collective strategy for educational development on a continental scale. Following this conference, many African nations formulated explicit and specific educational goals in the quest for equality of opportunity. In Nigeria, Universal Primary Education (UPE) is accepted as one of the means of realizing the goal of equal educational opportunity; tuition free secondary and university education are another.

#### The Udoji Salary Review Award

On the nature and work of commissions of inquiry, Aluko (1975)

comments:

It is often said that when Parliament in a democracy does not want to grant a growing request, it sets up a commission of inquiry on it. By the time the Commission reports, the people affected have either forgotten the subject or it has been overtaken by more important events. In Nigeria, when the government wants to please the public service Oliver Twists, it sets up a wages commission (p. 12).

In a military government, almost every act or policy is done by decree. So, by a decree, the Federal Military Government created on September 13, 1972 a Public Service Review Commission of seven members. The chairperson

of this salary review commission was Chief Jerome O. Udoji (hence the derivative Udoji Salary Review Award) who had been the Head of the former Eastern Region Civil Service and a United Nations Consultant on Public Administration in East Africa. There were two dons from the University as members of the commission.

According to the Commission's terms of reference reproduced in Aluko (Ibid.), it was to inquire into the general need to secure adequate development and optimum utilization of manpower for increased efficiency and effectiveness of the public services in meeting the challenge of a development-oriented society. Other assignments were 1) to examine the organization, structure and management of the public services and recommend reforms where desirable; 2) to investigate and evaluate the methods of recruitment and conditions of employment and the staff development programmes of the public services and recommend such changes as may be found necessary; 3) to examine all legislation relating to pensions as well as the various superannuation schemes in the public services and in the private sector and suggest such changes as may be appropriate with a view to facilitating mobility within the public services and also between those services on the one hand and the private sector on the other hand, while at the same time provide for the retention in the public services of qualified and efficient personnel; 4) to undertake with the aid of appropriate grading team, the regrading of all posts in the public services, establish salary scales that correspond to such grades and as a result of a job evaluation of posts, recommend salary scales to be applicable to each post in the services; and 5) to inquire into, and make any recommendations on any matters which in the opinion of the commission have reasonable relevance (Ibid.).

This was a mammoth task, and no wonder it took the commission two years and fourteen days to submit its report. In order to carry out this assignment, eight special and expert task forces with a total membership of (105) one hundred and five were set up. The task forces were:

- 1) The civil service, with 11 members all of whom but one were from Britain,
- 2) Para-statals (statutory Corporations and state-owned companies) with 4 members all from the company of Peat Marwick and Mitchell of Britain,
- 3) Local government service, with 11 members all of whom were Nigerians,
- 4) Teaching services, with 8 members all of whom were Nigerians,
- 5) Universities, with three members two of whom were Vice-Chancellors, (one a Ghanaian) and a Nigerian professor of surgery,
- 6) Salary gradings, with 62 members, 28 were Canadians and 34 were Nigerians representing the main grades in the Federal and State Civil Services,
- 7) Pensions, with 3 members, all university dons, and
- 8) Manpower planning and development, with three members, two were university professors and the third was the Secretary to the National Manpower Board (Ibid.).

According to Aluko, the Commission did also consult and obtained the views of 125 individuals and organizations, heads of government civil services, specialists and administrators. This included senior technical and professional staff and university academics and administrators in Nigeria, Australia, Canada, Britain, United States, and Tanzania. It also assigned three Nigerians and one Nigerian consulting firm to conduct special studies on the national economy, the French administrative system and its relevance to administrative reforms in Nigeria, and to

evaluate the means of improving the quantity and quality of work in Nigeria's public services. About 545 memoranda were received by the commission from different organizations and individuals from the then 12 states, and from people in federal and state public services, including oral evidence from 192 persons and organizations (Ibid.).

The commission's report was released in 1974 and as expected, it was more than comprehensive. It recommended salary and wage increases and awards that were both extravagant and scandalous. "It increased the minimum salary of established staff in the public services by 130 percent, from N312 (\$470 American) per annum to N720 (\$1080) per annum. It increased federal permanent secretaries' salaries by 110 percent, from N6,480 to a possible N13,959, the Chief Justice's salary from N9,000 to N16,200, the Inspector-General of Police from N7,000 to N15,120, Vice-Chancellor from N9,000 to N14,040 and University professors from N6,000 to a possible N13,959 per annum" (Ibid.).

The commission's report also recommended generous retirement benefits. On retirement, a public officer who had put in 30 years of service should be given a block payment of three years salary as superannuation and 70 percent of his/her last salary scale as pension. If the person had served for 20 years, he/she should receive two years salary payment, and half of the last salary scale as pension. And if the person had served for 10 years, entitlement should be a year's salary and 30 percent of last salary scale as pension.

There were also provisions for other generous fringe benefits such as extended holidays, "car purchase advance, and monthly car expenses allowances, housing subsidies for which more public servants who" then earned more than N2,780 per annum including new university graduates "will

qualify" (Ibid., p. 13). The salary awards were retroactive with effect from April 1, 1974 (nine months in arrears) and all arrears were to be paid with immediate effect.

All in all, the net effect of the salary awards was the payment of arrears of about N500 million (\$750 million American) to about 700,000 Nigerians from a 1973 population figure of about 80 million. All these generous awards may not mean something to an observer from the developed countries. But to the Nigerian whose country's average annual per capita income then was about N100, it was significant and overwhelming. The Federal Military Government accepted the generous awards (thanks to the oil boom) and expected great appreciation from Nigerians.

The point in all these is that the generous Udoji salary review award unleashed a wave of public demand for more and greater educational opportunities than the government had anticipated. After all, the recipients of the Udoji windfall were educated Nigerians at any level of public and private employment. Over night, people who had not thought of it got into a salary scale that they could own a car. Thousands of award beneficiaries bought fridges, televisions, stereo equipments, expensive furnitures, appliances, comfortable apartments and new expensive wardrobes. It was like a sudden wind of change in some people's standard of living. The name Udoji became a household topic for discussion. Parents whose sons and daughters received the Udoji award were jubilant and appreciated the money and effort that they had spent on their education. Some parents who did not see any evidence of Udoji award on their son's lives had to inquire from them the purpose of the education that they paid for. And those uneducated and without jobs could not contain their resentment. This was illustrative of

Psacharopoulos and Woodhall's (1985) thesis that:

Provided that educated workers received more pay than the uneducated, education is profitable for the individual and offers financial benefits even if employers are completely irrational in choosing to pay higher salaries to the educated or even if the screening hypothesis accounted for the entire income differential of educated workers (p. 118).

The result of the post Udoji award was an unprecedented awareness among Nigerians that there is enough wealth and resources in the country for the government to provide education for everybody and anybody that wants it. Because of this, a tidal widespread demand for free and universal education at all levels started. All these were happening only four years after the civil war, and for a military government desperately in need of approval from the people, the demand for free popular education at all levels was a bait that it could not refuse.

#### Pressure Groups and Social Activists

In Nigeria after independence in 1960, one of the strongest public demands was for universal primary education. In Nigeria politics, nationalism is synonymous with the rights and worth of the local population and the peasantry. A sense of solidarity with the people is often the main source of strength in Nigerian politics and nationalism, and politicians and activists are always eager to show this solidarity by a common education available to all. Individual access to educational opportunities is usually regarded as a means to community development in particular, and to nation-building in general. As was noted in chapter one, in the 1950s, Southern political leaders sought and gained political power chiefly by promising to make education available to everybody if they were elected into political offices. Consequently, the former Western Nigerian Government established free universal primary education

in 1955, and for a short period, the former Eastern Nigerian Government did the same thing.

In a book by W. G. McD. Patridge (1961) on the Portrait of an African School, there is this comment:

Education in Africa is not just something your parents want you to have and which you go on getting until you can decently give it up . . . Rather it is a means of an easy, easeful life, away from the toil and soiled hands and monotony of life in the village. It makes a person modern, up-to-date, enables a man to wear gloves, carry brief-case, and look like the young men in the advertisement. But ask any African teacher trainee why he is one, the answer comes pat, 'Because I want to help my people' (pp. 9-10, cited by Sutton in Coleman, 1965, p. 72).

Sutton argues that this kind of response connotes no hypocrisy because the sense of education being something essentially linked to the development of the community and the proper service of the people has axiomatic force. And leaders who wish to be taken seriously do exert themselves to expand education as far as possible.

During the struggle for political independence in the 1940s, Nigerian nationalists charged the colonial government with purposely withholding funds for education and "insisted that the non-provision of mass education as well as the inappropriate nature of the curriculum were purely a colonial ruse" (Duruji, 1978, p. 68). One of the flamboyant nationalists of the day asserted that:

Without education, trusteeship is inconceivable. This principle demands a systematic education which will enable the people to stand on their feet . . . If progressive countries like America and England regard compulsory education as a necessity for building a healthy nation and efficient government, I would say that the system which should be in force in the backward areas should be compulsory (Mbadiwe, 1942, p. 173).

Nigerians' emotional attachment to education can be illustrated in the following captivating expression from the first President of Nigeria in the colonial era:

Universities have been responsible for shaping the destinies of nations and individuals. They are centres where things materials are made to be subservient to things intellectual in all shapes and forms. No matter in what field of learning, at any university, there is an aristocracy of mind over matter . . . .

The universities of Europe and America have been responsible for the great movements in the national history of these continents. Universities could produce a genius like Hardy, who earned his B.A. with first class honours at the age of twelve, and they could produce a "Frankenstein" or a "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde" personality as well. Black Africa has no university. Black Africa has no intellectual centre where the raw materials of African humanity may be reshaped into leaders in all the fields of human endeavour.

With their vaunted wealth in things material, Africans are bankrupt beside the other races in things intellectual. With a taxation of one shilling per capita throughout British West Africa, an endowment fund of more than twelve million pounds can be raised. This is capable of supporting three or four first-class universities. Why should African youth depend upon Oxford, Cambridge, Harvard, Yale, Sorbonne, Berlin, Heidelberg, for intellectual growth? These universities are mirrors which reflect their particular societal idiosyncrasies.

An African graduate of these universities, unless he has developed his individuality, is nothing short of a megaphone, yea, a carbon copy of these societies. Hence, I say that he is miseducated. Give the Renascent African a university, you who are capable of financing the same. With twelve million pounds, there is no reason why the best libraries, laboratories, professors, cannot be produced right here, and this continent can become, overnight, A Continent of Light (Renascent Africa, p. 140, in Ikejiani, Op.cit., p. 131-132).

The late chief Obafemi Awolowo (a Nigerian educator and politician) remarked in his autobiography:

To educate the children and enlighten the illiterate adults is to lay a solid foundation not only for future social and economic progress but also for political stability. A truly educated citizen is in my view, one of the most powerful deterrents to dictatorship, oligarchy and feudal autocracy (Awo, 1952 in Abernethy, Op.cit., p. 13).

Along those line of the late Chief Awolowo, Chief Awokoya (1952) who became Awolowo's Minister of Education in the former Western Region declared that:

Education development is imperative and urgent. It must be treated as a national emergency, second only to war. It must move with the momentum of a revolution (Awokoya, 1952, in Adesina, 1983, p. 245).

The expectations in both Chief Awolowo and Awokoya's assertions are that popular education would put Nigerians in the position to control and develop their economy; it is assumed that education is the key to nation-building and modernization.

Nigeria is a country with vast natural resources, notably crude oil which in the 1970s launched her into the orbit of opulence. The awareness of affluence posed many challenges to the Federal Military Government. The elite group in the country became vocal and brought pressure to bear on the government to utilize the nation's wealth judiciously. There were ostentatious displays of affluence by many wealthy Nigerians, including civil servants. This prompted one Nigerian Newspaper columnist to describe top civil servants in Nigerian public service as the "mandarin millionaires." The campaign for egalitarian programs gathered momentum between 1970 and 1973 when the universities, trade unions, church organizations, legal profession and the mass media mounted pressure on the government. In this period, a noted and popular Nigerian lawyer and social critic, Mr. Gani Fawehinmi wrote a book entitled The Peoples' Right to Free Education at All Levels. This book embodies every kind of view that had been expressed in Nigeria that supports free education at all levels. The theme of Fawehinmi's argument was that education at all levels is a right of every citizen and a social obligation which the state ought to provide. What is more, there was the oil wealth in the country, he reasoned, in which case, the government does not have any plausible excuse not to provide free education. The book was an instant best-seller in Nigeria, and it can be argued that the government took heed because in 1974, the then Head of the Federal Military Government, General Gowon, "in response to a school girl's question," casually

announced the intention of the government to launch universal free primary education. And in 1976, the actual programme of a Universal Free Primary Education scheme was officially started. In 1976, the Head of State was General Obasanjo who on launching the UPE scheme said, "the UPE scheme demonstrated the government's determination to equalize opportunities for all children whatever their background" (Daily Times, Sept. 1976). Furthermore, General Obasanjo declared:

Every Nigeria should regard basic education as a right and not a privilege: UPE represents the cornerstone in the country's determination to produce a literate and educated society which will accelerate the tempo of the nation's socio-political, cultural and economic development (Ibid.).

#### Social Demand for Education

The last factor in the examination of the forces that contributed to the introduction of free education at all levels in Nigeria is the social demand for education. The theory of social demand for education postulates that courses of education at any level should be made available for all those who are qualified by ability and attainment to pursue them and who wish to do so. A 1967 OECD report on educational policy offers a supportive statement:

If a sufficiently qualified citizen stands at the door of any type of school he must be admitted, and it is the responsibility of the appropriate government authorities to anticipate his requests so that school capacity will be adequate to accommodate him (Education Policy and Planning: Netherlands, Paris, 1967, p. 27, see also Sheehan, Op.cit., p. 24).

It was observed in the previous chapter that the Federal Government of Nigeria has accepted as official policy education as an instrument par excellence for national development. This implies that the messenger must have a first school leaving certificate in order to keep his job, the clerical officer will need a high school education and diploma to

stay on the job, and the executive officer or administrator will obtain a college or university education in order to be hired or sustain a living. The net result is that there will be astronomical increase in the demand for education since acquisition of certificates and diplomas are the necessary criteria for any gainful employment.

Given the current policy that gives leverage to the perception that education should be made available to as many people as may need to benefit from it and the problem of uneven distribution of educational facilities and the potential candidates for education as between the various ethnic groups and or geographical and political areas of the country, the need for the government to provide more educational facilities and resources can be obvious.

There is a very high demand in Nigeria for university education, for instance, and not enough places for most qualified candidates. This situation is depicted in Table IV.I. It can be seen that in 1978/79 only about 12.6 percent of the almost 115,000 applicants were admitted into the universities. In 1979/80 there was a proportionate slight increase to 15.5 percent but the number of applicants registered no serious change. This situation of demand for university education being greater than available openings in the universities caused the Federal Government of Nigeria some serious concern.

At the primary and the secondary levels the demand for education was equally high. According to Ukeje (Op.cit., p. 252) only one in three children of primary or elementary school age was in school in 1971, and at the secondary school stage it was only one in sixteen.

Table IV.I

Numbers of Applications and Offers of Provisional Admissions to First Degree Courses by then 19 States of Origin for 1978/79 and 1979/80.

States	No. of Appli- cations for 1978/79	No. of Admis- sions for 1978/79	% of Admis- sions over appli- cations for 1979/80	No. of Appli- cations for 1979/80	No. of Admis- sions for 1979/80	% of Admis- sions over Appli- cations for 1979/80
Anambra	15020	1709	11.4	15756	2053	13.0
Bauchi	771	143	18.5	853	228	26.7
Bendel	17136	2102	12.3	18161	2591	14.3
Benue	3728	518	13.9	3483	765	22.0
Borno	800	141	17.6	534	204	38.2
Cross River	6037	775	12.8	6138	930	15.2
Gongola	1238	144	11.6	855	291	34.0
Imo	19702	2086	10.6	20485	2334	11.4
Kaduna	1431	357	24.9	1191	508	42.7
Kano	814	196	24.1	708	329	46.5
Kwara	4958	867	17.5	5028	933	18.6
Lagos	2099	293	14.0	2525	349	13.8
Niger	746	125	16.8	719	229	31.8
Ogun	8247	1096	13.3	8090	1247	15.4
Ondo	10223	1265	12.4	9769	1444	14.8
Oyo	13358	1666	12.5	12938	1917	14.8
Plateau	1356	223	16.4	1664	428	25.7
Rivers	5033	547	10.9	4127	592	14.3
Sokoto	465	102	21.9	414	153	37.0
Foreign	1654	62	3.7	959	204	21.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>114816</b>	<b>14417</b>	<b>12.6</b>	<b>114329</b>	<b>17729</b>	<b>15.5</b>

Source: Adopted from National University Bulletin (NUC), 1980, Lagos, Nigeria, Vol. 11, No. 2, p. 60.

The tables below also illustrates the enrolment of school age children in elementary and secondary schools between 1973 and 1977.

Table IV.II

The Enrolment of School Age Children in Elementary Schools, 1973-77

Year	School Age Population	Enrolment	Percentage
1973	12,371,000	4,746,800	37.9
1975	12,938,000	5,542,300	42.3
1977	13,644,000	8,200,000	60.2

Source: UNESCO, Education in Africa since 1960. Adopted from Ukeje (Op.cit.).

From Table IV.II it can be seen that the enrolment of elementary school age children rose from 37.9 percent in 1973 to 60.2 percent in 1977.

The position in regard to secondary education is shown on Table IV.III below:

Table IV.III

The Enrolment at the Secondary Level, 1960-73

Year	M	Nigeria F	MF	Africa MF
1960	4.04	1.10	2.59	4.4
1965	4.86	1.98	3.86	7.3
1970	5.98	2.79	4.38	10.5
1971	6.48	3.01	4.74	10.5
1972	5.76	3.26	4.50	11.9
1973	7.94	3.82	5.87	11.9

Source: UNESCO; Education in Africa since 1960. Adopted from Ukeje (Ibid.).

The reasons for the dramatic increase in the social demand for education are many. But few will suffice for this study. One is the great awareness

among Nigerians of their basic human rights, and education is one of those rights. The second is the mounting educational aspirations of parents and their children. The third is the federal government's official policy of educational development as a necessary forerunner for overall national development and the corollary emphasis on the social-democratic necessity of increasing educational participation rates for all geo-political sections of the country. The fourth reason is the population explosion in Nigeria. The last census count put the country's unofficial population figure at 80 million, and some people believe that the actual total population figure for Nigeria is above 100 million. Whether the actual population figure is 80 or 100 million, it is large enough to act as a quantitative multiplier of the social demand for education.

In support of the above reasons, Philip Coombs (1985) cites a 1968 report which had observed:

Educational demand, feeding on itself, creates its own dynamic. A population that suddenly starts getting more education soon wants still more. An African child of illiterate parents who learns to read and do sums in primary school wants to go on to secondary school; and from there, he wants to go on to the university if he can make it. But even if he get no further than primary school, he will insist that his children do better. Thus the social demand for education is inexorably compounded, regardless of what may be happening to the economy and to the resources available to education (p. 34).

The other reason for the high social demand for education is the private rate of return. Psacharopoulos and Woodhall (Op.cit.) observed:

The private returns to primary education are by and large well in excess of 15 percent, and may be as high as 50 percent. In the case of secondary and high education, estimates of private rates of return are also high, usually, well in excess of 10 or 12 percent, and often as high as 30 or 40 percent (p. 119).

Obviously from the above observation, education will be perceived by the individual student and or family as a worthwhile profitable investment.

In furtherance of this view, Psacharopoulos and Woodhall argue that if individuals act rationally and choose between alternative investment opportunities on the basis of private return, then there is likely to be strong demand for education, particularly at the primary level, where private rates of return are usually very high. This could be the case at the secondary or university level because at these levels, rates of return often "exceed the probable returns on alternative investment opportunities" (Ibid.). Given the previous discussion on Udoji salary award and its aftermath, the social demand for education in Nigeria could not be greater. And the federal government response of free education at all levels should be understood in this perspective.

CHAPTER V

THE POLITICAL FACTORS THAT CONTRIBUTED TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT  
OF NIGERIA'S INTRODUCTION OF FREE EDUCATION AT ALL LEVELS

This chapter examines the political factors that contributed to the federal government's introduction of free education at all levels in Nigeria. The topical order of examination is as follows: 1) the search for national unity, 2) the military government's desire for political legitimacy, 3) party politics and the quest for electoral votes, and 4) regional inequality--North and South educational imbalance.

The Search for National Unity

Okechukwu Ikejiani (Op.cit., p. 193) commenting on the relationship between education and the promotion of national unity in Nigeria observed:

Nigeria is a country with diversity of culture and religion, and it has been shown that this is not a barrier to national greatness. It certainly has not been in the case of great nations such as the United States of America and Soviet Russia. One of the most effective instruments for accomplishing the enormous task of weaving a sturdy fabric out of Nigeria's diverse social, economic, religions, ethnic and political groups is . . . education. When students of diverse origins study and compete together in our universities, they will begin to appreciate that the only common denominator is intelligence. They will soon realize that no one race, no one religion or ethnic groups has a monopoly of brains.

It was noted in chapter two that development research specialists have for sometime now been emphasizing the contribution which education can make to promote national unity. Harbison et al. (1964), Adams (1971), Adams and Bjork (1975), Lowe et al. (1973), Becket and O'Connell (1977), Massialas (1977), and Bray and Cooper (1979) have tried to identify relationships between education and political stability particularly in the Third World countries. Although not all of the conclusions from the above sources are definitive, there exists, nevertheless, a strong belief in the abstraction that education makes it easy to mobilize a people for

national togetherness or solidarity.

In Nigeria, the federal government reaffirmed its faith in the role which education can play in the promotion of national unity as it identified national aims and objectives of education in the 1977 National Policy on Education. The aims and objectives as mentioned in chapter three are:

- 1) the inculcation of national consciousness and national unity;
- 2) the inculcation of the right type of values and attitudes for the survival of the individual and the Nigerian society;
- 3) the training of the mind in the understanding of the world; and
- 4) the acquisition of appropriate skills, abilities, and competences both mental and physical as equipment for the individual to live in and contribute to the development of his society.

This approach to building national unity--a move that assumed greater momentum only a few years after the civil war--has to do with the future political stability of Nigeria as a nation. Bray and Cooper (1979) summarized thus:

Nigeria, perhaps more than other African nations, faces the awesome task of forging a nation out of a diversity of cultures. The need is accentuated by the tragic civil war that engulfed Nigeria from 1967-1970. In the task of reconstruction and reconciliation that is now being undertaken, education plays a major role (p. 33).

Richard D'Aeth (1975) observed:

There is a central problem in many nations enclosing a variety of cultural and economic conditions and especially those with the federal constitutions, concerning the extent to which education should express the cultural diversity or aim at national unity (p. 102).

According to Adams and Bjork (Op.cit.) in the underdeveloped countries, the cultural, linguistic, and religious splits are often very serious and certainly debilitating to the development efforts. A proper development

effort demands a stable polity which in turn must have broad loyalty from nearly all sections of the society. How can education be used in Nigeria to garner broad loyalty from all sections of the society to foster national unity? Education can provide this loyalty through the process of political socialization. If the political orientation of the citizens, trained in a nation's schools, were congenial to the understanding and appreciation of all ethnic groups in the country, the society is likely to maintain its existence and continuity. During the civil war, there were some Nigerians who strongly believed that the University of Nigeria at Nsukka played a key role in the development of separatist thinking in the then Eastern Nigeria. To this end, the then Head of State, General Gowon made the following remark during the 1974 convocation ceremony at the University of Benin.

. . . the direction of educational policy should be at the national level, and requires heavy investment which is only feasible at national level. Only this can ensure that education is made available to all our peoples as soon as possible; that high and uniform standards are attained and maintained, that there is a uniform national educational policy, uniform conditions of service for teachers, and the prevention of the use of our educational institutions ever again for the purpose of sewing the seeds of disunity (Africa No. 42, 1975, p.32).

It was observed in chapter three that the 1977 National Policy on Education emphasized a student's mastery of one of the three major Nigerian languages other than the student's own ethnic-tongue. In a country that is linguistically diverse as Nigeria, no single language can assuage the communication problem, nor for political reasons, can it be possible to declare any one local language the official lingua franca. So English and the three major languages (Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba) remain the national languages, and by learning English and one of the three major languages at schools, Nigerians of different language groups will

become able to communicate with one another. The widespread provision of schooling and school facilities works to solve the communication problem.

In 1969, the Nigeria Educational Research Council was mandated by the federal government to carry out a nation-wide curriculum research and to make recommendations to all the then 12 States of the Federation. Two years later, the NERC came up with a set of guidelines on primary curriculum that clearly spelt out the need for national unity. On the curriculum syllabus was a course on social studies designed to "develop in children a positive attitude to citizenship and a desire in them to make a positive personal contribution to the creation of a united Nigeria (Nigeria Educational Research Council, 1973, p. 263). The nation-wide Grade II teachers' syllabus prepared in 1974 by the Federal Ministry of Education also contained similar provisions for the promotion of national unity.

The importance that the federal government attached to national unity is underlined in the national pledge coined in 1976. In all Nigerian schools at the beginning and end of each day, every student and pupil is required to recite:

I pledge to Nigeria my country,  
To be faithful, loyal and honest,  
To serve Nigeria with all my strength,  
To defend her unity,  
And uphold her honor and glory,  
So help me God.

In addition to the above, the Federal Ministry of Education began in the 1973-74 academic year to establish new federal colleges in each state. As was pointed out in chapter three, these colleges were originally proposed by the Ashby Commission as an avenue for the promotion of

Nigerian unity. The colleges are expected to draw students from the various ethnic groups in the country, and since the schools are residential, the expectation is that Nigerians from all over the country would come to learn to live together and to accept one another.

To achieve all these lofty ideals in the search for national unity, the federal government took a number of steps. The first step was to transfer the responsibility for higher education from the concurrent legislative list to the exclusive legislative list, while the responsibility for the primary and secondary levels was transferred from the residual list to the concurrent legislative list in the constitution. The immediate effect of this was the assumption by the federal government of powers and control over the primary and secondary education of Nigerians--a status prior to this point it did not have. This means that the federal government can intervene responsibly to bring any declared national education objective into reality. The second step was the decision to launch the Universal Free Primary Education scheme all over the country. As it may be recalled, UPE is not new in Nigeria for it had been tried in the former Western Region in 1955 and in the former Eastern Region in 1957. The thing new this time is that unlike the first experiment of UPE in certain sections of the country, primary education will be universally free all over the country.

The third measure was in the secondary and technical schools where the federal government abolished tuition and boarding fees. And finally at the university level, it declared in 1978 all forms of university education to be tuition-free. It can thus be seen that Nigeria's educational system is being counted on for the achievement and sustainance of Nigerian national unity. Hence the federal government's

policy of free education at all levels.

### The Desire For Political Legitimacy

In January 1966, a military coup overthrew the civilian government of Alhaji Tafawa Belewa. There was apparent nation-wide jubilation and ceremony that the weak and ineffective civilian government was thrown out. But not long after, it became obvious that there was the problem of government acceptability by all sections of the country. The military coup that overthrew the civilian government came to be perceived along ethnic lines. The overthrown civilian government was headed by a Northerner, while the soldiers who carried out the coup were Southerners, mainly the Ibos. Most Northerners began to believe that the coup was sectionally motivated. What seems to have made this belief obvious was that most of the people killed in the military coup came from the North and only a few people from the South lost their lives. With such understanding the new military government was regarded as illegitimate by most Northerners, but was given popular support in the South and among some Northerners. The military government was accepted with the hope that it would ultimately legitimize itself by its programmes of reforming the Nigerian society.

After the new military government settled down to work, it dramatized the change in the politics of the country by ordering former politicians to vacate government buildings and to return official cars assigned to them. It looked like the army regime was well on the road to the consolidation of its power, support and legitimacy. But in May 1966, the new military government headed by General Aguiyi Ironsi promulgated Decrees 33 and 34. Decree 33 abolished all eighty-one political associations and twenty-six tribal and cultural associations for a period of three years. Decree 34

formally annulled the federal structure of Nigeria and started the process to a unitary form of government for Nigeria. Both federal and regional public services were unified to form the National Public Service and the top positions in the public service were to be centrally controlled (Public Order Decree 1966, No. 33, 34, Official Gazette, Vol. 53, No. 51, Federal Republic of Nigeria).

The unification decree did not sit well with the Northern people, particularly the unification of the public service. It was feared by the Northerners that they would be disadvantaged in a unified public service given that the level of education in the North was generally lower than the other parts of Nigeria. By this development, the North withheld any form of legitimacy it had accorded the military regime of General Ironsi, lending credence to Lipset's (1960) theory that if at any time the status of major conservative groups is threatened, or if access to politics is denied to emerging groups at crucial periods, the system's legitimacy will remain in question (p. 80). This they demonstrated in the Northern coup which occurred on July 29, 1966. The coup was directed against the Ibos--the ethnic group from which General Ironsi hailed. The Northern coup succeeded in dislodging the Ibo-led military government of General Ironsi, and after a few days of confusion and uncertainty, Northern soldiers gained control of the federal capital of Lagos and took over the federal government. The Northern coup was not successful at Enugu the capital of Eastern Region and the home base of the Ibo ethnic group. Because the coup failed in the East, Colonel Ojukwu remained in political control of the Eastern parts of the country. From this position, he and the people of the region challenged the authority and legitimacy of the new regime led by Colonel Yakubu Gowon in Lagos. Colonel Gowon did not have the support of the Eastern Region

and as far as the region was concerned, Gowon was seen as an imposter who had no legitimacy over it. From this point on, the country began to drift toward disintegration. Gowon applied a few measures with the hope that they would stem the tide of disintegration as the military governor and the people of Eastern Nigeria refused to recognize Colonel Gowon's legitimacy to rule or govern them. None of these measures could placate the Eastern Region. There were more negotiations and meetings and jugglings for an accommodation of each other's viewpoints and fears; all came to no avail. It was at this stage that Colonel Ojukwu delivered an emotional speech on May 26, 1967; in a nation-wide broadcast, Colonel Ojukwu named the federal government the "Gowon junta" and declared:

I refuse to recognize Gowon for reasons which I have at Aburi made known . . . To recognize him would mean to accept the authority of a rebel in the Army, and that would be bad for discipline (Address by Colonel Ojukwu to the joint meeting of the Advisory Committee of Chiefs and Elders and the Consultative Assembly, 26 May, 1967 in S. K. Panter-Bricks, 1970, p. 216).

After the above nation-wide broadcast, the new federal government of Colonel Gowon began to lack any serious support from the West regions of the country (West and Mid-West Regions). This was revealed in Chief Awolowo's address to the so-called "Yoruba Leaders of Thought" in May 1967 when he stated:

I consider it my duty to Yoruba people and to Nigerians in general to place four imperatives two of categorical, and two conditional . . . (3) If the Eastern Region is allowed by acts of omission or commission to secede from or opt out of Nigeria then Western Nigeria and Lagos must also stay out of the Federation (Ibid., p. 200, also in Dare, 1975, p. 104).

To cut short the ugly story about this dark period in the history of Nigerian Federation, a civil war broke out in July 1967; the Eastern Region had declared itself the Republic of Biafra on May 30, 1967.

The war became known as the "Biafran War." After almost three years of

horrible and gruesome carnage, the civil war ended with the capitulation of Biafra and the reintegration of the former Eastern Region into the Nigerian Federation. And Colonel Ojukwu went into voluntary exile. With the end of the civil war and the reintegration of Biafra into the Nigerian Federation Gowon began the process of acquiring for the military government the nation-wide legitimacy that it had lacked since it came to power in 1966. In this, the military government of Gowon and others after him sought refuge in the acceptance of education (among other things) as the instrument par excellence for national development.

To this point, the concept of legitimacy has featured prominently; what is it and why is it important for a government to possess it? According to Lipset (1960), the desire for legitimacy or popular acceptance is a phenomenon that is common to all forms of government. This is because legitimacy entails the capacity of the political leadership to engender and maintain the acceptance that the existing political apparatus is the most appropriate for the country (see also Dare, *Op.cit.*, p. 96). Robert Dahl (1970) in Dare (*Ibid.*, p. 95) argues that a government is said to be legitimate if the people to whom its orders are directed believe that the structure, procedures, acts, decisions, policies, officials or leaders of government possess the quality of rightness, propriety or moral goodness--the right in short to make binding rules. Legitimacy is the right to exercise the authority given to a government, or an individual by virtue of the office or position on behalf of those governed. Legitimate authority here implies the suspension of judgement by the governed as a function of group norms, especially if that power is exercised within certain limits and according to certain rules. Therefore legitimacy exists when there is a consciousness

on the part of the government that it has a right to rule and when this right is recognized and accepted by a majority of the governed. It is this belief by those who are being ruled that their leaders have a right to rule that constitutes "the foundation of legitimacy" (Dare, Ibid.).

According to Dare (Ibid.) legitimacy is a dynamic process; a regime or government that came to office with nation-wide popularity could in the end become unpopular due to inefficient and ineffective public policies. In the same light, an unwanted and unpopular regime could end up with a very positive image and legitimacy if it puts in place effective and efficient public policies. So a regime can build up support through the policy process. But a regime that came to power through a coup or military take-over would be in greater need of popular and effective public policies in order to compensate for the initial stigma of illegitimacy. Harris Monchar (1981, p. 2) argues that tinkering with the structure of the national educational system is one means to popular and effective public policies and the achievement of legitimacy. This is because education is generally thought of as one of the most visible of governmental operations. Providing education thus seems to function as a safety valve and this fact is recognized by governments (Ibid.). So "the dynamic aspects of the relationship between educational structure and political instability would predict," in the case of the Nigerian military regime's desire for legitimacy, that "increased political instability would lead to a faster rate of increase in the provision of educational services" nation-wide (Ibid.). This prediction is based upon the expectation that a military government that violated some fundamental democratic process in the bid to acquire power "will try to maintain its legitimacy through the easiest means available to" it (Ibid., see

also Abernethy, Op.cit.). As Nwagwu (1978, p. 150) noted, in Nigeria, promising or providing the citizens free education has always yielded quick political gains to political parties and leaders, and the military regime did not want to be an exception.

The importance of using education as a major policy instrument in the quest for legitimacy by the federal military government is underlined by the fact that:

. . . the percentage of school age children in school and increase in school enrolment have been used as indices of the ability of a government to provide welfare services for the people. To the millions of illiterate and poor parents, providing free education for their children is a loud indicator to them that opportunities are being opened up so that through the acquisition of education their children can compete successfully with sons of chiefs and sons of the rich for government and white-collar jobs. Thus, apart from the multiple effects of knowledge on society, people see the indices of educational expansion and progress as being part of the definition of national modernization and development. Producing attractive public education policies which are politically beneficial to national leaders has engaged the attention of all Nigerian governments right from pre-independence days to the military regimes of the past 12 years (Ibid.).

As it may be recalled in chapter one, p. 20, Abernethy (1969) has expressed the opinion that one must view the policy of free education scheme as a classic example of welfare politics because, according to him, welfare politics is a central feature of Nigerian life.

As unflattering as Abernethy's remarks might be to the image of Nigeria, it is difficult to challenge those views as illustrated in the following observation by Nwagwu:

One dares to say that educational policy formulation under the military regimes in Nigeria has been inconsistent and often contradictory. The case of the introduction of free universal primary education scheme in 1976 clearly demonstrates the point. A Commission was set up by the Military Government to advise it on how to implement the policy of UPE. The Commission, after a detailed study of the issues and problems involved, recommended that free universal primary education in Nigeria should be launched in 1979 and that an installment approach would best enable the Government to tackle such problems as recruitment and training of teachers. But

the scheduling did not please the military leaders who had planned to hand over the government to civilian parliament in 1979. The launching of the UPE Scheme was seen as one of the greatest achievements of the present military regime and it could not accept to take the trouble of preparing for the scheme and then leave the glory and reward of its implementation to the civilian government. Therefore it rejected the recommendation and launched the scheme in September 1976. In this it had the fortune of billions of naira from increased petroleum values and production to help it start the free universal primary education scheme. The scheme is planned to provide compulsory primary schooling from September 1979 (Ibid., p. 154).

The military government's dire need of legitimacy and its eagerness to use national educational structures as a proxy indicator of its achievements made it imperative to reject the findings and recommendations of its own appointed commission on the feasibility of introducing free universal education in Nigeria. The timely warning which was contained in the Somade commission report that a scheme of free education would require "careful planning and guidance, if it is not to result in negative and disastrous consequences on the economy, the political and social systems of the country" (Taiwo, 1980, p. 173) but ignored by the government has created lots of problems in the Nigerian educational system. Some of those problems will be discussed in chapter seven. So, the crisis of legitimacy within the military governments of Nigeria to this day contributed to its adoption of the national educational system as one means to maintain legitimacy. Hence its introduction of free education at all levels.

#### Party Politics of Education

There is a very close relationship between politics and education in any society. Education creates political awareness in the minds of leaders and politicians, and political leaders shoulder the responsibility for the development and progress of education. The inseparable

relationship between politics and education is underlined in the fact that "state constitutions always include education as one of their priorities." Legislative branches of governments take keen interest in providing substantial amounts of money for upkeep of educational institutions. At national, state and local levels of government, there are Departments of Education. Still in some countries such as Canada, there are local boards of education whose functions include the disbursement of funds allocated by national or state government, and the management of the those funds they collect themselves to support local educational needs.

Education is sensitive to the politics of any nation. According to Coleman (Op.cit., p. 523) the potentialities and products of education can easily be manipulated to control and guide change in any society. The history of the relationship between politics and education in Nigeria predates the colonial era. According to Mbonu (1979, p. 1104) in pre-colonial Nigeria, family heads, village and town chiefs, and tribal paramount chiefs or kings manipulated politics, while parents and elders acted as instructors to their children and younger ones. In modern Nigeria, the importance and interrelationship between politics and education can be traced to the era of colonialism when European pattern of politics and education were introduced. As was noted in chapter three, the British colonial administration controlled and directed both politics and education in Nigeria from 1862 to 1960.

But after 1945 Nigerians awakened to the urge of politics and popular education. The catalysts for this change were the end of the 2nd World War and the demobilization of soldiers who returned home after serving in many parts of the world and experienced the system of democratic

self-government in those areas. The other was the many Nigerians who had studied in Europe and North America and choose to return home shortly after the 2nd World War. "These enlightened Nigerians brought Nigeria a political and educational renaissance" (Ibid.). These returned enlightened Nigerians formed nationalist parties which championed the demand for self-rule. The nationalist political activities led to the MacPherson Constitution of 1951 which gave considerable autonomy and self--rule to the three Regions of East, West and North as the country was geographically divided then. Each region was given absolute responsibility for educational control and expansion within its jurisdiction. The date for national independence had been set for 1960 and each regional government intensified educational expansion, bearing in mind that when the British handed over the reigns of government to Nigerians, there would be a scramble for the posts vacated by the British administrators in the civil service, police and army. Regions that have the necessary manpower would be in a position to control the federal government civil service and this in all probability will enhance the position of the political party in power since political parties were regionally based, and the nature of politics in Nigeria makes it difficult to isolate the civil service from political influence and control (Nwagu, 1978, p. 151).

In Nigeria, the politics of free education presents an intriguing perspective. Parents regard access to education as a basic and fundamental obligation which their government owes to their children. And as was noted earlier, promising or providing free education to all is a very important political weapon for winning electoral votes. The two political parties in Southern Nigeria in the 1950's (the National

Council of Nigeria and the Camerouns-NCNC, and the Action Group-A.G.) rode into political power on the electioneering platform of educational expansion at all levels. So after the new legislators settled down for government business, it became obvious that the party politics of education was high on their political agenda. This fact is borne out by the following development. In the Western region controlled by the Action Group political party, the slogan became "massive expansion of educational facilities, particularly at the primary level." Shortly after the legislature had assembled for its first budget session in 1952, the leader of the Action Group party, the late Chief Obafemi Awolowo enunciated the principle which his party was to follow:

As far as possible expenditure on services which tend to the welfare, and health and education of the people should be increased at the expense of any other expenditure that does not answer to the same test (in Awo, P. 263 cited in Abernethy, Op.cit., p. 127).

At the same time, Awolowo's new Minister of Education Chief S.O. Awokoya (who before his death more than a year ago was a professor of Educational Planning at the university of Ife, now renamed Obafemi Awolowo University in honor of the late Chief Awolowo) declared his often quoted dictum that "educational development should be regarded as a national emergency, second only to war, and that it must-move with the momentum of a revolution" (Western Region, 1952, Debates, pp. 463-70, see also, Abernethy Ibid.; Nwagwu, Op.cit.). Chief Awokoya proposed that a programme of free, universal and compulsory education (UPE) be introduced in the Western Region before January 1955. In January 1955, the first experiment in universal free primary education started in Western Region. Chief Awokoya described the education bill as "the greatest piece of social legislation that has ever been made in the country" (Western Region, 1955, Parliamentary Debates, 20th December 1954

(Ibadan) cited in Nwagwu, Ibid., p. 152). As part of the party politics of education orchestrated to guarantee future electoral votes, the launching and registration of pupils were celebrated in Ibadan (capital of Western Region) with a parade of school children and speeches by Chief Awolowo and Awokoya. The government of Awolowo printed a commemorative brochure for the occasion calling it "the beginning in this country of a social revolution" and repeated Chief Awokoya's previous description of universal primary education as "a gilt-edged security against the hazards and difficulties of the coming years" (Western Region, UPE (1955), p. 2 cited in Abernethy, Ibid., p. 128).

The Western Region was not alone in this competitive game of party politics of education in Nigeria. In 1953, the Eastern Region Minister of Education, Mr. R. I. Uzoma presented two white papers in which the education policy of his government was enunciated. Once again the universal primary education took the centre stage (Eastern Region, Policy for Education (1953); Eastern Region, Policy for the Introduction of UPE (1953) cited in Abernethy, Ibid.). The Eastern Region free primary education was scheduled to start in January 1957 on condition that local government bodies contributed 45 percent of the cost. As postulated by Nwagwu (Ibid.) this proviso was an indirect admission that the Eastern Regional Government did not have the money to finance UPE. Nevertheless, the competition and rivalry for votes between the Action Group Party controlled government of the Western Region and the NCNC Party controlled government of Eastern Region were strong enough to think or do otherwise. To account for a successful take-off of the UPE scheme, the Eastern Region government "planned to double its annual output of teachers from 1300 to 2500. The Western Region had made similar plans" (Ibid.).

Secondary schools in both regions were expanded, and some new ones were built in order to accommodate the products of the universal primary education scheme.

In January 1957, the Eastern Region introduced UPE by abolishing all primary school fees. As in the case of the Western Region two years earlier, the Eastern Region politicians celebrated the occasion with great fanfare and publicity. An official publication described it as "without dispute, the most momentous scheme ever to be undertaken to date by this or any other Government of Eastern Region" (Eastern Region, Education and UPE (1957), p. 1 in Abernethy, *Ibid.*). One member of the Eastern House of Assembly commented:

On the question of Universal Primary Education, we should be grateful to this Government for their tremendous efforts. Nobody, Sir, . . . can challenge that in quality or in quantity any Government in the Federation can beat our Free Primary Education Scheme . . . We are hoping, Sir, that the day will not be far distant when it will be possible for the people of the Western Region to enjoy the quality of education we have given to our people (Michael Ogon, in Eastern Region, Debates, 1957, pp. 42-42: in Abernethy, *Ibid.*).

According to Nwagwu, there was ample evidence to the inadequacy of the arrangements for free education in both regions. There was shortage of classrooms, equipment and teachers; and more pupils turned out in both regions than was expected to benefit from the free education scheme. The coffers of both region were almost drained in order to introduce and sustain free education programme. But as Nwagwu aptly noted:

It was a political decision and there was no going back. The politicians made much of the scheme and the people hailed it as the greatest welfare service provided by any government in Nigeria. The politicians knew how enthusiastic the people [are] over education. They also knew that Federal elections would be held in 1959 to choose which political party would govern Nigeria when it gained independence in 1960 (p. 152).

Nwagwu's thesis is given credence by this excerpt from the Lagos Daily Service:

What we therefore say is this. We want to appoint an African Minister of Education, give him £294,980, the vote of the Department for the financial year 1950-51, and see whether he cannot open more government elementary schools in five years. If he cannot, we vote him out and put another man in his place (O. A. Akitoye, 1950, in Abernethy, Op.cit., p. 129).

The party politics of education continued on till 1966 when the military overthrew the civilian government. It was revealed in the previous section that from 1966-1979, not even the military government could be innumed from the politics of using education to gain popular support. The thirteen years of military rule was replete with the politics of education as a means of legitimacy.

During the brief interim in military rule from 1979 to 1983, the party politics of education rose to its highest crescendo in Nigeria. One subject on which there was agreement by the four major political parties was education. The Unity Party of Nigeria once again headed by Chief Awolowo proposed free education at all levels as one of the main planks in its political programme for Nigeria, during the 1979 federal elections. And following victory in five of the then nineteen states (Oyo, Ondo, Ogun, Lagos, and Bendel States) the Unity Party of Nigeria set about implementing the policy of free education at all levels. Tuition and all forms of fees were abolished, students were supplied with free books, and those who had paid fees before the return to civilian administration in October 1979 had their fees refunded (West Africa, 1980, p. 1820). The National Party of Nigeria under the leadership of Alhaji Shehu Shagari promised to "eradicate illiteracy throughout Nigeria and to promote learning, science and culture." The National Party also set about implementing its policy of eradication of illiteracy after it won the election and formed the first civilian government in thirteen years. The NPN controlled federal government

expanded secondary schools, built new "unity schools," and directed each school to enrol 1000 students from each of the then nineteen states who would "live together, learn and work together to enable them to understand themselves" and the country more (Ibid., p. 1821).

The Nigerian People's Party and the Great Nigerian People's Party headed by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe and Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim respectively, also proposed to "work toward free and high-quality education at all levels" (West Africa, 1978, p. 20-27). Urwick (Op.cit., p. 325) provides an account of his observation of party politics of education in one of the states in Northern Nigeria:

The episode begins with the return of Nigeria to civilian rule in September 1979. The party which came to power in the state had faced strong electoral opposition. Although it had gained four-fifths of the seats in the state house of assembly, it appears to have been anxious to consolidate its victory by tangible demonstrations of "progress." The rather unusual situation which it inherited in secondary education was one area in which it found opportunities for doing so.

In 1979 the length of primary schooling in the state was reduced, in order to conform with national policy, from 7 to 6 years, and there was a "double output" of primary-school leavers. This posed a special problem for admissions to the secondary level, which the outgoing military government had sought to remedy by arranging the opening of 15 new secondary-level schools and the expansion of various existing schools in September 1979. These arrangements enabled the state to achieve a rate of transition from primary to secondary level of 36 percent, only 6 percent below the 1978 level. There was also a reasonable expectation that some more of the primary leavers of 1979 could be admitted to the secondary level a year later, without further expansion of its capacity. The new civilian rulers, however, professed to be dissatisfied with these arrangements and rushed to open an additional 28 new schools in January 1980, in the middle of the academic year. The announcement of the list of new schools and their locations was made within 2 months of their assumption of office.

All these shrewd and populist party politics of education were designed to win the peoples' support and more votes in future general elections. In a country where success in attaining power, wealth, and prestige is determined by your educational attainment, political parties,

leaders and power-seekers cannot be wrong in using the promise and or provision of free education at all levels to achieve their goals.

Regional Inequality--The North/South Educational Imbalance

In Nigeria, education is a highly politicized issue. This is because of the perceived role of education in the allocation of social, economic and political opportunity in the society. The overlapping relationship between a country's educational structure and the social, economic and political dynamics of the society was noted by both Durkheim and Weber more than 70 years ago. Today the situation has not changed. The political issue as represented by the structure of the national education system is reflected in the struggle by the competing groups within the Nigerian society for economic, political and social advantage. And there are wide variations in the availability of economic, political, and social advantages between the Northern and Southern parts of the country, and between ethnic groups. This was caused by the uneven educational structure in the country. There is nothing particular about either region or the ethnic groups mentally to account for the variations; rather they reflect differential colonial government development as measured by the provision of schooling, and employment opportunities. This in turn affects the ability of parents to pay school fees for their children, to build and run schools on their own, and the level of demand for schooling among the ethnic population that is disadvantaged.

The above situation contributed to the creation of the often repeated yawning gap in educational standards between the Northern and the Southern States of Nigeria. In 1972, the then Federal Commissioner for

Education, Mr. A. Y. Eke alluded to the educational imbalance between the two areas of Nigeria in these terms:

. . . so wide is the gap that roughly speaking, for every child in a primary school in the Northern states there are four in the Southern states; for every boy or girl in a secondary school in the North there are five in the South. And for every student in a post-secondary school in the North, there are six in the South (Africa No. 42, p. 31).

Richard D'Aeth (Op.cit., p. 101) had this to say about the educational imbalance:

The pyramid of the system is tall and narrow at the top; or to be more precise, there is a broad based pyramid for the South, and one hardly more than a tenth of the breadth for the North, the latter having a very slender apex indeed. The aim of universal education is to expand the pyramid of the North to make it nearly equivalent to the South.

The rippling effect of the educational imbalance between the Northern and Southern States, given the population of the Northern States which is two and half-times that of the South, is the very low national enrolment ratios. In 1970 for instance, it was reported that one in every three children of school age was in primary school and one in every twenty-five children was in secondary school (Ibid.). In addition to this was the high drop out rate in the primary school in the various areas of Nigeria.

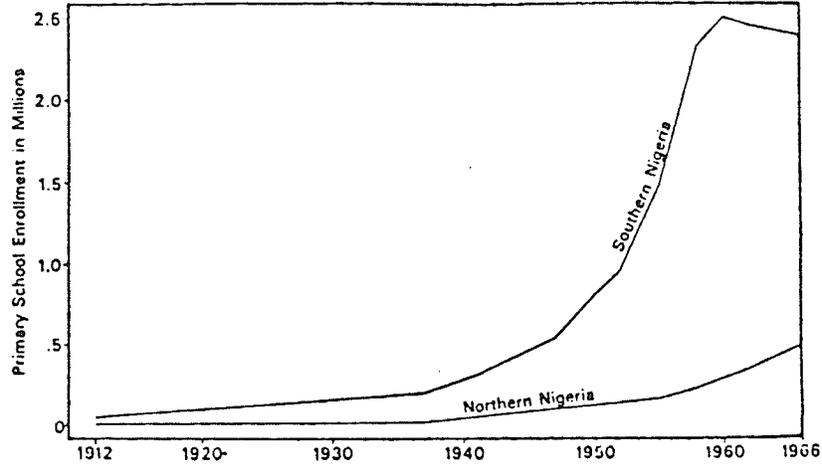
These defects in the Nigerian educational system have always been a source of political irritation. There is often for instance, the fear of Southern domination of the North in the federal civil service appointments, and the fear of ethnic domination by the educationally advanced groups. These fears have resulted into open armed conflict and political instability as was noted in earlier sections. The intensity of this fear was clearly illustrated by the former Premier and leader of Northern Nigeria, the late Sir Ahmadu Bello in his autobiography.

As things were at that time (that was in the early 1950's) if the gates of the departments were to be opened the Southern Regions had a huge pool from which they could find suitable people while we had hardly anyone. In the resulting scramble it would, we were convinced, be inevitable that the Southern applicants would get all the posts available. In these circumstances, the Northerners' chance of getting anywhere in the government service would be exactly nil . . . If the British administration had failed to give us the even development that we deserved and for which we craved so much, and they were on the whole a fair administration, what had we to hope from an African administration, probably in the hands of a hostile party? The answer to our minds was quite simply just nothing, beyond a little window dressing (Ahmadu Bello, 1962, pp. 110-111).

Thus, the different rate of educational development between the North and the South in particular, and amongst the various ethnic groups in general, produced the much-discussed educational imbalance in the national educational structure, and contributed significantly to the tension between the two main regions of the Northern and Southern Nigeria. The seriousness of this imbalance was noted by B. J. Dudley (1968, p. 10) when he remarked that by 1960, when Nigeria became independent and the public service was Nigerianized, the Northern Region had only about one percent representation in the entire federal public service. Figure V.I provides an example of a graphical illustration of the educational imbalance at the primary school enrolment level between 1912-1925.

According to Blakemore and Cooksey (1980), ethnic prejudices and conflicts reflect unequal access to resources, including education. And for political reasons, governments often try to bridge ethnic and regional schooling inequalities. So in 1972 the then Head of State, General Gowon expressed the belief that a maximum emphasis on educational expansion was the necessary strategy for correcting the problematic educational imbalance between the various ethnic groups, and between the North and South in particular (West Africa, March 25, 1974, pp. 325-26 cited in James Urwick, 1983, p. 332). The implication in General Gowon's

Figure V.I



Primary School Enrolment, 1912-1925.

(This graph was compiled from Annual Reports of the Departments of Education of the Regional and Federal Governments.)

Source: Adopted from D. Abernethy, The Political Dilemma of Popular Education (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1969), p. 263.

belief is that since schooling has always been a source of progress in most societies, educational expansion expressed in government programmes like the universal primary education, would bring about interregional educational equality and reduce political instability. In short, it is an expression of the overriding priority given to educational expansion scheme by the Nigerian government and its "belief that this is essential to incorporate the North into the modern Nigerian nation, and to preserve the unity of the country" (D'Aeth, Op.cit., p. 100).

So, it seems reasonable (Monchar, Op.cit., p. 1) to argue that the political issue as represented by the structure of the national education system, should be a covariant in the struggle by competing ethnic groups within the society for economic, political and social advantage. This covariance is seen as a dynamic relationship and not a static one because ethnic and regional imbalance in national educational structure and the attendant political instability can be altered as a result of government manipulations. This prediction is based upon the assumption of the Federal Nigerian Government that the progressive nature of education is consequential to interregional and intra ethnic equality of opportunities. Hence the federal government introduction of free education at all levels in Nigeria.

CHAPTER VI

THE ECONOMIC FACTORS THAT CONTRIBUTED TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT  
OF NIGERIA'S INTRODUCTION OF FREE EDUCATION AT ALL LEVELS

Leaders of young nations, striving to overcome the inertia of colonialism or of illiteracy, rank the development of human resources through education as their most crucial problem. Human resources of the newly developing nations must be upgraded through investment in education before there can be any substantial rise in the gross national product, any significant improvement in the nation's health or any assurance that citizens' behaviour will be informed and responsible in social and political matters. Even in the more advanced nations, the significance of the role assigned to education in contributing to national goals is on the increase, as measured by the percent of gross national product allotted to education. This recognition of the sine qua non role of education is one of the most significant events of our time. - Paul Hanna

This chapter deals primarily with Nigeria's need for manpower development in the national educational system. The importance of manpower as an aspect of the economics of education is not in dispute. Underlying much of the analysis of education as an investment for development is the fact that returns are presumed to be derived from the earnings of educated manpower. Because of this, educational development in most countries is often linked in varying degrees with economic development and the manpower requirement of the economy. A country's need for education to a large extent depends on the criteria selected or goals to be accomplished. The analysis of the need for education therefore involves many economic and non-economic factors. Some of the non-economic factors have been discussed in the previous sections.

Of all the economic factors involved in the development of education in Nigeria, manpower requirement and the financial conditions of the country have been often emphasized in the national development plans as the prime indicators of educational needs. This is largely for practical reasons because they enable quantitative forecasts in revenue projections to be made and thus serve as a planning framework. The other

area of emphasis has been on the indigenous control of the local economy. Therefore the focus of this chapter is on educated manpower needs, financial considerations, and indigenous control of the economy.

#### Educated Manpower Needs

The development of Nigeria's economy and the sustained increase in its rate of growth are dependent to a large extent on the availability or supply of educated manpower, that is, skilled and trained workers. In order to achieve this, it becomes necessary to direct the national education system and all training institutions towards the manpower requirements of the nation's economy. The premium placed on education for the supply of educated manpower and the development of the nation's economy can be found in official government policy statements, comments from individual prominent Nigerians, and from the national development plans.

The Ashby Commission on Post-Secondary and Higher Education in Nigeria in 1959 began the call for investment in education. Among other things, the commission's report stated:

Millions of the people who will live in this Nigeria in 1980 are already born. Under the present educational system more than half of them will never go to school. Like people elsewhere, their talents will vary from dullness to genius. Somehow, before 1980, as many talented children as possible must be discovered and educated if this vision of Nigeria is to be turned into reality. It will cost large sums of money. The Nigerian people will have to forego other things they want so that every available penny is invested in education. Even this will not be enough (in Nwankwo, Op.cit., p. 31).

And since the above statement, the Nigerian government and the people of Nigeria have been investing in education. The Ashby report, "Investment in Education" forecasted Nigeria's educated manpower need up to 1980. It presented a vision of Nigeria in the 1980 as a nation of about 50 million

people, a very strong African nation, with a voice that other African and world community members would hear and listen to, and a country that should take its rightful place in the community of the technologically developed nations. Nigeria has to invest in education in order to produce her experts and skilled administrators as she is in the process of building factories and power stations and dams, and express highways and flyover bridges; otherwise there will not be enough educated and trained men and women to manage them.

Ashby report's recommendation to invest in education for the production of the nation's manpower became profound in the 1960s when at independence, the number of persons in the high-level manpower category both senior and intermediate of the Nigerian labour force was about 30,000. This was less than one-tenth of one percent of the population, and one-third of these were expatriates. High-level manpower production targets between 1960 and 1970 to provide for additional needs and replacements of dead and retired workers totalled 85,900 (Ogundimu, 1980, P. 287). Such was the case despite the increases in school enrolments at this period. But the educational base was relatively small. As reported by Ogundimu (Ibid.), by 1966 the primary school enrolment ratio for the country was 30 percent of eligible age groups; the ratio of the secondary school level was about 3 percent. There was a slight increase in both levels by 1971. The ratio of enrolment at each of the levels was 33 percent and 6.3 percent of eligible age groups. This state of the nation's educational affairs was unacceptable to a government that regarded the mass education of a largely illiterate society as the solution to the country's educated manpower needs.

Because of the above situation, the Federal Nigerian Government

sought in the second National Development Plan to: (a) raise the primary school enrolment ratio to a minimum of 50 percent of eligible children in the 1970's; (b) raise the secondary school enrolment to a minimum of 25 percent of eligible students before 1980; and (c) promote development in the universities to ensure the availability of appropriate and proportionate high-level manpower that the country needs to develop and service its economy. To quote the Plan itself:

. . . Manpower development may entail the rapid expansion of primary school education, while in another area it may mean concentration on secondary and technical education, and yet in another, it may involve the rationalization of university education. The basic objective in all three cases is . . . to upgrade the level of available manpower for self-fulfilment and full employment (Federal Government of Nigeria, Second National Development Plan, 1970-74, p. 35).

It has to be recalled that in 1960, one-third of Nigeria's high-level manpower supply was imported and that educational manpower requirements over the next decade were of the order of 85,900 (Ibid.). So there was the need to beef-up the educated manpower supply. But in spite of the increase in effort to produce more Nigerians with the necessary educated manpower knowledge, the situations in 1977 showed a more frustrating and disquieting picture to Nigerian policy makers. There were shortages of manpower in almost every facet of planned developments. For instance, the National Science and Technology Agency had estimated that Nigeria was in need of about 140,000 senior scientists and technicians, and at least twice the same number in the middle level category in order to meet the technological requirement of the country. But the actual supply of senior scientists and technicians for the country in 1977 was a mere 25,000, and very much less at the middle-level manpower (West Africa, June, 1977, p. 1287; see also Ogundimu Op.cit.).

According to Pandit (1982), a nation-wide manpower "survey conducted by NMB in 1977 revealed that trained manpower in the whole country was 665 thousands. Due to the shortages of qualified manpower, 152 thousand vacancies remained unfilled. The shortage rate was of the order of 18.9 percent. The number of non-Nigerians then employed was of the order of 14.9 thousand. In other words, if the then existing vacancies and positions filled by non-Nigerians were related to the total number of positions in the country, the shortage rate increased to 25.5 percent" (in Pandit, 1988, p. 117). An earlier survey done in 1972 had shown that 7 percent of advertised vacancies for doctors were not filled; 20 percent for pharmacists were not taken; 5 percent for all categories of engineers; and 9 percent for school teachers. For accountants, architects, townplanners, surveyors, research and production chemists the figure was 14 percent and at the intermediate level of general research assistants it stood at 23 percent (African Development, March 1972 cited in Arnold 1977, p. 113). Given these statistics, any development plan is bound to flounder.

These appalling statistics in the manpower requirement of the country prompted the Federal Nigerian government to establish more universities with faculties of science and technology, colleges of technology, and polytechnics for a long-term solution to the high level and intermediate level manpower needs of the country. In addition to this, it directed that admission to the universities be on a ratio of 60:40 in favor of science courses. As a short-term solution, the government entered into bilateral agreements with foreign countries such as the U.S.A., Soviet Union, Canada, Britain, France, Italy and Yugoslavia for a massive and accelerated training of thousands of Nigerians in these countries. This

marked the beginning of the "crash exchange programme" between Nigeria and Canada through which this university (the University of Manitoba), and its Faculty of Education have trained or is supposed to have trained tens of Nigerians in the vocational and technical education field for the intermediate level manpower requirement of the country.

The alternative to the expansion of educational facilities and programmes in Nigeria is the importation of exorbitant and costly labour from abroad. And the Nigerian government has never hesitated to go this route in its striving for technological and economic breakthrough.

Arnold (1977, p. 103) argues that:

Nigeria will snap up voraciously anyone with training, most especially at the middle and managerial levels. To turn out the people it needs, Nigeria first has to create the solid foundations of an educational system at the (three traditional levels of] primary, secondary, and [university education].

The alternative of exorbitant and costly importation of the manpower needs of the country when considered justifies local educational investment and expansion of educational facilities and programmes at home. For instance, the Nigerian Daily Times reported in 1978 that it costs about N72,498 annually to recruit an expatriate executive from Britain to work in Nigeria while the Nigerian counterpart with equal credentials and experience would be likely paid about N14,000 per annum, being the maximum salary payable then in the public sector and 19.32 percent of the expatriate's salary (Nigerian Daily Times, February 7, 1978, p. 11). Given that the Nigerian executive would receive an extra N4,000 per annum as fringe benefits bringing his/her remuneration to N18,000, it is still a mere 25 percent of the cost of the expatriate executive labour (see also Ogundimu, Op.cit., p. 288).

The 1975-80 Development Plan was designed to address some of the

manpower shortages at the intermediate level. It has to be recalled that the UPE was introduced in this plan period, in 1976 to be specific. There were approximately 4.6 million children in 1975, the base year of the development plan. And it estimated that about 2.5 million more children would join the primary school enrolment in 1976 because of UPE. It was also further projected that by 1981 that the primary school enrolment figure would climb to an awesome figure of 18 million because all children between the ages of 6 and 11 would qualify for primary education when the UPE come to full circle (see Arnold Op.cit., p. 105-1-7, see also Wilson, Op.cit., p. 78). The degree of manpower needed for successful implementation and sustenance of the UPE was enormous. To try to solve this problem the 1975-80 Plan stated:

It is estimated that a total of 281,190 additional teachers will be required by 1982. The corresponding figure for 1976, the beginning year of the UPE scheme, is about 60,000 teachers. These figures are based on assumed teacher/pupil ratio of about 1:35. In addition, about 8,155 additional teacher educators will be required during the Plan period based on an assumed teacher/trainee ratio of 1:20 . . . However, [the] Government realized that to successfully inaugurate the UPE programme in 1976, some action was immediately desirable. Consequently, an emergency training of teachers commenced with the 1974 school year, designed to produce a total of about 97,000 additional teachers by 1976. In operational terms, a total of 43,000 additional trainees were expected to be admitted to the 156 existing teacher training institutions in the country with an overall capacity of 53,000 student trainees. The institutions as a major cost-saving will operate on a double-session basis. This device notwithstanding, the emergency teacher training scheme calls for major expansion programmes to the physical facilities in these institutions, notably in dormitory space, reading halls, science laboratories, libraries, dining hall/kitchens, etc. A 10 percent contingency allowance was made for new classrooms, but in addition a total of sixty-two new schools enrolling 1,000 trainees each are also considered immediately desirable. It has been estimated that a total capital expenditure of N51.04 million will be required for the expansion of the existing 156 institutions for 1974-75 alone, and that another sum of N170.50 million will be required for the construction of the 62 new teacher training colleges to be built (p. 251, see also Wilson, Ibid.).

Table VI.I indicates by order of qualification and state (in the then 12

states of Nigeria) the number of teachers in Nigeria in 1970 serving a primary school enrolment of 3,515,827. According to Wilson (Ibid.) there were, taken together, 103,652, an overall ratio of 1:34. But 33,985 teachers had below the minimum Grade 3 qualifications, meaning that they lacked professional training and may have gone through the primary Grade 6 level, and secondary grammar or commercial for the West African School Certificate.

Table VI.I

Nigeria: Primary School Teachers by State and Qualification, 1970

State	NCE	Grade I & above or equivalent	Grade II	Grade III	Others	Total	Primary enrolment	Pupil teacher ratio
N.-Western	-	17	199	415	858	2,489	77,522	1:31
N.-Central	-	50	1,788	1,117	807	3,762	116,383	1:30.9
Kano	-	5	692	169	1,057	1,923	62,520	1:32.4
Benue Plateau	-	27	2,295	864	1,357	4,543	157,127	1:34.6
N.-Eastern	-	30	2,011	668	1,323	4,032	131,397	1:32.6
Kwara	-	58	2,615	673	535	3,881	124,688	1:32.1
Western	-	142	10,377	6,243	7,293	24,055	802,534	1:33.4
Mid-Western	-	99	7,102	1,211	3,704	12,116	391,101	1:32.3
Lagos	30	121	3,792	1,607	1,717	7,267	237,560	1:32.7
E.-Central	33	452	11,727	5,245	7,928	25,385	912,819	1:36
S.-Eastern	1	101	3,440	1,875	4,606	10,023	351,176	1:35
Rivers	-	29	753	594	2,800	4,176	151,000	1:36.2
All Nigeria	64	1,131	47,791	20,681	33,985	103,652	3,515,827	1:33.9

Source: Adopted from David Wilson, (Ibid., p. 79). Calculated from statistics of Education in Nigeria, 1970, pp. 41 and 53.

Table VI.II  
Staffing in Nigerian Universities, 1966-1982

Year	1965/ 66	1966/ 67	1967/ 68	1968/ 69	1969/ 70	1970/ 71	1971/ 72	1972/ 73	1973/ 74
Staff	1208	1366	1148	1288	1475	2255	2245	2655	3560
Percentage expatriate	53	46.1	44.3	42	35.8	28.9	26.7	27.3	27.9
Year	1974/ 75	1975/ 76	1976/ 77	1977/ 78	1978/ 79	1979/ 80	1980/ 81	1981/ 82	
Staff	3560	4055	5058	5190	5575	5759	6391	7980	
Percentage expatriate	25.4	23.2	25.0	22.1	19.8	23.4	21.4	20.5	

Sources: Guobadia (1980), p. 46; National Universities Commission (1983) Academic Staff By Nationality, Institution and Academic Year, 1963-1982, cited in Enahwo (1985, p. 314).

At the higher education level manpower shortage remained acute. Table VI.II shows staffing statistics in Nigerian Universities from 1966-1982 along with percentage of the expatriates. It was estimated that 49,210 more persons in the higher level ranges would be needed during the 1975-80 plan period. Because of this, the existing universities, six of them in full operation, at Nsukka; Ahmadu Bello; Ife (now Awolowo University), Benin, Lagos, and Ibadan and six more that were established within this period at Calabar, Jos, Maidugari, Sokoto, Ilorin and Port Harcourt were all expanded to absorb more students. It was expected that these expansionary programmes would increase the total student population of 27,000 in 1975 to 53,000 in 1980. By 1980 and as the plan came to an end, only 28,000 graduates actually were turned out. But the government had

hoped that a further 6,000 graduates trained overseas would return to augment the high-level manpower requirements, "plus" 4,000 people to be turned out by non-university institutions and 6,000 to be upgraded from intermediate to high-level categories--a short fall of 6,340 over the period [was] expected (Arnold, Op.cit., p. 111). The projected 6,000 overseas trained graduate return was not realistic because many overseas educated and qualified Nigerians are unwilling to return home because of the environment and the new uncertainties that may await them in Nigeria-- a very unfortunate phenomenon for a country that is in a hurry to develop. So the manpower need remains perennial.

But in 1975, the Federal Government came up with an ingenious approach to reducing the middle-level manpower problem. It established the National Youth Service Corps, which provides university graduates with jobs in a variety of ways, especially in the teaching field. It is a very important means of augmenting the scarce teaching manpower in the country. The national Youth Service Corps Scheme is compulsory for all Nigerian university graduates, including those Nigerians graduating overseas. The Federal Government issued a directive to all employers throughout the country not to give a permanent employment to any graduate unless he/she has a certificate of exemption or a certificate to show that the person has completed the service.

The Fourth Development Plan (1981-85) continued to emphasize the development of high level manpower. As a result more universities (including seven technological ones), and more polytechnics were established. Even some states have built their own universities and university colleges. At present, there are seven state universities and twenty-four national universities, bringing to thirty-one, the

number of total universities in Nigeria. See appendix B. From what has been said, it may not be difficult to understand why the Federal Government of Nigeria embarked on an ambitious education schemes.

#### Financial Conditions

According to the political economy model of educational expansion, the imperatives of political and manpower requirements bring about the expansion of the educational system in most developing countries, and governments sponsor this expansion even at the expense of other sectors of the economy until the costly investment in education begins to threaten the capability of other sectors of the economy. Until this happens, cut-backs in investment in education may not be expected (Ogundimu, Op.cit., p. 288). Favorable financial conditions and the prospects for more money have both always been the precursors for educational expansion in Nigeria. This was the case in 1955 when the former Western Region of Nigeria introduced the first UPE scheme in Nigeria. The costly investment in UPE during this period was made possible because the Western region had a sound financial base for launching and maintaining the scheme. After Nigeria became a federation in 1952, the existing national marketing boards were dismantled and each of the then three regions had to set up its own regional marketing board. In 1954 the assets of dissolved national marketing boards were shared among the three regions in the order of derivation instead of need. The Western region having contributed the most due to profits from the cash crop cocoa received £34.4 million, followed by the Northern region which also had a booming cash crop of groundnuts and received £24.8 million, and the Eastern region, the least rich of the three regions received

£15.1 million (Abnerthy, Op.cit., pp. 140-143; see also Ogundimu, p. 290). This distribution of the accumulated funds of the national marketing boards enabled each of the regions to carry out its development plans according to its needs. The Western region government of the late Chief Obafemi Awolowo decided to invest its wind-fall wealth in an educational expansion programme. Table VI.III illustrates that for about the first six years of UPE in Western region, money was not a serious problem because actual government revenue was more than the estimated budget by an annual average rate of 10.27 percent while excess revenue was never below 7 percent of estimates in all the first six years (Ogundimu, Ibid.). So the favorable financial climate made the initiation of UPE possible.

Table VI.III

Revenue Trend in the Western Region of Nigeria, 1955-60

(data in millions of £)

	Forecast £	Actual £	Difference %
1955-56	13.00	14.38	+10.62%
1956-57	13.50	15.52	+14.96%
1957-58	14.50	15.63	+ 7.79%
1958-59	15.50	16.65	+ 7.42%
1959-60	17.50	16.98	+12.46%
Total	74.00	81.60	-

Source: Nigeria, National Development Plan, 1962-68, Lagos, Federal Ministry of Economic Development, p. 341; cited in Ogundimu, Ibid..

As was noted in the previous chapter, the Eastern region which had also introduced the UPE in the region as a matter of political expediency

could not continue the UPE programme as the Western region did. So, after two years, it set up the Dike commission of Inquiry to review the policy of UPE.

The Federal Nigerian Government apparently copied the path of the former Western region as financial conditions were favorable after the end of the civil war in 1970. The 1970s was a period of economic buoyancy in the Nigerian economy, it was the period of the oil boom and Nigeria has lots of oil to market. By 1975, crude oil was exported in excess of 2.1 million barrels per day. In the Third Plan period, it was expected to increase to more than 3 million barrels of crude petroleum per day. The price of crude oil in the international market at that time was more than \$40 U.S. So the times from the 1970s to the early 1980s were times of enormous wealth in Nigeria to the point that development plans were calculated in billions and objectives couched in nationalistic socialist-welfare terms. There was so much money that the Head of State General Gowon directed that the civil servants of financially strapped Caribbean countries like Guyana be paid from the national coffers, and recklessly remarked that money was not a problem in Nigeria but how to spend it. It was a time that top civil servants like permanent secretaries were dubbed "super-permanent secretaries and mandarin millionaires." It was a period of grandiose and ostentatious display of the nation's oil wealth by both the government and wealthy individuals in the society, such as the construction of a Festival of Arts and Culture coliseum that cost billions of naira, a FESTAC town, and hosting the 2nd World Black Festival of Arts and culture for thousands of black people from all over the world that converged in Lagos for almost three weeks of display of Black arts and culture; and hosting the 2nd All

Africa Games and Sports in a newly constructed expensive national stadium. Table VI.IV indicates the strong economy that Nigeria enjoyed from 1970 to 1980.

Table VI.IV  
Aggregate Annual Growth Rates of Nigerian Gross Domestic Product  
(\* projections)

Year	Growth Rate
1970-71	8.2%
1971-72	18.4
1972-73	7.3
1973-74	9.5
1974-75	9.7
1975-76	7.2*
1976-77	8.5*
1977-78	9.8*
1978-79	10.6*
1979-80	11.5*
$\bar{X}$	10.1

Source: Nigeria, Third National Development Plan 1975-80, Lagos: Federal Ministry of Economic Development, 1975, pp. 11 and 49, cited in Ogundimu, Ibid., p. 291.

As can be seen, actual and estimated rates of growth in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) show annual average of 10.1 percent. In addition, the national per capita income in the Third Development Plan period was estimated to increase from N205 in 1974-75 to approximately N290 at the end of the period, in cumulative real growth over the five year period (Third National Development Plan, Op.cit., p. 43; see also Ogundimu, Ibid., p. 292). The above estimated increase in per capita income was actually achieved. David Lamb (Op.cit., pp. 302-303) provides a telling observation of Nigeria's financial status during the period of the oil boom:

Nigeria is the world's sixth largest exporter of crude oil, about half of which goes to the United States. Only Saudi Arabia sells more oil to the United States. Nigeria's oil revenues plunged from \$26 billion in 1980 to \$10 billion in 1983, but even with the decline, Nigeria was still earning more from its petroleum in a single year than a country such as Equatorial Guinea would earn from all sources in thirty-three years. (Nigeria's revenues were cut by more than half by the oil glut of 1982, a setback that is no doubt temporary.)

In the 1960s, before world oil prices went crazy, Nigeria was banking a modest \$400 million a year from its petroleum production. Then, almost overnight, that income soared to \$9 billion a year, and by 1975 Nigeria was facing the prospect of a \$5 billion annual surplus. Suddenly no dream was too distant, no vision too expensive. The government drew up a \$100 billion development plan (1975-1980), the most ambitious ever underwritten by a black African government. It was designed to transform an ancient, heterogeneous society into a modern, unified state in five years.

Plans were made or ground was broken for seven new universities, thirteen new television stations, thirty-four new prisons, three new international airports and a new federal capital at Abuja. With hardly a glance at the national checkbook balance, the minimum wage was doubled and the government granted all civil servants a 60 percent pay raise, backdated tax-free for ten months. Similar increases for the trade unions followed.

More than \$3 billion was earmarked to overhaul the communications system, another \$3 billion to build 13,000 miles of paved roads, and \$2 billion more for a petrochemical plant. An international black arts festival was staged for \$200 million, an international trade fair for \$100 million. The vanguard of 50,000 young Nigerians was sent to the United States and Europe to learn the technical and professional skills necessary to run the New Nigeria.

Predictably, the world took quick notice of Nigeria. Suitors arrived from everywhere, and both Washington and Moscow elbowed for influence. Nearly a hundred foreign embassies were set up in Lagos, and the sauna-hot, jam-packed capital took on all the trappings of a frontier boom town. Diplomats and businessmen filled the hotels, stoically ignoring broken air conditioners, stalled elevators, power failures, water rationing, dead telephones and night marish traffic jams (known as "go-slows"). Lagos was suffocating in its own growth, but no one seemed to care. Everyone wanted a slice of the action, and in 1978 President Jimmy Carter made a state visit to Nigeria, telling gathered officials and journalists somewhat inexplicably, how much Nigeria and the United States had in common (even though Nigeria was then under military dictatorship). Nigeria, which owns 55 percent of its nationalized oil industry, still has known reserves for about forty years at the extraction rate of 2 million barrels a day. It also has vast untapped quantities of natural gas.

All these favorable financial conditions created the euphoria of financial abundance and brought about educational expansion programmes at all levels. So in Third Plan period (1975-80), the free universal primary education programme was introduced and made compulsory in 1979. More secondary grammar and commercial schools were built and made tuition free. The federal government created seven new universities, six new colleges of technology and polytechnics thereby bringing to thirteen the number of new institutions of higher learning between 1970 to 1980. It also declared all universities, colleges of technology and polytechnics tuition-free. So the tendency of governments in Nigeria to expand the educational system derives in addition to other factors, from political, manpower need and financial consideration. It seems that the only effective check on massive expansion of educational programmes is lack of sufficient funds. The extent to which this is true of Nigeria currently will be examined in the next chapter.

#### Human Capital Development for Indigenous Control of the Economy

It was noted in chapter two and in subsequent sections of this study that massive investment in education because of its generous returns both from the economic perspective and on the grounds of social justice have been given credence and impetus through empirical and theoretical evidence provided by Schultz (1963), Benson (1963), Adam Smith (1776), Myrdal (1957), Galbraith (1958), Becker (1964), Krueger (1968), Denison (1962), Blaug (1970), Sheehnan (1973), Miller (1960), Woodhall (1972), Vaizey et al. (1972), Psacharopoulos and Woodhall (1985), and others, in their analysis of the economic relevance of education in different parts of the world. At the local level in Nigeria, similar studies have been done by Psacharopoulos (1973), and Enaohwo (1982). Both studies

reveal a positive relationship between education and economic growth, either from a private returns growth or from a social one.

It has been said that the basic source of a country's supply of labour force and skilled manpower can be found in its national stock of human capital. Todaro (1985, p. 325) observed that most economists would probably agree that it is the human resources of a nation, not its capital or its material resources, that ultimately determine the character and pace of its economic and social development. And Harbison (1973, p. 3) argued:

Human resources . . . constitute the ultimate basis for wealth of nations. Capital and natural resources are passive factors of production; human beings are the active agents who accumulate capital, exploit natural resources, build social, economic and political organizations, and carry forward national development. Clearly, a country which is unable to develop the skills and knowledge of its people and to utilize them effectively in the national economy will be unable to develop anything else.

Recall Onimode's (chapter one, p. 17) assertion that the human element is the most critical of all the resources of a country as it determines its capacity for harnessing, expanding and utilizing the natural resources at its disposal (in Alminbar, Op.cit., p. 56). And Nigeria with an estimated population of 102.6 million in 1986 and a high total fertility rate of 7.10 in 1985, the human resource element is in abundance. But the quality of these huge human resources is to be determined by their education and training.

According to Enahwo (1984, p. 238) similar expectations led the colonial British government in Nigeria to invest money in the education of Nigerians in the form of subsidies for the acquisition of technical skills. In pre-independence Nigeria, the colonial government "harnessed education to their imperialist ambitions by emphasizing the importance of skills development. Thus education to the British colonialists in

Nigeria was an instrument for domination and the perpetuation of Western culture" (Ibid.). This led to increase in the stock of semi-skilled labour because skilled people could provide the know-how to administer and exploit the colonies. As a result, since independence, Nigerian governments have thought in terms of human capital development or accumulation of human capital through investments in education. It was realized that people invest in themselves and that the state can invest in its people to provide better and quality labour, receive higher private returns and remuneration and thereby contribute to the productive and economic growth of the society using the skills that have been acquired. Thus it is safe to assume that the stock of human capital development available for servicing the Nigerian economy is to be derived from formal and informal education and training of its people. Human resource development as a form of capital has become as important as physical factors of production such as land and fiscal capital. Because of this, in all of the development plans that followed Nigeria's independence, governments have given high priority to human capital development as a means of generating the required skills for the achievement of growth targets.

This was what Okechukwu Ikejiani (1964) alluded to when he posited that:

The central purpose of economic and political institutions is to provide the material base and social conditions essential to the release and fulfilment of the creative powers of the species. These creative powers are the central focus of education. The difference between developed and undeveloped countries lies in the degree to which these creative powers of individuals have been released through education, because no country can rise higher than its educational system. [And] . . . unless Nigeria can meet the educational challenge of tomorrow, she will falter and lag behind, not only economically but technologically, through not training enough people capable of manning her economy and her

industries (p. 98 and 230).

In another place Ikejiani argues:

Investment in education for Nigeria should be a life issue because it is an investment for the future; because the national security, economic and technological growth and the whole strength of Nigeria entirely depend on this investment. As an "under-developed" country, our growth in these all-important directions is vitally dependent on the availability of highly trained men and women who will not only utilize the results of modern technological tools for national advancement, but are also able to carry out their own research and devote the results of this research to the development of the nation. In this respect, investment in education should be the major concern of Nigeria.

Our educational system must turn out not only enough scientists, doctors, engineers and technologists, who will be leaders in Nigerian science and engineering, but also educated men and women who will be leaders in business and industry, in government and politics, in foreign affairs and in diplomacy, in education and in civic affairs. Investment in education is a national concern and must be the most important feature of the thinking of Nigerians for some years to come (Ibid., p. 224 and p. 232).

As a result, education is Nigeria's biggest single production enterprise, and it is likely to continue to be so for a long time as long as there is the need to develop the human resource capital necessary for the growth of the national economy. In pursuant of this, the 1977 National Policy on Education states:

Not only is education the greatest force that can be used to bring about redress, it is also the greatest investment that the nation can make for the quick development of its economic . . . and human resources. . . It is the most important instrument of change, as any fundamental in the intellectual and social outlook of any society has to be preceded by an educational revolution (p. 5).

By according education the role of creating and maintaining human capital, education has grown beyond the scope of an ordinary consumption commodity under the social service sector to the cognizance of its more important investment role in the economy. For instance, in the Second National Development Plan period (1975-80), estimates of manpower requirements were provided by the National Manpower Board on the basis of both the

High-level Manpower Study of 1963-70, and the survey of Labour Requirements for 1965. From these two studies, an estimate of 29 million people was projected for the labour force for the plan base year 1974. The figure for the intervening years are shown in Table VI.V.

Table VI.V

Estimated Labour Force 1969-75

Year	Millions
1969	25.64
1970	26.29
1971	27.94
1972	27.62
1973	28.31
1974	29.01
1975	29.74

Source: Federal Republic of Nigeria. Second National Development Plan, Vol. 1, p. 324, 1970 cited in Enahwo, Op.cit., p. 240.

From these estimates, it was expected that the rate of unemployment would be reduced from 7.80 to 4.40 percent. There is no indication that this was achieved (Ibid.). It also projected that about "half a million employed people would be on the total payroll by 1974, mostly generated from the main avenues of human capital formation in the economy, namely educational establishments, on-the-job training and the indigenous skill-development sector"(Ibid.). As was noted by Enahwo, this was ambitious considering the scope of development facilities in Nigerian training institutions. According to categories of labour, for the senior level, an additional figure of 13,207 was projected for 1970 and 1974, and for the middle-level the figure was 32,378. And for the skilled,

semi-skilled and unskilled workers who must be required to have one form of education or the other, the projected figure was 220,000 (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1970, pp. 328-41 in Enahwo, Ibid.). It was on the basis of these projections for human capital formation that the educational expansion programmes of the 1970s took place.

Educational expansion was pursued as a strategy to guarantee the supply of required skilled human capital for the economy in order to cut Nigeria's dependence on foreign supply of the necessary qualified personnel.

## CHAPTER VII

### EMERGING ISSUES AND IMPLICATIONS

This is an impact chapter containing description and an examination of the issues that have emerged, and their implication for Nigeria. Firstly, we will review the achievements made in terms of: 1) quantity and growth in educational participation rates at each level; 2) the physical facilities available at the three levels of education; and 3) the expenditures of education at each level. Following this, we will examine some of the problems that have surfaced in topical order: 1) quality of education at the primary level; 2) growing educated unemployed youth; and 3) funding problems in the nation's educational system. And finally, given our earlier discussion in chapters four to six on the federal government of Nigeria's faith in the forces of education to bring about equality of opportunity, promote national unity, development of manpower, and to bridge the educational gap between the various ethnic groups in general, and the North and South in particular, we will examine the extent to which these goals have been attained.

#### 1. Growth in Enrolment By Educational Level

As was noted in the previous chapters, since 1960, education in Nigeria has undergone impressive phases of expansion, face-lifting and structural changes. The federal government of Nigeria accepted education as an instrument par excellence for national development. As a result, both military and civilian governments in Nigeria have accorded education a high-level priority in the national scheme of resource allocation since 1975. The impact of the educational expansionary programmes adopted in the past decade or more has been that in today's Nigeria, an overwhelming net-work of primary schools, secondary schools

and university educational institutions abound in the country. It can be said that the statistics of education in Nigeria today can arouse the envy of many Third World countries.

By 1985 and in numerical terms, there were 18.7 million pupils and students enrolled in more than 39.7 thousand institutions at various levels. According to Pandit (1988) educational expenditure in Nigeria, judging from a social perspective in terms of resource allocation is 4.5 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GNP). If we take into account the fact that federal, state and local government all contribute to educational finance, "the share of educational expenditure in relation to all government budgets has risen to about 17 percent" (Ibid., p. 2). There can be no doubt that Nigeria allocates a disproportionate amount of its resources to education in order to bring changes in the society and its economy. This fact is revealed in the tremendous growth in enrolment at all levels of education in Nigeria and in the provision of educational facilities.

Primary School Enrolment Trends--primary school enrolments in Nigeria in 1960, 1965, 1970, 1975/76, 1980/81, and 1984/85 years are presented in Table VII.I below.

Table VII.I  
Primary School Enrolment Trends in 1960, 1965, 1970,  
1975/1976, 1980/81, and 1984/85 Years

Year	Enrolment
1960	2,942,618
1965	2,911,742
1970	3,5k5,827
1975/76	6,128,300
1980/81	13,760,030
1984/85	14,674,539

Source: Adapted from H. N. Pandit, 1988, p. 22.

It can be seen from Table VII.I that enrolment growth in Nigeria primary schools in the 1960's was slow. But there was a significant increase between 1970 and 1980 due probably to the Universal Primary Education (UPE) scheme. It is interesting to notice that enrolment in this level of education increased almost seven and a half times.

Secondary School Enrolment Trends--enrolment in secondary education grew at a fast rate especially after the introduction of the nation-wide Universal Primary Education in 1976. Because tuition fees were abolished shortly after the UPE programme was introduced, many students who would without this move have stopped schooling enrolled in secondary school classes. There were not enough places for all who wanted to attend school but effort was made to create more places for them. In about three to four states, the practice of two shifts--7:30 a.m. to 1 p.m. and 1:30 p.m. to 6 p.m. daily from Monday to Friday--was introduced to ensure availability of more learning places using the same learning facilities and often the same teachers (Federal Government of Nigeria, Education in Nigeria, 1986, p. 30). Secondary education in Nigeria generally includes the Grade II Teacher Training Colleges because the completion period in terms of years is about the same as that of secondary grammar schooling. Both are in the next level after primary education. But since teacher education is not within the scope of this study except for reference purposes, only enrolment figures are depicted in the table below.

Table VII.II illustrates enrolment in the secondary level for the years as depicted. The growth in the three areas of secondary education are quite impressive. It should be pointed out that the enrolment figure for all years taken together reflect about 98 percent of the actual figures. What is implied here is that the data available

represent a small undercount because states have gaps in the returns made for secondary enrolment. This notwithstanding, the figures in the table are a true indication of the enrolment trends in Nigeria (Ibid.).

Table VII.II

Growth of Enrolment at the Secondary Level: 1960-1985

Secondary	1960	1965	1970	1975/76	1980/81	1984/85
Junior Secondary Schools						370,259
Grammar/ Commercial Schools	135,364	209,015	310,054	704,917	1,995,417	3,059,088
Federal Government Colleges					21,229	34,833
Technical/ Vocational Colleges	5,037	12,646	13,645	26,241	67,943	76,242
Teachers' Grade II Colleges	27,908	30,926	32,314	123,627	282,244	267,335
<b>Total</b>	<b>168,309</b>	<b>252,586</b>	<b>356,013</b>	<b>854,785</b>	<b>2,366,833</b>	<b>3,807,757</b>

Source: Adopted from Pandit, Ibid.

The enrolment figure from 1982 increased sharply because the graduates of UPE went on to enrol into secondary schools in September 1982, and the increase to this date continues to grow.

University Education Enrolment Trends--enrolment in Nigerian universities shows a phenomenal growth. It grew from about 3,800 in 1963 to about 50,000 in 1979 (Guobadia, 1980, pp. 44-45). This shows an annual average

growth rate of about 5.8 percent for the period. And the increase has not abated. The figures on Table VII.III excludes post-graduates, diploma, and certificate students. Enrolment in October 1982 exceeded 80,000. And by 1985 it rose to more than 107,000 students. The figure in Table VII.III shows the enrolment trends for a little over more than two decades (from 1960/61 to 1984/85).

Table VII.III

Enrolment Growth in Nigerian Universities: 1960-1985

Year	Enrolment	Year	Enrolment
1960-61	1,399	1973-74	23,173
1962-63	3,681	1974-75	27,000
1963-64	5,106	1975-76	32,286
1964-65	6,719	1976-77	39,732
1965-66	7,700	1977-78	46,684
1966-67	8,888	1978-79	48,698
1967-68	7,058*	1979-80	57,742
1968-69	8,588*	1980-81	69,725
1969-70	9,695*	1981-82	82,952
1970-71	14,371	1982-83	92,116
1971-72	17,093	1983-84	100,900
1972-73	20,889	1984-85	108,720

\* Civil War Years, figures for the University of Nigeria, Nsukka were not available.

Source: NUC (1980) pp. 44-46; Federal Republic of Nigeria (1975), p. 243; NUC (1983) Total Enrolment by Faculty and by Academic.

Table VII.IV depicts student enrolments in 13 Nigerian Universities 1960-73, 1977/78 and 1978/79.

Table VII.IV

Year	Ibadan	Nsukka	Lagos	Zaria	Ife	Benin	Jos	Calabar	Zaria	Maidu- guri	Sokoto	Ilorin	P.Har- court	All Univer- sities
1960	1,136	263												1,399
1961	1,501	905												2,406
1964	1,688	1,148	130	426	244									3,636
1965	2,016	475	5,148	558	271									
1966	2,284	2,499	558	719	659									
1967	2,687	2,579	772	946	713									6,719
1968	2,729	3,482	1,119	895	945									7,697
1969	2,559		1,436	1,351	1,248									9,170
1970	3,117		2,094	1,745	1,661									6,594
1971	3,380		2,395	1,850	1,780									8,617
1972	3,855	2,914	2,528	3,139	2,095									9,450
1973	5,500	4,100	3,600	6,900	5,000	800								14,531
1977/78	8,865	6,887	6,509	8,329	7,117	2,257	1,339	1,336	1,857	1,184	194	472	382	25,900
1978/79	9,050	7,350	6,985	9,310	7,600	2,920	1,909	1,920	2,390	1,600	475	850	650	46,728
														53,009

Source: Compiled from Statistics of Education in Nigeria for the years 1961-1970. Lagos: 1973 Returns from the Universities; NUC Annual Report, July 1977-June 1978. See also Education in Nigeria, Op.cit., p. 54.

In line with the growing trend in Nigerian universities, the National Universities Commission (NUC) made these projections for enrolment for the universities for the 1980's, see Table VI.V. According to Guobadia (1980, pp. 53-54), the enrolment of more than 50,000 in 1978/79 was about 0.06 percent of the country's population or a 3 percent participation rate in university education by the qualified school age group. If this educational index was maintained by 1985, the total number of university students should be about 120,000 and about 300,000 by 1990. According to Education in Nigeria (1986, p. 53) the projected figure of 120,000 for 1985 was achieved. If this trend continues to the 1990/91 academic year, there is bound to rise some problems with the necessary finance to sustain the growth of university education in Nigeria.

Table VII.V

NUC Projections of Enrolment in Universities in Nigeria

Year	Estimates	Percentage Increase	Absolute
1978/79	53,009	12.5	±3,000
1979/80	63,650	24.8	±7,675
1980/81	74,200	16.1	±6,810
1981/82	83,150	12.1	±2,515
1982/83	91,700	10.3	±1,733
1983/84	100,900	10.0	N.A.
1984/85	108,720	6.1	N.A.
1990/91	300,000*	-	N.A.

\*Based on 3 percent participation rate.

N.A.: Not available

Source: NUC (1978, p. 75) cited in Enaohwo, (1985, p. 311).

Table VII.VI illustrates the numerical growth in enrolment by all types of institutions in Nigeria from 1960 to 1984/85.

Table VII.VI  
Growth of Enrolment by Types of Institutions in Nigeria: 1960-1984/85

S/No.	Types of Inst.	1960	1965	1970	1975/76	1980/81	1984/85
1	PRIMARY	2942618	2911742	3515827	6128300	13760030	14674539
2	SECONDARY						
	-Junior Sec. Schools						370259(c)
	-Grammar/Com. Schools	35364	209015	310054	704917	1995417	3059088(a)
	-Federal Govt. Colleges					21229	34833
	-Tech/Vocat. Colleges	5037	12646	13645	26241	67943	76242(a)
	-Teachers' Gr. II. Colleges	27908	30926	32314	123627	282244	267335(a)
	SUB-TOTAL	168309	252586	356013	854785	2366833	3807757
3	POST-SECONDARY						
	-Colleges of Ed/A.T.C.'s					28504 (1147)	48607(a) (2051)
	-Polytech & Cols. of Technology				17676(b)	41748	57534(a)
	-Universities	1399	7697	14474	41499(d)	76297	107592
	SUB-TOTAL	1399	7697	14474	59175	146449	(2051) 213733
	NIGERIA (GRAND TOTAL)	3112326	3172025	3886341	7042260	(1147) 16273312	(2051) 18696029

Notes: a) Figures for 1983/84 Session. b) Figures for 1977/78. c) 1982/83 Figures. d) Nigeria College of Arts, Science & Technology, a degree awarding institution which was dissolved into ABU and UNIFE in 1962 is included. e) Figures in parenthesis are part-time enrolments.

Source: Statistics Unit, Federal Ministry of Education, Science & Technology, Lagos. Adopted from Pandit, Op.cit., p. 23.

Table VII.VII illustrates growth of educational enrolment by levels, growth index and average size in Nigeria, 1960-1983. The figures for the secondary level include technical/vocational students, while the figures for the post-secondary level include students in Colleges of Education, Polytechnics and Colleges of Technology.

Table VII.VII

Growth of Education by levels, growth index and average size: 1960-85

Growth of Primary Education in Nigeria, 1960-85

Year	Enrolments		Average Size
	Number	Growth Index	
1960	2,942,618	100	187.32
1965	2,911,742	98.95	194.54
1970	3,515,827	119.48	235.93
1975/76	6,128,300	208.26	289.07
1980/81	13,760,030	467.61	375.11
1984/85	14,674,539	755.40	439.98

Growth of Secondary Education, 1960-85

Year	Enrolments		Average Size
	Number	Growth Index	
1960	168,309	100	137.17
1965	252,586	150.07	152.71
1970	356,013	211.52	257.79
1975/76	854,785	507.87	458.33
1980/81	2,366,833	1,406.24	473.18
1984/85	3,807,755	2,262.36	611.10

Growth of Post-Secondary Education, 1960-85

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Year	Enrolments		Average Size
	Number	Growth Index	
1960	1,399	100	699.5
1965	7,697	550.18	1,539.4
1970	14,474	1,034.60	2,412.34
1975/76	41,499	2,966.34	3,192.24
1980/81	76,297	5,453.69	5,086.47
1984/85	107,592	7,690.64	4,138.16

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Source: Compiled from Pandit, Op.cit., p.3, and from Statistics of Education in Nigeria 1961-73, Education in Nigeria 1986, p. 54, Federal Ministry of Education, Lagos, Nigeria.

It can be seen from the figures on Table VII.VII that enrolment in primary schools peaked to an unprecedented number after the introduction of the UPE in 1976. Also, enrolment in secondary schools grew up to twenty-two and half times its number in 1960 while the enrolment index at the university level rose to seventy-seven times the 1960 number.

In order to ascertain whether the enrolment growth in Nigeria has been faster than other African countries, developing countries and the world at large, a comparison in Nigeria growth rate and these other areas is shown on Tables VII.VIII and IX. As the Tables indicate, growth in educational enrolment in Nigeria appears faster than the comparative areas.

Table VII.VIII

Trends in Enrolment by Level of Education in Nigeria and Other Regions:

1960 and 1985

All Levels (in 000's)				
S/No.	Nigeria/ Region	1960	1985	3 ÷ 2
0	1	2	3	4
1	Nigeria	3,083.5	18,696.0	6.1
2	Africa	21,381.5	101.131.0	4.7
3	Developing Countries	146,395.1	479.366.1	3.3
4	Developed Countries	180.105.4	237.246.5	1.3
5	World	326,500.5	716,613.5	2.2
First Level (in 000's)				
1	Nigeria	2,942.6	14,674.5	5.0
2	Africa	19,312.0	77.293.8	4.0
3	Developing Countries	121,982.0	331,143.2	2.7
4	Developed Countries	124,077.7	126,199.2	1.0
5	World	246,059.7	457,342.4	1.9
Second Level (in 000's)				
1	Nigeria	1,680.3	3,807.8	22.6
2	Africa	1,885.1	21,781.8	11.6
3	Developing Countries	21,788.2	125,882.9	5.8
4	Developed Countries	46,429.3	80,851.1	1.7
5	World	68,217.3	206,734.0	3.0
Third Level (in 000's)				
1	Nigeria	2.5	213.7	85.5
2	Africa	184.8	2,056.2	11.1
3	Developing Countries	2,624.9	22,340.0	8.5
4	Developed Countries	9,598.6	22,340.0	8.5
5	World	12,223.5	52,537.1	4.3

Source: UNESCO (1983) Table IV. Also see Pandit, Ibid., p. 4.

Table VII.IX

Average Annual Growth Rates of Enrolment in Nigeria, Africa,  
Developing/Developed Countries and the World as a Whole:

1960-1985

All Levels					
Period	Nigeria	Africa	Developing Countries	Developed Countries	World
0	1	2	3	4	5
1960-1965	0.6	6.9	3.3	3.3	5.1
1965-1970	4.2	5.6	4.9	1.6	3.3
1970-1975	12.6	7.0	4.7	0.7	2.9
1975-1980	18.3	6.8	4.1	-0.2	2.4
1980-1985	2.8	5.8	3.4	0.1	2.3
First Level					
1960-1965	-0.2	6.4	6.4	1.5	4.1
1965-1970	3.8	4.9	4.2	0.6	2.6
1970-1975	12.0	6.3	3.9	-1.0	2.0
1975-1980	18.0	6.2	3.4	-0.9	2.0
1980-1985	1.3	4.8	2.6	0.1	1.8
Second Level					
1960-1965	8.5	11.6	10.6	6.3	7.8
1965-1970	7.0	10.4	7.6	2.3	4.3
1970-1975	20.0	10.4	6.7	2.4	4.4
1975-1980	22.0	9.5	6.0	0.3	3.2
1980-1985	10.0	9.6	5.4	0.1	3.1
Third Level					
1960-1965	25.0	10.9	11.9	9.2	9.8
1965-1970	13.0	9.0	8.9	7.2	7.6
1970-1975	61.8	13.5	10.9	5.2	6.7
1975-1980	20.0	8.7	7.2	1.8	3.6
1980-1985	7.8	8.9	8.9	0.5	2.5

Source: UNESCO (1983) Tables V and X. See also Pandit, *Ibid.*, p. 24.

For more information on the statistical growth in educational enrolments in Nigeria, see Appendix E and F.

## 2. Growth in Education Institutions

In order to have the level of growth in educational enrolments indicated in the previous section, there has to be a corresponding increase in the growth of educational facilities. There are some Nigerians who feel that there are too many educational institutions in the country, especially at the university level. And there are others who feel that no number of institutions may be too many for a nation whose population is estimated at more than 100 million. Whether there are too many educational institutions in the country or not, it is obvious that as the population becomes more literate, the demand for more places in the institutions is bound to intensify. And the most appropriate way to satisfy that demand is to create or establish more institutions. And the Nigerian government seems to be doing just that.

In numerical proportions there are today 39.7 thousand educational institutions of various levels. Table VII.X provides the growth in the educational facilities for the three levels of education in Nigeria from 1960 to 1985. It can be seen that increase in institutional growth, especially for the secondary and higher education levels only began to peak in the 1980's. There was a remarkably slow growth in the 1960's to the early 1970's.

It can be noted that institutional growth in the primary level has grown by more than twenty-one times than what it was in 1960, at the secondary level, it has grown by more than five times its number in 1960, while the growth index in higher education was more than eighteen times in the same time period.

As we will see later in this section, in spite of the phenomenal growth in educational institutions at the various levels, the demand for

Table VII.X

Growth of Institutions by Type in Nigeria: 1960-1984/85

S/NO.	Types of Institution	1960	1965	1970	1975/76	1980/81	1984/85
1	PRIMARY	15703	14967	14902	21200	36683	33353
2	SECONDARY						
	-Junior Sec. Schools						
	-Grammar/Com. Schools	883	1,382	1,155	1,513	4,495	5,642
	- Fed. Govt. Colleges				26	39	41
	- Tech/Vocat. Colleges	29	63	66	76	159	227
	-Teachers' Gr. II. Colleges	315	209	160	250	309	321
	SUB-TOTAL	1,227	1,654	1,381	1,865	5,002	6,231
3	POST-SECONDARY						
	-Colleges of Ed/A.T.C.'s		5	8	18	32	34
	-Polytech. & Cols. of Technology	3	4	5	11	24	29
	-Universities	2	5	6	13	15	26
	SUB-TOTAL	5	14	19	42	71	91
	NIGERIA (GRAND TOTAL)	16,935	16,635	16,302	23,081	41,699	39,673

Source: Statistics Unit, Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, Lagos. See also Pandit, Ibid., p. 22.

Table VII.XI shows growth of education in Nigeria by levels and by index.

Table VII.XI

Growth of Primary Institutions by Index from 1960-1985

Year	Number	Institutions	Growth Index
1960	15,703		100.00
1965	14,967		95.28
1970	14,902		94.90
1975/76	21,200		135.01
1980/81	36,683		233.01
1984/85	33,353		212.40

Growth of Secondary Institutions: 1960-1985

Year	Number	Institutions	Growth Index
1960	1,227		100.00
1965	1,654		134.80
1970	1,381		112.55
1975/76	1,863		152.00
1980/81	5,002		407.66
1984/85	5,231		507.822

Growth of Post-Secondary Institutions: 1960-1985

Year	Number	Institutions	Growth Index
1960	5		100.00
1965	14		280.00
1970	19		380.00
1975/76	42		840.00
1980/81	71		1,420.00
1984/85	91		1,820.00

Source: Adapted from Pandit (Ibid., p. 3) and data from Federal Ministry of Education, Lagos, Nigeria.

secondary and higher education continues to increase more than the supply of educational facilities. Nevertheless, the rate at which university institutions and enrolment growths have increased in Nigeria since political independence in 1960 remains unparalleled elsewhere in Africa, and among the Third World countries excluding Brazil.

### 3. The Cost of Education

Given the astronomical growth of educational institutions at all three levels, and the unparalleled increase in enrolments in these institutions, it becomes axiomatic to expect a phenomenal increase in the cost of education in Nigeria. Therefore any examination of the state of education in Nigeria would be incomplete without some financial facts. According to Wilson (Op.cit., p. 79), the Nigerian government has since 1963, allocated about 3 percent of its Gross Domestic Product (GNP) to the education of Nigerians. The increases in both state and federal recurrent expenditures on education between 1964/65 and 1970/71 rose from 33.9 to 35.7 percent for the former and from 4 to 7 percent for the latter in all total government expenditure. The Third National Development Plan 1975-1980 estimated educational cost at all levels at \$4 billion United States dollars. By the standards of the developed countries, these figures may be peanuts. But by African and Third World standards, they are significant. In order to put the issues in proper perspective, let us examine the cost of education in Nigeria by levels.

#### 1. The Cost of Primary Education

The first time that the Universal Primary Education (UPE) scheme was tried in Southern Nigeria in 1955, the then Western region government budgeted £3,121,000 for education. But actual expenditure for that year

came to be £5,358,720. Four years latter, (1960) it had spent more than £7 million on education alone. (The equivalent of £1 pound today is about N4 or US\$2.04). Primary education in 1955 alone absorbed close to 70 percent of the education budget while the education budget by itself by 1960 was consuming 41 percent of the Western region's budget (Education in Nigeria, Op.cit., p. 23). In the then Eastern region, UPE was in operation for only one year and the cost was £4,449,328 in the year of inception, 1957. It was projected to cost £6,950,000 in its second year, 1958, given 1,209,167 pupils that were registered in all primary classes in the region. Because the Eastern region's government did not have the same sound finance base as was the case for the Western region, UPE in the former region lasted for only two years, and the cost of education for the period was more than 40 percent of the region's annual budget (Ibid.).

In 1960, the Northern region primary school population was 282,849, and by 1966 it had virtually doubled to 518,864. But between 1962 and 1967, the region had spent more than £11,020,000 on primary education. While this amount may not be very much on yearly basis, it is important to note that the region's government had to seek foreign aid to enable it to finance and carry out the expansionary programme in primary education at the time.

In 1976 the federal government of Nigeria launched the national UPE scheme and at the same time assumed the responsibility for primary education in Nigeria. Before this time as was noted earlier, primary education was a regional/state responsibility. N35.00 per pupil was characterized for primary education while additional N300,000,000 was allocated on capital programmes between 1975 to 1980 in the second

National Development Plan. The earmarked N35.00 per pupil was not to be because of soaring costs and for the 8,834,730 in primary schools in 1976/77 the recurrent cost was N309,215,550; and by 1980 the per capita had to be increased to N86.00 (Ibid.). According to the Blueprint of the implementation committee on the National Policy on Education (1978), it was originally projected that a unit cost of N140.00 per pupil and facilities would be the most probable estimate. So it was not surprising, though staggering the amounts were, when between 1980 and 1983, both the federal and state governments had invested N753,793,614; N823,636,301; N834,971,074; and N880,390,065 successively on primary education alone (Education in Nigeria, Op.cit., p. 24). Bearing in mind that Nigeria is a Third World African nation with an undiversified economy, the above figures can not be anything but impressive. Although Nigeria's literacy rate is still below that of the developed countries, it is truly one of the highest in Africa. Many more Nigerians can now read and write their names and are better informed and aware than they used to be. By the time the next figures for the cost of primary education in Nigeria are available, they are likely to be more than those reported above. See Tables VII.XII, XIII, XIV and XV for federal and state capital and recurrent expenditures from 1960 to 1980 at the various levels of education in Nigeria.

Table VII.XII

Expenditure on Education as a Percentage of Total Expenditure,  
1955-62

Region	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962
Recurrent Expenditure								
Northern	20.1	25.4	24.0	24.5	24.4	23.0	22.4	23.3
Eastern	37.6	42.5	49.0	43.4	45.2	44.9	41.5	38.2
Western	40.7	36.5	42.8	41.3	40.8	43.9	44.6	47.3
Federation	16.0	18.7	22.0	21.2	21.4	22.6	21.3	-
Capital Expenditure								
Northern	21.1	10.0	12.5	11.7	13.6	22.2	25.9	17.3
Eastern	6.6	40.9	10.9	5.7	4.6	6.9	3.4	6.5
Western	34.2	40.9	41.9	17.1	9.7	10.1	5.6	4.1
Federation	12.1	13.5	11.7	10.2	5.5	5.8	5.8	-
Recurrent and Capital Expenditure								
Northern	20.5	19.5	19.5	19.7	20.7	23.9	23.6	21.5
Eastern	28.4	42.3	43.0	34.0	34.8	36.7	28.2	26.9
Western	38.7	37.5	42.6	33.7	28.1	30.5	29.1	29.5
Federation	18.7	17.3	18.7	17.0	15.2	16.1	15.5	-

Source: A Gallaway and A. Musone. Financing of Education in Nigeria, African Research Monograph 15 (Paris: Unesco International Institute for Educational Planning, 1968), p. 24.

Table VII.XIII

Recurrent Expenditure on Education by State Governments in Nigeria,  
1968-1970

	1968-1969			1969-1970		
	Amount (Ml)	Total Budget	% of Total Recurrent Expenditure	Amount (Ml)	Total Budget	% of Total Recurrent Expenditure
North-West	1.17	5.63	20.8	1.36	5.64	24.1
Kano	0.98	5.44	18.0	1.4	9.33	15.0
North-East	1.78	6.93	25.7	0.85	8.02	10.6
N-Central	1.44	5.93	24.3	1.68	6.59	25.5
B-Plateau	1.71	5.61	30.5	1.78	5.72	31.1
Kwara	1.83	5.50	38.3	2.11	5.81	36.3
	2.80	10.29	27.2	3.33	11.56	28.8
West	6.02	19.45	30.8	8.12	25.06	32.4
Mid-West	3.62	9.68	37.4	4.11	11.73	35.1
E-Central	-	-	-	-	-	-
South-East	1.97	8.38	23.5	2.95	11.39	25.9
Rivers	2.69	6.56	41.0	2.40	9.72	24.7
Total	26.01	89.40		30.09	110.57	

Excluding 0.17mL to State and Local School Boards

Source: The Report of the Study Committee on Nigerian Education (unpublished, 1972), p. 75. The Somade Report in Adesina, Op.cit., p. 68.

Table VII.IV

Federal and States Capital Expenditure on Education in Nigeria,  
1970-74

Level of Education	1970-71	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74	Total
<b>A. Primary</b>					
Federal	1.320	2.020	1.520	1.600	6.460
States	5.019	9.295	8.657	4.507	27.478
Total	6.339	11.315	10.177	6.107	33.938
<b>B. Secondary</b>					
Federal	1.500	1.800	1.800	1.900	7.200
States	4.689	6.428	6.186	4.097	21.400
Total	6.189	8.228	7.986	5.997	28.400
<b>C. Technical</b>					
Federal	0.620	0.860	0.560	0.600	2.640
States	1.994	2.842	2.808	2.007	9.651
Total	2.614	3.702	3.368	2.607	12.291
<b>D. Teacher Training</b>					
Federal	0.600	0.600	0.600	0.200	2.000
States	1.969	3.427	3.252	2.547	11.195
Total	2.569	4.027	3.852	2.747	13.195
<b>E. University</b>					
Federal	5.000	6.000	7.000	7.500	25.500
States	4.611	4.152	3.995	2.760	15.518
Total	9.611	10.152	10.995	10.260	41.018
<b>F. Others</b>					
Federal	1.526	1.665	1.885	0.9446	5.222
States	1.194	1.805	0.975	0.555	4.529
Total	2.700	3.470	2.360	1.501	10.051
Total	30.042	40.894	38.738	29.219	138.893

Source: The Second National Development Plan (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information, Printing Division, 1970), p. 246 cited in S. Adesina, Op.cit., p. 70.

Table VII.XV  
 Education: Capital Programs by Government and Activity Categories, 1975-1980  
 (in millions of U.S. dollars) 1

Government	Primary	Secondary schools	Education secondary technical	Post secondary technical	Teacher education	Higher education	Adult education	Percentage expenditures by levels of education							
								Student financing	Special education	Special sixth form institutions	Archives antiqities others	Total by government	Percentage expenditure		
Federal	493.5	845.2	2.5	195.7	506.2	343.7	1.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Benue Plateau	-	74.0	3.0	12.5	8.2	3.3	.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
East Central	-	65.8	6.1	16.5	16.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kano	.2	74.0	8.3	4.1	-	3.3	.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kwara	-	32.9	13.2	15.3	-	3.3	2.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lagos	-	19.6	9.9	8.2	.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mid-Western	-	43.4	16.5	3.3	9.2	18.2	1.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North-Central	-	77.3	14.8	9.9	4.9	7.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North-Eastern	-	82.3	36.6	4.1	-	3.3	2.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North-Western	-	65.2	4.9	6.6	9.9	3.3	.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rivers	-	74.0	16.9	16.5	.8	-	.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South-Eastern	-	70.7	5.7	8.2	9.9	-	.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Western	-	65.8	7.4	9.5	-	28.5	.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	495.3	1,590.2	145.8	310.2	566.6	414.3	11.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Percentage expenditures by levels of education	12.1	39.8	3.6	7.6	13.7	10.1	.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Government	Student financing	Special education	Special sixth form institutions	Archives antiqities others	Total by government	Percentage expenditure									
Federal	204.0	-	66.6	47.3	2,706.3	67.5									
Benue Plateau	13.2	1.6	-	.3	116.2	2.9									
East Central	16.5	1.1	-	-	122.9	3.1									
Kano	13.2	1.0	7.4	.3	122.6	2.8									
Kwara	6.6	.7	-	-	74.7	1.9									
Lagos	8.2	3.3	-	-	49.8	1.2									
Mid-Western	6.6	-	1.0	-	100.0	2.4									
North-Central	8.2	.5	-	-	122.8	3.0									
North-Eastern	8.2	-	9.9	1.6	148.9	3.7									
North-Western	8.2	.3	-	3.7	104.1	2.6									
Rivers	13.2	.5	-	-	122.2	2.9									
South-Eastern	8.2	.1	4.0	-	107.1	2.7									
Western	16.5	-	4.9	-	134.2	3.3									
Total	330.8	9.1	93.8	54.4	4,021.8	100.0									
Percentage expenditures by levels of education	8.1	.2	2.3	1.4	10.0										

1.. Converted at the rate of N1 = \$1.645  
 Source: Third National Development Plan.

## 2. The Cost of Secondary Education

The cost of secondary education expansion and maintenance is as phenomenal as it is in the two other levels. As can be seen from Tables VII.IV and VII.V, the growth in cost at this level crescendoed from 1970 to the 1980's. In 1963, for example, the recurrent and capital costs for secondary education were approximately N19.5 million and N6.9 million respectively for the federal and then three regional governments. But after 1970, the Nigerian government began to expand secondary education with particular attention to the capital programme of creating more secondary school places. Between 1975 and 1980, a total of about N966.741 Naira was spent on the capital programme (See Table VII.V; see also Ukeje and Aisiku in Fafunwa & Aisiku ed. 1982, p. 233). That figure is not as impressive as what followed in the 1980-1985 plan period. With the expectation of a high percentage transition rate from the products of the UPE to secondary schools, a greater push was given to capital expansion programme for this level of education. So in 1980/1981, about N1 billion was spent by the federal and state governments on secondary education, and by 1983 the figure had increased to almost N1.3 billion (Education in Nigeria, Op.cit., p. 33). The demand for secondary education is on the increase as was noted in Table VII.V and so, it is likely that more money would be spent in the present development plan 1985-1990 and in future plans in order to sustain the demand and increase for places in secondary education, especially given the new 3-3 secondary education programme introduced in 1985.

For recurrent costs, the Blueprint of the implementation committee for the National Policy on Education provided a figure of N315.00 per student cost. If it is considered that in 1981/82 session, for instance,

over 2.5 million students were in secondary (see Table VII.VI) the magnitude of the required cost for that year becomes obvious. Even then, a recurrent cost of N315.00 per student was considered unrealistic because of the world-wide economic slump and recession of that period. So, a higher figure of N550.00 recurrent cost per student was adjusted to make educational expenditure at this level more realistic (Ibid., p. 34). All of the above reflect the concern of a country desirous to have its people properly educated, after all, this is the era of space exploration.

### 3. The Cost of University Education

There has been a significant financial input at the university level of education beginning with the Second National Development Plan 1970-1974 by both the federal and state governments. (See Table VII.IV). Before the federal government takeover of university education in the 1970's, four of the then six universities were regional universities while the remaining two were federal government universities. The regional universities except Ahmadu Bello University were funded on the basis of 30 percent from the Federal government and 70 percent from the regional governments. The universities were the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Ife (now Obafemi Awolowo) University, and the University of Benin. The Federal government shouldered about 75 percent of the total yearly expenditures of the fourth regional university, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, while the then two Federal universities, Ibadan and Lagos were fully funded by the Federal government. But with the takeover of all universities in Nigeria, the Federal government now funds all the universities through the National Universities Commission, which plays the role of a Universities Grants Commission patterned after the British

model.

In the 1970-74 Development Plan, the Federal government allocated N51 million in capital programmes to the existing six universities, while the states were expected to contribute N32 million. In the third Development Plan 1975-80, the Federal government increased the allocation to N2088.92 million, or 82.9 percent of the total amount targeted for the plan period. But in 1975, the Federal government embarked on a project of creating new universities and it was realized that the amount allocated for university education in the 1975-80 plan was unrealistic. So in June 1978 the Federal government adjusted its fund allocation to the universities and announced the sum of N427 million for the capital development of thirteen universities for the rest of the plan period (West Africa, 198, p. 1897). In 1977-78 the government granted N185 million as recurrent expenditure to thirteen universities. But in 1978/79 the recurrent grant came down to N158.91 million and rose again to N200 million in 1979/80 (Education in Nigeria, Op.cit., p. 58). In 1980/81 the recurrent grant increased to N277 million and peaked to N442 million in 1984/85 (Ibid.). All in all, the Federal government share of the total university expenditures by 1980 was 67.5 percent. (see Table VII.V). Now that the number of universities in Nigeria have more than doubled (see Appendix B) the cost of university education for current 1985-1990 Development Plan is bound to rise.

A major implication of the rising cost of university education in Nigeria is an increasing Federal government involvement and control of university education. And this Federal government control has been expressed in more ways than financial involvement. For instance, the National Universities Commission which was created in 1962 as a body

to coordinate the works of the universities was reconstructed in 1974 with greater and wider powers. It now acts like the government watch dog over the activities of the Universities. The other body which the government established and has used to control university admissions is the Joint Admission and Matriculation Board (JAMB). JAMB is ostensibly a neutral, government sponsored agency with university representatives charged with the centralization of university admissions on quota basis. The high cost of education at the University level has led to government control through bodies like NUC and JAMB in university initiatives in the determination of priorities in academic development and direction. The government is no longer demanding rapid and steady increases in high-level manpower development but other national goals like equal distribution of educational opportunities in all areas of the country.

On the whole, all evidence so far indicates that there have been tremendous increases in the cost of education at the three levels especially since 1970 as Tables VII.XII, XIII, XIV, and XV indicates. (see also Appendix G to K).

#### Quality of Education at the Primary Level

As was stipulated in chapter one, the issue of quality in the Nigerian educational system in this study is limited to the primary school level. There are three basic reasons for this limitation. One is the need to stay within a reasonable volume in the finished product. The second is that the primary school level is the first point of contact in the pupils' quest for formal education and the seeds of good or poor performance of pupils in the latter stages of education often are sown at the primary school level where the initial contact emanated. The third reason is that if the defects in the quality of education at the

primary level are spotted and corrected in good time, their rippling effects are unlikely to extend to the secondary and university levels.

As was noted in the previous section of this chapter, there has been a phenomenal growth in the quantity of education in Nigeria. But increasingly many Nigerians are beginning to decry the standards of education in the country. In fact, there are some people who argue that Nigerian educational development in the past decade has been one of quantity without quality (Nwagboso, 1987); (Ad'Obe Obe, 1984). Peter Harrigan (1976) observed:

The main danger in Nigeria, as has already happened in India and Pakistan, is that the dramatic expansion of education will result in large numbers seeking entry--because of difficulties of satisfying their unrealistically high job expectations into post primary institutions and then in turn universities. All of these institutions in their turn are having to be rapidly expanded to meet popular demands and as a result are already facing acute shortage of lecturers and teachers; this will cause a progressive lowering of standards in the educational system and ultimately lower the efficiency of those working in both the public and private sectors who have passed through the system (African Development, 1976, p. 276).

There is an ample evidence which indicates that Nigeria is a country in a hurry to industrialize. But in order to achieve the goal of industrialization, its future, to a great extent, will depend on its ability to evolve an educational system of high quality, beginning from the primary level. The above argument is supported by Adams and Bjork (Op.cit., p. 43) when they observed:

. . . the quality and spirit of the education is of great significance in any assessment of education and economic growth. Even though education may increase in amount, it may be of the wrong kind.

Before we go any further, let us at this point define quality in relation to education. There seems to be no universally acceptable definition of quality in relation to education. Quality in relation to

an educational system is a fluid term and it is relative. To this end, Common et al. (1988, pp. 13-14) noted:

Prevailing notions about quality in education are influenced by a range of societal circumstances and pressures, . . . A further complication defining quality is the considerable cultural diversity that characterize our society. It is necessary to recognize that there are simultaneously competing interpretations of quality in education and areas of agreement and consensus. The areas of agreement provide the basis for a "working consensus" on the goals of education but that consensus will always be "ragged around the edges".

Along the lines of the argument by Common et al., Ajimoke (1976) remarked:

To some people the "quality" of education is assessed by the percentage of high scorers among the candidates that a school presents for an external examination relative to the performances of candidates presented by other schools for the same examination. Again, the quality of the education provided by a school is sometimes assessed by the type of overt behaviour (both physical and emotional), generally associated with most pupils from a particular school as compared to the behaviour of pupils from other schools--especially when the behaviour of the former is generally approved by the society. One other criterion of quality assessment of an individual's education is the level of competence he displays at work. It thus means that there is no universally agreed criterion of quality (p. 53).

According to Coombs (1985) what is often said about quality in education tends to be rooted in individual judgments or point of view which invariably emanates from the observer's "particular background and experience, social philosophy, values, and pedagogical biases" (p. 106). So quality in education can mean very different things to different people. In this connection, "the definition of quality in" primary education is "affected by constantly shifting social and educational circumstances, and inevitably controversial" in the sense that it is "subject to competing interpretations by different members of society" (Common et al., Op.cit., p. 14). The assessment of the quality of any educational system, therefore, depends on the goals or objectives which

have been put in place to guide the operations of schools within a particular socio-cultural system. As a result, the question of quality in the education provided at the primary level in Nigeria will be examined in relation to the following: (a) the calibre of teachers employed to teach in Nigerian primary schools; (b) the type of environment under which the pupils learn; (c) the equipment made available for teaching and learning; (d) the pupil-teacher ratio; and (e) the nature of the curriculum.

(a) The calibre of teachers refers to the extent to which teachers are adequately trained and certified for their job, and whether or not they are devoted to their jobs and to the problems of their pupils. It is an indisputable fact that the success of any educational programme lies in the provision of a body of teachers who are dedicated to their work and are recruited because of their desire to teach the pupils and not because teaching is to them a last resort. Jack Allen in Hodenfield and Stinnett (1961, p. 21) observed:

One of the prime functions of the school, indeed the chief function is to provide a setting within which boys and girls can grow intellectually. This can only be accomplished through the learner's association with information, knowledge, facts. Books can help. So can Laboratories. So can numerous other types of learning materials. But always there stands the teacher, always on the edge often front and centre. What he knows can make a difference. What he does not know can be an irreparable loss.

According to Urwick (1978), teacher preparation for the primary level in Nigeria in recent years has been inadequate structurally and otherwise.

He noted:

Of those teachers who have been trained for the profession, most have remained underqualified. Within the country, there have been marked variations between regions in the way primary teacher education is organized. In all regions however, teacher education has been widely regarded as a second class alternative to general education. Furthermore, the minimum requirements for entry to

teacher education have been among the lowest existing in any country (p. 138).

The problem of under qualification among primary school teachers in Nigeria is perennial. In the early 1970's, only 89,587 out of a total primary school teacher population of 130,066 had any form of professional training. All the others, 34 percent had no kind of training. By 1977 the primary school population was 8,200,000. Given a teacher-pupil ratio of one per 30 pupils, about 273,330 teachers were required but in actuality, there were about 200,000 teachers in the country, but out of this number, 68,000 had no teacher training education of any sort. As a result, only 132,000 or 48 percent of the needed 273,300 teachers had had training for their teaching jobs. At the ratio of one qualified teacher per more than 62 pupils, the quality of teaching and learning cannot be anything but below standard (see Ukeje, 1980, p. 253).

In the 1980's the situation has improved somewhat, but still in some states, especially the younger states, the proportion of well trained and fully accredited teachers in the 1983/84 school session was below one fifth. See Table VII.VI.

The problem of primary school teacher under qualification became more serious following the introduction of the universal primary education (UPE) in 1976. Urwick (1987) argues that the over-ambitious time-table of the UPE scheme forced some states with low enrolments prior to this period to expand primary school enrolment beyond the scope of teacher availability and without proper preparation which in turn resulted into "a considerable dilution of the quality of their teachers" (p. 139). The Grade II teacher's certificate has always been the standard qualification for primary school teaching in Nigeria. But in some states such as Benue, Gongola, Kano and Sokoto (all in the Northern

Table VII.XVI

Percentages of Fully Qualified Primary School Teachers in Nigeria, 1975-1984, by State.

State	1975/76a	1976/77a	1977/78a	1978/79	1979/80	1980/81	1981/82	1982/83	1983/84	1984/85
Anambra	60	48	47		46	54				
Bauchi						13		20		
Bendel	45	42	40		35	40		48		
Benue	40		17	22b						
Borno	28	19	15		6					
Cross River	27				41					
Gongola	34	24	19		19					
Imo	63	62			68	87		87		100
Kaduna	28				12	44				
Kano	11	8	6		8	7		12		
Kwara	49	35	33			55				
Lagos	60	60	60		64	69		78		83
Niger					6	10		10		
Ogun	37	56	38		41	55		58		76
Ondo	36	50	44			61		69		
Oyo	43	43		55	47	50		50		
Plateau		19				17	16			
Rivers					23b			30		53
Sokoto	7	7			2	2		2		
F.T.C.c						25		27		

Notes: Blank spaces indicate that data are not available.

a: Figures for Grade II certified teachers: a very few with higher qualifications may not have been included.

b: Estimates based on incomplete data.

c: Federal Capital Territory.

Source: Nigeria (1978-1979), Table V and unpublished records of Unesco/Federal Ministry of Education, Lagos. (Cited in Urwick, 1987, p. 140).

part of the country) "teachers who had been "referred" (asked to resit) in the Grade II examinations" are suddenly accepted "as relatively well-prepared element(s), being for a time out-numbered by others even less qualified" (Ibid.). The relatively advanced states (most of them in Southern part of the country) are not far better-off. According to Duruji (1978), reports from these areas and available statistics indicate that the gap between teacher demand and supply is still wide, and the short-supply in qualified teachers will have to be filled from the cadre which Ukeje (1976) described as:

- (a) People who have not been able to enter secondary school because of poor academic background,
- (b) People who dropped out of secondary schools, again because of poor academic background,
- (c) People who attempted and failed the school certificate examination,
- (d) People who have failed in other occupations--civil servants, traders, and others.

This is being done inspite the early observation of Banjo during the National Curriculum which had recommended UPE that:

The infant school, [that is, primary] demands highly trained specialist teachers to lay the foundations . . . Poor teachers produce non other than poor pupils. Fortunately Grade II teachers are on their way out. This type of teacher is an educational bane, Grade II teachers are temporarily tolerable (Banjo, 1972 in Duruji, Ibid., p. 170).

The point being made here is that under pressure and duress necessitated by the UPE scheme, "Nigerian educational administrators have been forced to resort to a category of teachers obviously inferior to those they had discredited but tolerate" (Ibid.). The exceptional low level of primary school teacher preparation and certification can be simply illustrated in the following observation:

It is regrettable that, as late as 1981 in the context of the five-year Grade II programme [5], Nigeria was attempting to commit young people to a career in teaching before they had received any secondary education. According to the Unesco survey at that time (Blat Gimeno & Ibanez, 1981: 57-60), Nigeria had the lowest minimum educational requirement of all African countries for entry to teacher education: that is, merely five years of primary education (although six years were more usual). All Asian countries, and all but five other African countries, required some secondary education (typically three years). Nigeria's selection could have taken place at the end of Form 2, since the first two years of the 'five-year' Grade II programme contained practically nothing to distinguish it from general education. . . . A result of the premature selection of trainees is that many of the young people thus "captured" do not develop a strong commitment to teaching. Lack of such commitment reduces the incentives for trainees and "referred" teachers to struggle for the Grade II certificates, and adds to the effect of low status in making primary school teaching a "stepping-stone" occupation (Urwick, Ibid., p. 145).

The Nigerian government has tried to rectify the situation by raising the requirement for entry to teachers' college to three years of secondary education. The number of Grade II teacher trainees is on the rise, but the pass rate is still nothing to write home about. For instance, the total national pass rate in 1984 was below 27 percent for pre-service trainees while the rate for in-service candidates was even lower (Ibid., p. 139).

Given the above exposé, it is not surprising that frequently the Nigerian press and concerned Nigerians lament the mediocrity of teaching and learning in the nation's primary schools. Recently, in November 1987 to be exact, a state governor lambasted primary school teachers as "the most guilty" in the falling standard of education in the country's primary school system. He labelled the image of teachers and principals as synonymous with "incompetence, indolence, lack of commitment, divided interest and indiscipline" (West Africa, November 1987, p. 2342). He suggested that a step in the right direction would be for parents to get involved in the education of their children in order to arrest the

contradiction between what is practiced at home and what is taught in schools.

The shortcomings on the part of primary school teachers pointed out by the governor, especially the case of "divided" interest, is not a new phenomenon. It is a common knowledge in Nigeria that most school teachers, including those at secondary and some university dons, pursue other business interests most often during school hours. But in fairness to teachers, it must be pointed out that many teachers who pursue other interests do so out of necessity rather than lack of dedication to duty. Teachers are irregularly paid their salaries; sometimes, they are owed several months of salary arrears and yet most of them have families that need to be fed, clothed, and housed. Those of them who are unable to cope with the infrequent payment of salaries have abandoned the teaching profession for greener pastures. And often they are the better qualified and dedicated ones, while those who cannot find alternatives hang on for the fact that they do not want to belong to the ranks of the educated unemployed.

The implication in all these is that the effectiveness of teachers in the classroom is related to their locus within the country's socio-economic system in relation to their colleagues and others in the system, the amount of job satisfaction they enjoy, and the recognition and reward given to efficiency. The maxim that "man does not live by bread alone" obtains when there is enough bread for everyone to eat. Otherwise in a hierarchy of needs, salaries are very important indeed. And given the economic structure of the Nigerian society, and the array of opportunity available to hardworking, bright and competent people, teaching especially at the elementary level is bound to be most people's

last resort. That teachers and the teaching profession are not an enviable lot in Nigeria is vividly illustrated in the following comment:

It is the teacher that is sacked, demoted and degraded on the spot and in the public by the Governor; never the doctor, or engineer or even messenger. It is the teacher that is required to answer questions in grammar or geography in a law court; never the lawyer or the policeman. It is the teacher that must go on strike before he can get his own share of the entitlement which has been paid to messengers and daily paid workers long ago by the same government. It is the teacher that must march on parade with children while other members of the public, high and low, jeer from the pavilion of some stadium. Having collectively created a public concept which has destroyed the morale, the self-image, self-confidence and self-pride of the teacher, we now expect enlightened, bright and self-respecting youngsters to opt for teaching as a profession. It can be argued that the teacher creates his own image, but the government is so eager to appoint any failure, drop-out and frustrated individual as a teacher. The physical and psychological environment in which teachers work, particularly in the primary school, is so depressing and humiliating that no self-respecting person feels excited to be a teacher by choice (Sofenwa, Op.cit., p. 135).

So the beat of teacher under qualification and underperformance goes on, and the echo of lamentations and frustration of parents and concerned Nigerians keep ringing in our ears. Can anything be done to improve this situation? See chapter eight for some suggestions.

(b) The type of environment under which the pupils learn refers to resources like school buildings, classrooms, staff and facilities. And the importance of the above requirements cannot be over-emphasized as far as the quality of teaching and learning in schools are concerned.

Heyneman (1980) observed:

At the minimum a school is acceptable if it can provide a place for students to work without the danger of a roof collapsing; if neither wind nor rain sends students into a corner for protection; if there is a place for each to sit down, a place to write, material to write with, and a certain minimal number of maps, charts, and reference books from which to derive information (p. 13).

In line with Heyneman's thesis, Jamison et al. (1981) pointed out:

Differences in classroom quality as measured by physical facilities, availability of materials, and levels of teacher education appear to

be surprisingly robust as predictors of student achievement (p. 557).

In Nigeria, despite the impressive expansion in school buildings as noted in the previous section, the environment for learning especially in primary schools remains abysmal. Sofenwa (Op.cit.) laments the situation thus:

There was a time when generally the environment, facilities and conditions at school were better than most homes could provide. But today, at least the physical conditions in many homes are far better than the conditions in the schools. Where then is [the] incentive for the child to want to go to school? What inspiration and what excitement can a school give to children from such homes? (p. 137).

He further contends that the building, furniture, instructional materials and facilities in Nigerian public primary schools are so antiquated and so grossly inadequate that it is difficult for any meaningful and purposeful education to take place (pp. 135-136).

According to Urwick (1983) the realities of the inappropriate learning environment to which young UPE pupils are subjected busted out in the open in May 1980 during a meeting of the then 10 Northern states commissioners of education when they resolved "that the UPE scheme, as far as the Northern States were concerned, is a disaster" (p. 334). A communique issued at the end of their meeting stated the following:

Thousands of classes are being held under all sorts of makeshift arrangements, such as under trees, in garages, in borrowed "zaures," in churches, etc. . . . In most of the northern states the percentage of under-qualified teachers ranges from 70 to 92 . . . . The amounts of money that were given bore no resemblance to the acute needs of the states for which the Federal Ministry of Education had all the necessary information . . . This haphazard way in which the whole scheme was being implemented has now led . . . to a serious credibility gap between the parents and authorities . . . . The Federal Government is hereby called upon to declare a state of emergency . . . and to provide due remedy immediately (New Nigerian, May 1980; cited in Urwick, 1983, p. 334).

In a study by Urwick in an unnamed state in Nigeria on teachers and principals perceptions of their teaching environment, the following

descriptions were given by interviewees:

There are very few services in [Town A] and thus many teaching hours are lost as all members of staff have to travel frequently to go to bank, ministry, hospitals, etc.

The effects of water and electricity are undermining the efforts of the entire school. When there is no light . . . no more night prep. for the students . . . When the water tanker breaks down . . . a period or two may be taken by the classes assigned to fetch water. The unwillingness of the staff to stay here is not unconnected with the . . . complete lack of essential facilities (1983, p. 327).

In 1983 when the military once again seized the reigns of political government, Brigadier Sani Abacha—the soldier who announced the military take-over had this to say:

Our educational system was deteriorating at an alarming rate. Every Nigerian has one or two horror stories to tell about the system. If it were not so tragic the famous UPE would be the biggest joke of all. Needless to say, they were not all-weather schools - in bad weather schooling becomes impossible in classrooms that were hardly more than sheds. In the last few years pupils in many states have spent more time at home--or wherever - than they have at school, as their teachers have become part-time due to non-payment of salaries. No wonder many from UPE products are barely literate (Ad' Obe Obe, West Africa, May 1984, p. 977).

As was noted earlier, some states with the highest rate of primary school enrolment growth have instituted the two-shift school arrangement. This arrangement was necessitated by the acute shortage of buildings and classrooms. Some other states which do not want to institute the two-shift arrangement have resorted to holding classes in make shift structures and in church buildings, townhalls, mosques, wooden-sheds, or under tree sheds. The problem of learning environment is so serious and far from being optimum that the last civilian president, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, once commented that it is a common knowledge in Nigeria that "tens of thousands of children in primary schools all over the country either carry their own chairs to school every morning or sit on the ground." (Shagari, 1979: A Convocation Address at the University of

Ilorin). The point in all these is that an educational expansion programme which fails to include in its priority the provision of decent accommodation for the pupils and their teachers sitting under make-shift classrooms, under the sheds, in the sun or rain defeats the purpose and quality of learning.

(c) The equipment available for teaching and learning refers to textbooks, chairs and desks, and writing materials. In the Nigerian primary education system, all of the above are in short supply. It was noted earlier that Heyneman (1980) argued that an essential requirement of an acceptable school is that it provide pupils with a "place to sit down, a place to write and materials to write with" as against a school where pupils carry their sitting and writing desks to and from school, or sit on the hard floors and position their books on their knees as they write. As pointed out by Mwamwenda and Mwamwenda (1987), this kind of classroom arrangement is not only physiologically draining and physically cumbersome, but also educationally unproductive. For "pupils with enough desks and seats learn more effectively than those lacking them, and this is likely to be reflected in their examinations" (Ibid., p. 231). The works of Jamison et al. (1981); Heyneman & Loxley (1983) support the thesis of Mwamwenda and Mwamwenda when they argued that school or classroom equipment can be reliable predictors of academic performance especially in third World countries.

The pages of newspapers in Nigeria are replete with parental condemnations and frustrations about their children's poor performances in examinations. But what seem to be forgotten is that the quality of education when measured in academic performance can not be divorced from school equipments such as books, writing materials, and classroom charts.

The underlying factor in the problem is that the major concern of the government in 1976 was, understandably, to increase the physical growth of primary schools in order to accommodate an increased pupil population. The crisis conditions at the time and the break-neck speed with which the UPE programme was implemented did not permit for optimum consideration of what equipment and facilities the pupils would need in the new schools. As it later dawned on everybody, teachers, textbooks, chalkboards, desks and chairs, almost everything else were in short-supply. Unavoidably the standards of teaching and learning began to erode compared to the quality of education before the introduction of UPE. One should not expect otherwise "When measurements, previously developed for assessing standards within a restricted education, were used to determine quality in a programme of mass education" (Kelly and Lassa, 1983, p. 237). School equipments and facilities may not assume a very important dimension in academic achievement in developed countries (Jencks et al., 1972) but other studies have shown that they are very important to educational learning and achievement particularly in Third World countries like Nigeria (Heyneman, 1980; Cuttance, 1980; Johnstone and Jiyono, 1983; Saha, 1983; Mwamwenda and Mwamwenda, 1987).

The seriousness of the problem of equipment and facilities in the Nigerian primary school system was aptly described by a Nigerian educator and parent in these terms:

There are hardly enough writing and sitting desks for children in our primary schools. My children carry their sitting and writing desks to and from school every school day. They do not leave them in their allotted open spaces that serve as their classrooms because the school cannot be locked up at the end of day. In some village schools sitting chairs are long tree trunks cut into appropriate shapes and sizes with knives and axes. For a good many children the bare floor provides a very handy, if uncomfortable, sitting and writing space and the sight of the children bent double

with heads almost touching the floor in their attempt to write is eloquent testimony of our acceptance and desire to acquire that all-important art and skill of reading and writing. In some states, the State Governments provide children's textbooks and writing materials. Such states may provide a collection of a few books as library. Others run mobile library services especially in townships. Most children in the rural areas may not know and may not have seen or used, a library. A few enthusiastic teachers, especially those fresh from training colleges, provide self-made learning aids on cardboard sheets or wall boards. That's about all the teaching aids we may expect, not forgetting black boards which in many cases are blackened spaces on walls.

Under these conditions it is a miracle that some of the children do learn anything positive. Anyway, learning is natural and children learn whether we teach them or not (Ocho, 1986, pp. 78-79 in Ukeje et al., Op.cit.).

The fact being emphasized is that the availability of school equipment and facilities for teaching and learning are necessary indicators of what goes on in the classroom and how well pupils can learn. For instance, the role of books or reading materials in stimulating the desire to learn was espoused by Husen in 1977. The teacher is a necessary but not sufficient learning resource. The teacher in essence is a catalyst to learning, and whatever information the pupil receives from the teacher has, to a great extent, to be supplemented by private reading on the part of pupil. By reading from books the pupil enriches his/her pool of knowledge and will in all probability perform well on examinations. As Mwamwenda and Mwamwenda (Op.cit.) noted, "where students have access to reading materials or textbooks the dividends in school achievement are splendid" (p. 228).

Perhaps, it should be mentioned that official corruption is very much a contribution to the non-provision of learning equipment and facilities. According to Ad Obe Obe (Op.cit.), "Nigeria" is "over politicized and under governed" (p. 977). Imagine a state governor (Bendel state) spending more than half a million naira (N500,000) on the funeral of his father but could not afford the money to pay his state

teachers' salaries. Or the Benue state government that claimed to have spent one million (N1,000,000) naira on school attendance registers, over three million (N3,000,000) naira on chalk, and one hundred thousand (N100,000) naira on school bells in one month, while teachers and pupils and students for whom these equipments, total N4.1 million were ostensibly purchased were sitting at home for non-payment of salary and non-availability of writing materials. (Ibid.). It is no wonder that the governors of these two states were among the first public officials clamped in jail for official corruption when the military overthrew the civilian government in 1983.

(d) The teacher-pupil ratio refers to the number of pupils in a class under the tutelage and supervision of one teacher. Generally speaking teacher-student ratio is regarded as a good indicator of the quality of education that goes on in school system. In Canada for instance, a teacher-pupil ratio of 1:25 pupils is an acceptable standard. In all probability, anything above the ratio of 1:30 may likely excite parental and community concern for the quality of education and attention the pupils receive from their teachers. The reason for this is that there is a limit in the level of attention a teacher can give to the pupils if class size is abnormally large. And also, given that pupils are different and most have unique learning styles and abilities which demand the attention and supervision of the teacher, it becomes necessary to maintain an acceptable teacher-pupil ratio. For our purpose in this study, an acceptable teacher-pupil ratio will be one teacher per 30 pupils.

In 1977 following the introduction of the universal primary education in Nigeria, the primary school population was 8.2 million but

there were only 200,000 primary school teachers in the country. This figure includes 68,000 unqualified teachers. In terms of teacher-pupil ratio, it means that one teacher had a class size of 41 pupils. For a Third World country like Nigeria with an ambitious educational expansionary programmes, this ratio can be accepted with reluctance. But when the teacher-pupil ratio is determined on the basis of qualified teacher per pupils, the ratio falls to one teacher per approximately 62 pupils. This kind of teacher-pupil ratio should be unacceptable. The above figures stand for national average. But as Table VII.XVII indicates, at the state level, the teacher-pupil ratio in some areas is awfully appalling. It will be assumed that the Grade II teachers on Table VII.XVII are trained teachers since the requirements for a Grade II teacher position is a successful teacher training education. It has to be mentioned that the phenomenal high pupil-teacher ratio on Table VII.XVII is because the computation of figures here are for only Grade II teachers per pupils. The ratio is likely to be lower if all classes of teacher per number of pupils were computed. See Table VI.I for illustrative purposes, but bear in mind that it is pre-UPE in Nigeria.

The figures for the 1980's are not available, but there is still an acute shortage of primary school teachers in the country. Just recently, in May 1988 to be specific, it was reported in West Africa that the director of National Teachers Institute, Alhaji Haafiz Wali had told the Nigerian public that even though that the exact number of primary school teachers needed has not yet be determined, available evidence points to the fact there is acute shortage of teachers, and "that there is cause for concern and something is being done about it" (p. 808).

Table VII.XVII  
Number of Pupils for Grade II Teacher by State

	1975/76	1976/77	1977/78
Anambra	53.4	73.3	72.5
Bauchi	-	82.1	-
Bendel	57.7	60.7	57.4
Benue	74.0	-	182.2
Borno	42.4	76.1	-
Cross River	96.2	97.1	-
Gongola	-	69.3	83.2
Imo	61.7	49.4	-
Kaduna	48.9	53.2	-
Kano	59.2	85.1	120.4
Kwara	59.9	71.9	75.7
Lagos	52.5	48.4	53.1
Niger	-	62.6	-
Ogun	62.8	59.1	75.9
Ondo	60.7	45.4	43.8
Oyo	57.8	53.2	-
Plateau	57.8	128.4	127.9
Rivers	-	-	-
Sokoto	58.4	64.7	77.7

Source: Ukeje et al. (1986, p. 60).

e) The nature of the curriculum refers to the content of what is being taught in primary schools and the relevance to the economic survivability of the primary school graduates. The content of Nigerian primary education is still very bookish or book-learned. Anybody who receives any level of education in Nigeria expects to be rewarded with a paid employment, and education in general is regarded as synonymous with office work. This orientation has its origin in Nigeria's colonial past. The effect of Western-style education at a stage like the primary level, is to make primary school graduates reluctant to do any other work than white collar job. Even when it is obvious that something like farming

could be an economically viable alternative as is the case in Nigeria today, the preferable is still office-work. And the worst thing is that no government in Nigeria has done anything serious to counter this view. The general belief in Nigeria is that education must lead to some form of upward mobility in socio-economic status.

The 1977 and revised 1981 National Policy on Education advocates the inculcation of values and attitudes for the survival of the individual in the Nigerian society; and the "acquisition of appropriate skills, abilities and competences both mental and physical as equipment for the individual to live in and contribute to the development of his society." But the curriculum of primary education through which the above objectives are supposed to be accomplished is inimical to the purpose. The Blueprint of the Implementation Committee for the National Policy on Education, (1978) made this obvious when it lamented:

The problem facing the whole Federation now is what to do with 2.1 million primary school-leavers in June 1982. Unless a drastic restructuring of the primary school curriculum is achieved which would make primary school-leavers not dissatisfied with the rural districts where they were brought up, the whole country is in for serious trouble, because, even with 40 percent proceeding to junior secondary schools, 1.3 million of them would still be waiting to be catered for (p. 50).

As Kelly and Lassa (1983) have argued, there is an obvious complex dilemma here. If Federal Government philosophy of equality of opportunity is based on the assumption that universal primary education will help bring about upward socio-economic mobility, and if the current state of primary education and qualifications that come with it are no longer capable of securing paid-employment in the Nigerian economy, obviously there is a serious problem with primary education programme in Nigeria. The other way to put the argument is that the country's present system of primary education has little relation to the

development needs of the country and the individual persons.

The universal primary education introduced in 1976 was designed to "democratize a system of education that was traditionally based on a colonial ethos" and "the curriculum reflects this" (Ibid., p. 240). But right now, and

given the vast and countless variations in Nigerian society, the only lowest denominator possible is to have a general goal . . . Under the particular conditions in which UPE was introduced, it was safest to opt for the familiar--and thus we have a quasi prescriptive national curriculum being taught with syllabuses designed in and for another age; a curriculum designed for the masses with a minority in mind (Ibid.).

So the need arises for a reflective critical rethinking of the nature and content of the curriculum in use in the primary education in Nigeria.

The solution as suggested by Kelly and Lassa (Ibid.) would be found in the measure of relevance that universal primary education has for the majority of the pupils it is meant to serve. And that is:

since agriculture is the occupation and source of living of the vast majority of Nigerians, it appears reasonable to assume that Primary Education must be relevant to the problems of agricultural families, and it is good sense from a pedagogical point of view to set the teaching of all subjects in the context of the experience of learners (p. 237).

In essence, what is being suggested is the introduction of vocational training into the primary school curricula otherwise "the turning out of millions of barely literate and numerate youngsters devoid of practical skills who are unwilling to accept farming or manual work could have grave consequence"(Harrigan, 1976, p. 276). Of course, in order that this suggested solution be effective and purposeful, the structure of agriculture as it is presently in Nigeria must be revamped to make it more viable and attractive to youngsters.

Growing Educated Unemployed

It is an axiom or a matter of course that formal schooling prepares students for paid employment. As a matter of fact, investments in education are deemed justified if it leads to lucrative employment and the satisfaction of the expected economic benefits. Thus in a country where unemployment of the educated is rampant, something is wrong with that country's educational system.

Before the introduction of the crash programme of free education at all levels in Nigeria, it was primarily the uneducated who were found among the ranks of the unemployed. But today, the unemployed is found among the rank and file of the primary school graduate through to the university level in Nigeria. Hla Myint (1973) points out the dangerous side effects of "crash educational programme" expansion and its aftermath "revolution of rising expectations." He argues that "few countries can go on absorbing poorly trained" graduates of the school system "at a faster rate than their general economic growth" (p. 149) can allow because:

Sooner or later, with their present pattern of educational expansion, many developing countries will have to contend with one of the most explosive problems of discontent and frustration: that of graduate unemployment (Ibid.).

Martin Carnoy (1975) expressed similar observation when he argued:

As schooling expands unemployment moves up to influence the more highly educated graduates. The rapid expansion of primary schooling greatly increases the supply of primary school graduates, also increasing their unemployment rate . . . . This increases the economic pay-off of attending secondary school. If the government responds to demands for more secondary places, eventually the increased supply of secondary graduates . . . creates [further] unemployment. Thus increases the demand for university expansion and results in university unemployed (pp. 122-123).

The cloud of the educated unemployed which both Myint and Carnoy observed

more than a decade ago is looming large and real in Nigeria. The danger to "democracy" and the polity in Nigeria of late is no longer that of the uneducated masses but the fear of the numerous young and educated unemployed people. This was demonstrated in the month of May 1988 when the country came close to a state of anarchy as youthful students and the ranks and file of the educated unemployed took to the streets in violent demonstrations against a small increase in the price of gasoline.

There was a time in Nigeria when employment after any level of schooling was not a problem and graduate employment was a foregone conclusion. Factually speaking, Nigeria at the height of the oil boom was sending recruitment teams abroad to hire qualified Nigerians who wanted to return home and contribute to the development of the country. And often free passage back to Nigeria was provided for the individual and his family, if he had one. Employers in Nigeria frequently scouted for qualified graduates on the local campus even before their graduation. It also often followed that just after a period of one year employment, the newly employed graduate would demand and receive some loan for the purchase of a car.

Those were the days. Then came the economic recession of the early 1980's, the collapse of oil and the dramatic fall in prices. Unfortunately the policy makers in Nigeria did not reckon with the above events and put a halt to unchecked expansionary educational programmes. Neither was provision made for the hard times of the current general unemployment in the country. In desperation, the Nigerian government went to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for some financial assistance. In characteristic style of looking at Third World problems,

the IMF recommended that the "over-grown bureaucracy" be cut down to size and subsidies on local products like gasoline be abandoned. The Nigerian government was also made to freeze on any further employment. (See African Concord, March 1987, pp. 7-15).

In 1982 the first products of the universal primary education launched in 1976, about 2.1 million primary school leavers, graduated. According to the estimate of the Blueprint (Op.cit.), 40 percent of them went on to junior secondary schools, while the rest of them, 1.3 million primary school leavers, joined the ranks of the unemployed. The exact figures of the unemployed at the secondary level are not available. But the situation here is in no form or shape better. Current estimates indicates that by the year 2000, about 2 million secondary school graduates will be unemployed (Diejomaoh, 1984, pp. 8-9, also Umo, 1985, p. 13). There is acute unemployment problem at the university level. A 1984 Federal government survey showed that for the period from October 1982 to October 1983 only 26 percent of the 36 percent of the university graduates who wanted jobs actually got recruited (Report of the Shuttle Employment Enquiries, 1983, cited in Chuta 1986, p. 529). According to Pandit (Op.cit., p. 17) the universities in Nigeria graduated in just four sessions, 1980-1984 an output of 75,515 graduates in these order:

Sub-degree holders	12,804
First degree holders	54,302
Higher degree and post graduate diploma holders	8,409
<hr/>	
Total	75,515

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Judging from the number of people that continue to seek admission

and enrolment into the universities, graduate output will continue to grow over the next decade. It is estimated that by the year 2000, about 100,000 university graduates will be in the labour market (Diejomaoh, Umo, Op.cit.). As a result, the National Universities Commission (NUC) has been began to advocate a cut down in university enrolments. The Executive Secretary of NUC had this to say on the 9th of September 1985:

Major decision already being implemented is one which is designed to slow down the rate of expansion in thirteen older universities, both in terms of total enrolment of students and the variety of academic units and programmes being operated. It will also help to stem the tide of graduate unemployment . . . at least to the extent that there will be no significant increase in the number of graduates who are thrown into the job market every year . . . Relevance of a programme has to satisfy the litmus test of national need and the ability of Nigerian economy both to finance the programme and absorb its eventual graduates into useful productive services (cited in Pandit, Op.cit., p. 17).

The problem of graduate unemployment is hitting the hardest graduates in the humanities and the arts. Science and science related graduates are fareing better for in spite of general graduate unemployment problem in the country, vacancies do exist for people who studied medicine, pharmacy, computer science, and the like. In this context, Hoselitz (1965) in Coleman edition, (Op.cit.) observed:

It is possible that at a given state of the development of a country's resources, a rapid and farflung educational programmes may produce serious short-run misallocations of resources. These misallocations produce excess capacity, with the consequence that certain forms of human capital may be available in such relatively large amounts that they cannot be employed fully in the short run (p. 546).

In general terms, and according to government statistics, there are at least 3 million unemployed Nigerians (African Concord, Op.cit.). There may be many more than this figure and most of them are educated. The situation has gotten worse since the government embarked on its retrenchment exercise and the policy of retiring people at the age of

fifty-five. It is estimated that more than a million people have lost their jobs since this exercise began two years ago (Ibid., p. 13).

Unemployment of the educated has assumed a crisis proportion which if not arrested may bring about disastrous consequences. The Secretary General of the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC) Dr. Lasisi Osunde commented:

There is an urgent need for more aggressive measures to arrest the unemployment situation in Nigeria to stave off social unrest (Ibid.).

It seems that the Federal government is concerned and has adopted some interim measures to combat the situation. In 1986, the President, General Babangida launched a 25 million naira plan to check the tide of educated unemployment. The Federal government directed that every unemployed Nigerian be registered in his/her home state capital as part of a job exchange programme designed to determine the number of the unemployed in each state.

In 1987, the President established a National Directorate of Employment charged with the supervision of the Federal government's job-creating programmes. The agency was given an initial grant of N100 million naira and asked to review 1,000 skilled and unskilled unemployed for a social public works programme. According to the then Minister for Employment and Labour, the major purpose of this programme is to retrain people in the various skills to "enable them become gainfully employed later in life" (Ibid.). This programme is like the job-retraining schemes often sponsored by the Canadian government for the habitually employed when there is scarcity of jobs in their traditional areas of employment.

The long term solution seems to lie in the new educational system of 6-3-3-4 introduced nation-wide in 1985. The flow diagram, Chart VII.I

illustrates the philosophy of the employment oriented and multi-directed system of education in the new 6-3-3-4 system. It is expected that primary and secondary schools should become productive units. According to Pandit (Op.cit.), it is expected that two important benefits would arise. One is the interaction of education and production to help schools produce and market their own products and meet some of their own maintenance costs. The other is the integration of education and production which would minimize, if not eliminate altogether the prevalent attitude of youths scorning life in the rural areas for wage employment in the cities (p. 19).

The unfortunate part in the growing problem of the educated unemployed is that in Nigeria, schooling at any level and the possession of certificates and diplomas are regarded as "meal tickets". Given the unfettered quantitative expansion of educational programmes at all levels, many Nigerians than ever before have gone to school at the different levels and acquired their "meal tickets". But the irony is that the meal is no longer available. And this is a more serious danger to "democracy".

Given our discussion so far, and on the surface, it would appear that the findings here contradict an earlier position in the review of the literature regarding the role of education in economic development and equalizing opportunities. But this is not so, for according to Kazim Bacchus (1981):

education has not been directly responsible for the problem of unemployment but as the public demand for more and higher levels of education increases and the government's attempt to meet these demand, additional resources will have to be diverted to the education sector. And to the extent that this sector continues to absorb funds which might have been alternatively used to finance more productive job-creating projects, it will inhibit economic development and continue to add to the growing unemployment problem which [the country] already [faces] (p. 218).



The point being made is that the formal educational system by itself does not cause unemployment but that any unfettered quantitative expansion of educational programmes without due regard for the absorptive capacity of the local economy, and the quality and spirit of the education, is likely to retard economic growth and bring about the problems of unemployment. Although education has increased in Nigeria, it is of the wrong kind. To paraphrase Hoselitz (Op.cit.), it might be argued that--in purely economic terms--large outlays on the part of the government to provide free education at all levels at a low level of economic performance may be a misplacement of funds devoted to education and to capital formation, in general (p. 543).

#### Funding Problems in the Nation's Educational System

The quantitative achievement in the Nigerian educational system is very impressive. However, the present and future difficulties are the availability of finance. At all the three levels of education, there are severe financial constraints hampering educational programmes. When Nigeria embarked on its educational expansionary programmes in 1976, its leaders had counted on the increasing and steady rise in the price of its oil. As it is now widely known, petroleum exports account for over 90 percent of Nigeria's national income. Nigeria's income in the Third Plan Period (1975-80) was expected to be derived from a daily output of 3 million barrels of petroleum crude. But actual petroleum crude export in the plan period rarely exceeded 2.1 million. And currently, it is not more than 1.6 million barrels per day. The obvious implication is that Nigeria's total revenue from oil since the slump in oil prices in the late 1970's to the present has been considerably less than estimated.

As a result, many projects, including education, are suffering. In the Third National Development Plan, it is stated:

In recognition of the huge capital and recurrent expenditure implications of UPE (Universal Primary Education) scheme, the Federal government has assumed full financial responsibility for the scheme in all its various ramifications (p. 246).

But barely one year after UPE begin, many of the state government were not receiving their funds from the Federal government for the UPE scheme. The Nigerian Observer, (August 18, 1977, p. 1 cited in Ukeje, Op.cit., p. 253) reported a comment by the Plateau State Commissioner of Education to the effect that only N13.3 million of an expected sum of N24 million from the Federal government for the UPE scheme in this state in the first year was received. In another instance, the state Military Governor was credited with the following:

It is therefore crystal clear that the Federal government is forced by circumstances to reduce its financial contribution to various projects . . . The UPE scheme, for example, which was initially intended to be fully financed by the Federal government is now being looked upon primarily as a state venture, but with local government participation. Funds coming from the Federal government are about one-third of the originally intended expenditure. Therefore, in order to fulfil our objectives, state and local effort becomes obvious (New Nigerian, September 10, 1977; see also Ukeje, Ibid.).

As a result, parents, individuals, and communities began to contribute the sum of \$15 per pupil for the sustenance of the UPE scheme. Shortly after, the federal government abandoned its commitment to be the benefactor of the UPE scheme. The government's new line was that it had merely helped the states to launch the programme of free education; the state governments and the local government councils and local communities and parents are buying books, chairs, and tables for their children while state governments continue to seek for means to finance new schools and/or expand the existing ones.

All over the country, the national UPE scheme is in financial quagmire. Even the Head of State at the time the UPE was introduced publicly cautioned that "the government and people must begin to grapple the simple truth that our financial resources cannot sensibly be used exclusively for the UPE scheme" (West Africa, August, 1977, p. 1701). But recently, the federal government announced that it has decided to bear 65 percent of the salaries of primary school teachers in order that the state governments may cater for the other needs of primary school education (West Africa, May 2, 1988, p. 808). This gesture notwithstanding, education at this level continues to suffer from financial hiccup.

The secondary school level is equally in financial distress. Secondary school tuition fee had been abolished, and boarding fee was pegged at the lowest minimum until 1980 when it was revised and is now up by 33 percent. The result is that many parents have been forced to withdraw their children from secondary education. Thus the transition rate from primary school to secondary level is very low all over the country. Lack of finance is generally cited as the cause of poor and inadequate buildings and facilities in secondary education. According to Alaezi and Etim (1988) it was estimated in 1985 that it will cost \$330,000 to establish a single secondary school in a place like Plateau State. Granted that about 60 secondary schools are needed in the state, it will cost 60 x \$330,000 or \$19,800,000 to provide them. Available evidence as noted already indicates that Plateau State cannot afford it.

The story at the university level is not different. Although the federal government abolished tuition fees, fees for board and lodging have more than doubled. For instance, in the 1977-78 academic

session board and lodging fees in all Nigerian universities increased from \$180.00 per academic year to \$370.00. This resulted in the student riot of that year during which more than four students lost their lives. Other information from the National Universities Commission (NUC) indicates that the actual government funds for the universities has consistently fallen short of projected expectations, See Table VII.XVIII for trend analysis from 1976 to 1982. The Nigerian government's argument is that the down-ward turn in the nation's economy caused by the worldwide oil glut is responsible for the lack of funds for university education.

Table VII.XVIII  
Nigerian Universities Finance (Recurrent--N Million)

	1975/76	1976/77	1977/78	1978/79	1979/80	1980/81	1981/82
NUC recommended expenditure	160.7	186.8	204.5	221.6	233.6	290.3	343.5
Total universities income	149.3	168.8	180.3	140.0	185.0	206.9	288.0
Shortfall	12.4	18.0	24.2	81.6	48.6	83.4	55.5

Source: NUC (1978) Table 33, p. 76; NUC (1983) Nigerian Federal universities Recurrent Grants 1978-1983. See also Enahwo (1985), p. 312.

The problem of funding at the three levels of education can be summed up in the "Guidelines" for the Fourth National Development Plan, 1981-85, when it states:

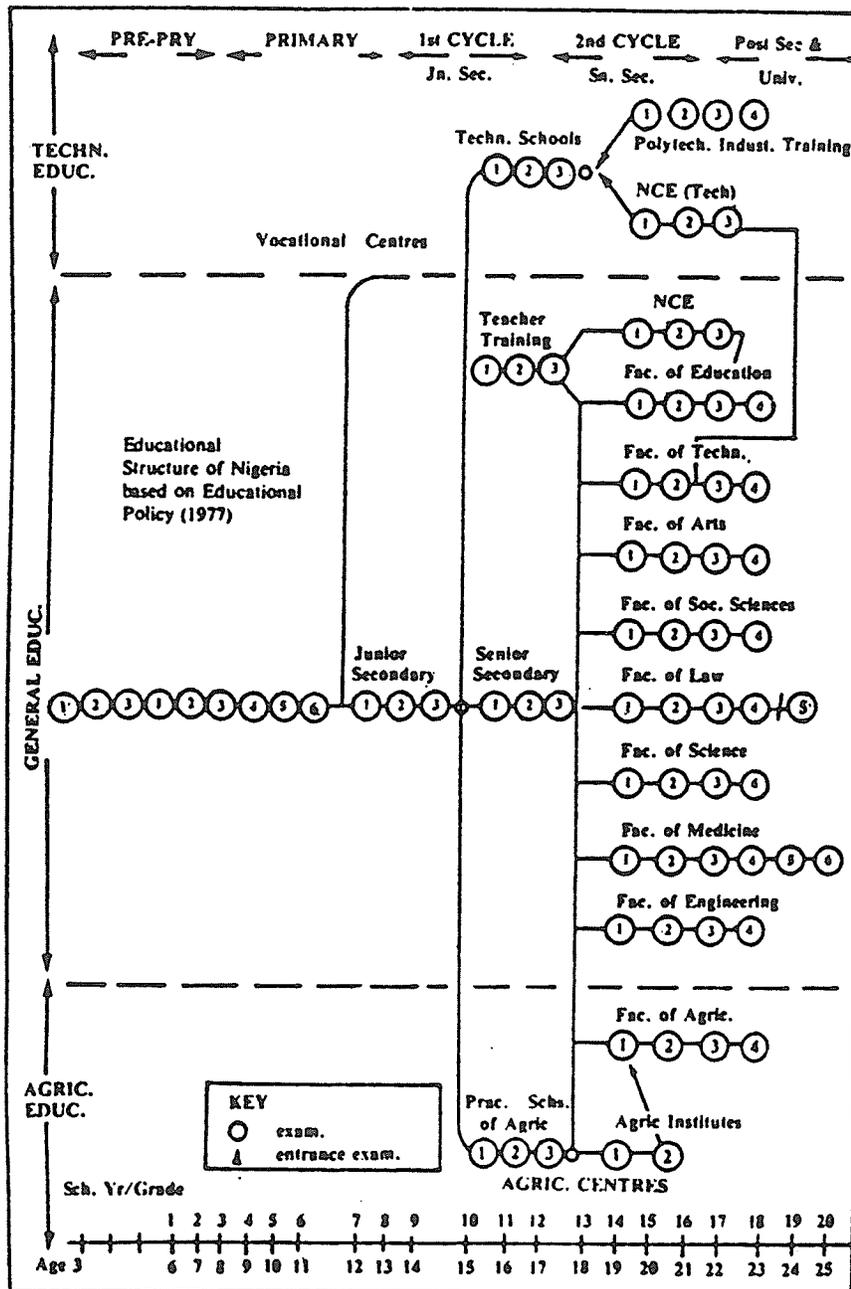
Recent developments in the sector suggest that economic considerations, especially financial considerations, will play a greater role in determining future policy in education. While the importance of education will continue to be recognized, steps will be taken to ensure that it does not take up a disproportionate amount of available resources. Economy in the provision of facilities will therefore increasingly be the watchword. The strategy of general expansion at all levels will be reviewed in the interest of an optimum allocation of scarce resources. It is unrealistic, considering our stage of economic development, to aspire to develop all levels of education at the same rate . . . The strategy will seek to consolidate the quantitative gains already achieved in the area of primary and university education . . . In particular it will seek to expand facilities for secondary and technical education drastically. It is clear that the demand for schooling at this level will be dramatically transformed as the country draws near the end of the first UPE cycle in 1982." (See also West Africa, 22 September, 1980, p. 1804).

In 1984, the committee of vice-chancellors of all Nigerian universities, following previous year's budgetary allocations and student enrolments, estimated yearly costs (recurrent and capital) of free education at all levels (including technical and vocational) to be N2,134 billion, at the primary level, N1,113 billion at the secondary level, and N2,765 billion at the university level, for a total of N6,012 billion. (Swamy 1984); (Chuta, Op.cit., p. 528). The expected total revenue for the Federal government was N11 billion. If according to the vice-chancellors estimate it would cost N6,012 billion in total expenditure to provide free and quality education at all levels in Nigeria in 1984, it will cost approximately 55 percent of all total Federal government revenue to sustain free education programme in Nigeria. But if it happens that free education is provided to the primary level only, it will cost about 19 percent of total government revenue; if provided to both primary and secondary levels only, it will cost approximately 30 percent of total government revenue. The point being made is that free quality education in Nigeria whether at all levels or limited to the

first two levels will absorb either 55 percent or 19 to 30 percent of total revenue in Nigeria.

The acute shortage of funds in the Nigerian educational system is bound to intensify given the new sophisticated and diversified system 6-3-3-4 introduced nation-wide in 1985 (see chart VII.II). As Coombs (1985) pointed out, success in any educational reform is dependent on the availability of funds and resources to meet projections. In terms of financial resources, the new educational system will require workshops, laboratories, buildings, furniture and equipment, libraries, textbooks and materials, and running costs on training, recruitment and maintenance of teachers and administrators. Table VII.XIX is a projection compiled to give an indication of the financial requirement for meeting current costs alone in the next ten years.

Chart VII.II



Source: Adopted from Pandit (Op.cit., p. 20).

Table VII.XIX

Projected Running Costs for the Different Levels of Education in  
Nigeria 1985, 1990, and 2000

Year	1st Level N	2nd Level N	3rd Level N	Total N
0	1	2	3	4
1985	1,174	952	642	2,768
1990	1,875	2,392	2,198	6,465
2000	3,110	6,276.6	5,905	15,292

The above cost projections were calculated by multiplying enrolment figures in Appendix K and Table VII.VI by unit costs per pupil/student assumed as follows:

	1985	1990	2000
1st Level (N)	80	100	120
2nd Level (N)	250	350	550
3rd Level (N)	2000	4500	6500

It can be seen from Table VII.XIX that educational cost in the new school system is projected to increase from N3.1 billion to N15.2 billion by the year 2000. This is a five-fold increase in educational expenditure. And given the present state of Nigerian economy, the idea of free education at all levels needs to be reevaluated.

The Inequality in Educational Opportunity Persists

It may be recalled that one of the motives behind the introduction of free education at all levels in Nigeria is the desire to equalize opportunities for all Nigerians. As was noted in the first section of the chapter, a lot has been achieved in terms of numerical enrolment in all levels of the Nigerian education System. More schools and universities have been established, especially in those areas that did not have one before the expansionary programmes began. School fees at the primary and secondary levels, and tuition fees at the college and university levels have been ostensibly abolished. In some States, like Sokoto State for example, pre-UPE enrolment was one of the lowest in Nigeria, perhaps 10 percent or below the national average. But today an important change in educational enrolment is taking place, and 42 percent or more is a creditable average in Sokoto State, necessitating what some observers have called "educational explosion" in that part of Nigeria (see West Africa, 15 October, 1978, p. 2034). Other States that shared comparative situations have also recorded similar change and growth in enrolment (see Educational Planning: Special Issue, Federal Ministry of Education, UNESCO Planning Team, 1985). In addition, many individuals who might not have received any form of formal education without free education have had the opportunity to do so.

However, the automatic leveling effect in educational opportunities expected is still very far from reality. There has been a tendency for the states or areas that had the highest enrolment growths before the educational expansionary programme of the past decade (1976-86) to continue to do so while the States or areas that were originally behind continue to try to catch up. There is a great number of drop-outs and

failures, and a poor survival rate in the primary school system. At the secondary level, the transition rate from the primary class VI to first year secondary education varies from state to state but the national average as the Tables indicate are still far from reaching equality of opportunity objective. In examinations, the number of students who pass in relation to all candidates who sat for the West African Schools Certificate/General Certificate Examination (WASC/GCE) of the West African Examination Council (WAEC) continues to drop during the past decade (Pandit, Op.cit., p. 14).

Table VII.XX shows the survival rates of primary school pupils going from Primary Class I to Class IV during 1976-77 to 1979/80 by the then 19 states of Nigeria.

Table VII.XX

Survival Rates by States for Primary School Pupils Going from Grade I  
(1976-77) to Grade IV (1979-80)

S/No.	State	Grade I 1976-77	Grade IV 1979-80	Survival Rate
1	Kaduna	281,124	89,154	31.7
2	Plateau	171,272	80,724	47.1
3	Anambra	276,842	141,482	51.1
4	C/River	233,907	122,268	52.3
5	Benue	276,169	55,127	56.2
6	Gongola	112,704	77,326	68.6
7	Bauchi	102,908	73,702	71.6
8	Ogun	75,644	56,626	74.9
9	Imo	260,918	198,166	75.9
10	Bendel	174,370	34,648	77.2
11	Borno	88,160	69,000	78.3
12	Ondo	112,645	91,716	81.4
13	Rivers	94,585	79,432	84.0
14	Lagos	84,608	73,115	86.4
15	Niger	72,301	66,047	91.4
16	Sokoto	78,721	77,417	98.3
17	Kano*	193,064	195,278	101.1
18	Oyo	194,195	210,565	108.4
19	Kwara*	87,293	117,346	134.4
20	Nigeria	2,971,431	2,109,139	70.98
	Nigeria excluding Kwara and Kano	2,891,074	1,796,515	66.8

Source: Federal Ministry of Education, Lagos cited in Pandit, Ibid., p. 13.

As can be seen from the Table VII.XX, the survival rate varies from state to state with Kaduna State recording the lowest and Kwara State the highest. The national rate is 71 percent. The exceedingly high survival

rates for the three States of Kano, Oyo and Kwara should be subject to verification because sometimes, some states submit inflated figures to the Federal Ministry of Education.

Table VII.XXI shows the progression of the 1976-77 Grade I pupils up to Grade VI in 1981-82. The high drop-out rate between Grades I and II stands out. The overall survival rates of these first UPE groups for these 7 States--Grade VI as a percentage of the original Grade I--ranges from the lowest 45.4 percent for Plateau State to the highest 95.6 percent for Sokoto State. For the States of Anambra, Plateau, and Kaduna, enrolments with more than 50 and 68 percent drop-out rates are not in line with the goals of universality.

Table VII.XXII shows the number of Primary VI pupils for the then 19 States for 1978-79 to 1982-83. Figures for the Federal Capital Territory are included. The changes from 1978-79 to 1982-83 are shown in absolute numbers and in percentages. Two states, Anambra and Imo show lower primary VII enrolments in 1982-83 as compared to 1978-79. In the case of Kano State the number of primary VII leavers increased from 21,207 to 152,726 or 131,519 change in growth which translates into 620 percent. Gongola State recorded 429 percent increase, Niger State 336 percent increase, and Kaduna State recorded 325 percent increase.

As it is clearly illustrated in Tables VII.XXIII and XXIV, the States which had a phenomenal increase in the number of primary school leavers often could not provide places for them in the secondary level as compared with the states with lower number of primary school leavers. This means that when universality and equality are about to be reached at one level, inequality surfaces in another.

Table VII.XXIII above illustrates the enrolment in the first year of

Table VII.XXI  
Progression of Primary Grade I Enrolment 1976-77 to Grade VI 1981-82,  
grade-to-grade Progression Rates (%) and Survival Rate (%), in Seven  
States of Nigeria

State	Item	Grade I 1976-77	Gr. II 1977-78	Gr. III 1978-79	Gr. IV 1979-80	Gr. V 1980-81	Gr. VI 1981-82	Survival rate Gr. I-VI
Anambra	Nos	276,843	212,570	170,013	155,375	135,082	132,037	
	Rate	-	76.8%	80.0%	91.4%	86.9%	97.7%	47.7%
Lagos	Nos	84,608	82,486	83,007	73,115	77,851	69,012	
	Rate	-	97.4%	100.6%	88.1%	106.4%	88.6%	81.6%
Ogun	Nos	75,644	62,565	61,961	56,626	48,988	47,907	
	Rate	-	82.7%	99.0%	91.4%	86.5%	97.8%	63.3%
Ondo	Nos	112,645	89,654	76,199	91,716	85,524	81,422	
	Rate	-	79.6%	85.0%	120.4%	93.3%	95.2%	72.3%
Gongola	Nos	112,704	93,158	84,223	77,326	78,638	70,267	
	Rate	-	82.7%	90.4%	91.8%	101.7%	89.4%	62.3%
Plateau	Nos	171,272	128,942	107,790	79,642	94,672	77,756	
	Rate	-	75.3%	83.6%	73.9%	118.9%	82.1%	45.4%
Sokoto	Nos	78,721	78,525	78,575	77,417	77,417	75,257	
	Rate	-	99.8%	100.1%	98.5%	100.0%	97.2%	95.6%

Sources: Federal Ministry of Education tabulations, Evaluation of UPE Vol. 1.  
1984, p. 30.

Table VII.XXII

Enrolment in Primary Grade VI, by State, 1978-79 to 1982-83

Federation of Nigeria							Change 1978-79/1982-83	
STATE	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82	1982-83	Numbers	%	
(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	
Anambra	107,708	143,703	124,538	132,037	103,601	- 4,107	- 3.8	
Bauchi	11,554	26,397	48,343	59,998	70,856	+ 59,302	+513.3	
Bendel	93,627	93,965	95,586	97,149	103,091	+ 9,464	+ 1.0	
Benue	43,471	77,448	79,386	92,847	95,167	+ 51,696	+118.9	
Borno	...	28,472	56,351	54,333	63,775	...	...	
Cross River	91,748	92,655	91,388	92,434	101,854	+ 10,106	+ 11.0	
Gongola	16,226	27,195	48,657	70,267	85,749	+ 69,523	+428.5	
Imo	143,951	152,765	155,467	129,060	119,040	- 24,911	- 17.3	
Kaduna	40,617	43,725	79,728	154,806	172,454	+131,837	+324.6	
Kano	21,207 <sup>a)</sup>	53,979 <sup>b)</sup>	38,050	197,849	152,726	+131,519	+620.2	
Kwara	29,675	37,483	49,853	100,918	106,881	+ 77,206	+260.2	
Lagos	46,468	49,430	56,243	69,012	71,354	+ 24,386	+ 53.6	
Niger	16,872 <sup>b)</sup>	8,026	12,941	66,054	73,630	+ 56,758	+336.4 <sup>d)</sup>	
Ogun	36,933	38,398	37,249	47,907	52,601	+ 15,668	+ 42.4	
Ondo	49,585	65,716	69,517	64,239 <sup>c)</sup>	84,290	+ 34,705	+ 70.0	
Oyo	102,457	142,171	165,168	121,444 <sup>c)</sup>	126,427 <sup>c)</sup>	+ 23,970	+ 23.4	
Plateau	24,794	30,366	39,187	77,756	74,418	+ 49,624	+200.1	
Rivers	...	64,164	56,822	49,280	68,159	...	...	
Sokoto	45,030 <sup>b)</sup>	20,342	27,368	75,257	68,403	+ 23,373	+ 51.9 <sup>d)</sup>	
F.C.T.	-	-	869	4,581 <sup>c)</sup>	3,248	+ 3,248	-	
NIGERIA	...	1,196,400	1,332,711	1,747,376	1,797,724	...	...	
17 States <sup>1)</sup>	921,923	1,103,764	1,219,538	1,653,615	1,665,790	+743,867	+ 80.7	

a) Pr. VII enrolment. b) Pr. VI & VII enrolment. c) Enrolment reported by State MOE in 'Proforma B' differs from other tabulations. 1) Borno and Rivers States excluded.

Note: - . . . means data not available.

Sources: FMEST; State MOE tabulations; State MOE Reports (1981-82 and 1982-83 data), adopted from Report of the National Workshop on Planning for Senior Secondary Education, Federal Ministry of Education, Lagos, 1985, p. 20.

post-primary education for the years 1979-80 to 1983-84. The states' enrolments fluctuated in some years; otherwise, most states showed increases. This is demonstrated in the columns where the 1983-84 increases over 1979-80 are indicated in absolute numbers and in percentages. In absolute numbers two extremes can be noted, Oyo state, with above 64 thousand and Bendel state with more than 2 thousand. But in relative terms, Oyo state recorded 114.7 percent in comparison with Kaduna state with 40 thousand in absolute numbers which represents 352 percent increase over the 1979-80 intake of 11,400. Gongola state recorded the second highest increase while the states of Anambra, Bendel, Benue, Borno, Cross Rivers, Kwara, Ogun, Ondo and Sokoto had percentage increases ranging from 15.8 to 87.7 percent.

Table VII.XXIV shows the transition rate by state for the 1979-80 to the 1983-84 admissions into the first years of post-primary education. Free secondary education was started in 1980-1981 session, and 1982-83 was the year that the first UPE products (1976-82) began to enrol into secondary schools. As can be seen from Table VII.XXIV, some states (six in number) achieved or surpassed the 70 percent transition rate recommended by the Third National Development Plan (p. 252). Eight states were able to reach between 40 and 65 percent, five states (Anambra, Benue, Gongola, Kano and Kwara) failed to reach even 40 percent, and Kano kept the rear with a transition rate of 19.8 percent. When the rates for 1983-84 are compared with the 1982-83 transition rate, only two states showed any increase (Anambra by 11 percent and Lagos by 10.8 percent). All others recorded a decrease in intake ranging from 10 percent to 51 percent. This supports an earlier observation that states where primary school leavers have increased phenomenally are unable to

Table VII.XXIII

Enrolment in the 1st Year of Post-Primary Education, by State,  
1979-80 to 1983-84

STATE	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82	1982-83	1983-84	Federation of Nigeria	
						Increase 1983-84 over 1979-80	
						Numbers	%
(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Anambra	35,489	51,724	49,453	41,236	43,793	8,304	23.4
Bauchi	9,390	8,589	11,997	28,491	25,994	16,604	176.8
Bendel	83,507	98,657	101,277	95,988	86,400	2,893	3.4
Benue	13,848	34,677	27,502	34,064	25,558	11,710	84.6
Borno	12,682	18,989	...	22,487	23,730	11,048	87.1
Cross River	38,192	48,399	46,373	48,000	50,935	12,743	33.4
Gongola	8,680	13,118	18,845	27,568	27,448	18,768	216.2
Imo	48,000	78,429	52,979	83,000	69,629	21,629	45.1
Kaduna	11,400	18,733	25,303	62,135	51,542	40,142	352.1
Kano	10,482	24,830	14,391	39,131	24,726	14,244	135.8
Kwara	24,748	24,812	31,407	36,623	38,987	14,239	57.5
Lagos	29,963	50,467	51,761	62,502	72,353	42,390	141.4
Niger	8,130	7,770	8,754	30,000	24,000	15,879	195.2
Ogun	23,592	47,194	39,316	41,651	44,291	20,699	87.7
Ondo	49,017	69,802	65,539	71,145	84,285	35,268	71.9
Oyo	56,406	107,566	125,243	116,604	121,102	64,696	114.7
Plateau	14,051	14,819	19,280	34,791	32,596	18,545	132.0
Rivers	...	30,513	36,004	41,772	21,257	...	...
Sokoto	20,584	20,126	20,183	30,570	23,832	3,248	15.8
F.C.T.	-	335	1,433	3,310	2,594	2,594	-
F.G.C.s	4,140	4,810	5,179	5,850	6,125	1,985	47.9
<b>NIGERIA</b>	...	774,359	...	956,918	901,177	...	...
Total							
17 States <sup>1)</sup>	489,619	724,857	716,215	892,659	856,190	366,571	74.9

1) Borno and Rivers States excluded.

Note:- ... means data not available.

Sources: FMEST; State MOE tabulations; State MOE Reports (1982-83 and 1983-84 data).

Table VII.XXIV: Transition Rates from Primary Grade VI to Secondary Form I, by State, 1979-80 to 1983-84<sup>1)</sup>  
Federation of Nigeria

STATE	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82	1982-83	1983-84
(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Anambra	32.9	36.0	37.9	31.2	42.3
Bauchi	(81.3)	43.8	24.8	47.4	36.7
Bendel	89.2	105.0	106.0	98.8	83.8
Benue	31.9	44.8	34.6	36.7	26.9
Borno	...	66.7	...	41.4	37.2
Cross River	41.6	52.2	44.5	51.9	50.0
Gongola	53.4	48.2	38.7	39.2	32.0
Imo	33.3	51.3	34.1	64.3	58.3
Kaduna	28.1	42.8	31.7	40.1	29.9
Kano	49.4	46.0	37.8	19.8	16.2
Kwara	(83.4)	66.2	63.0	36.3	36.4
Lagos	64.4	102.1	92.0	90.6	101.4
Niger	48.2	(96.8)	67.6	45.4	32.6
Ogun	63.9	122.9	105.5	86.9	84.2
Ondo	98.9	106.2	94.3	110.8	100.0
Oyo	55.1	75.7	75.8	96.0	95.8
Plateau	56.7	48.8	49.2	44.7	43.8
Rivers	...	47.6	63.4	84.8	34.0
Sokoto	45.7	(98.9)	73.7	40.6	34.8
F.C.T.	-	-	-	72.3	79.9
NIGERIA	...	64.7	...	54.8	50.1
Average of 17 States <sup>2)</sup>	53.1	65.7	58.7	54.0	54.2

1) Intake into Secondary I (all types) as % of Primary VI of the Preceding school year.

2) Borno and Rivers States excluded.

Note:- ... means data not available. Data in ( ) require verification.

Sources: State MOE tabulations and Reports compiled by the National Workshop on Planning for Secondary Education, Ibid., p. 18.

provide a commensurate transition capacity at the next level of education.

At the university level, inequality of educational opportunity is even more problematic. Most of the qualified applicants cannot find places in the university system. (See Table IV.I). The university system and population in Nigeria is still very elitist, and female enrolment is still proportionately below that of male enrolment. According to a study by Woodhouse (1987), members of both the middle and upper-classes are overrepresented in most Nigerian universities in comparative to their numbers in the society as a whole, while members of the lower class numbering about 60-85 percent of the population are unrepresented in Nigerian universities (p. 123); see also Becket and O'Connell (1977). Furthermore, the study by Woodhouse found that:

While women as a whole were under-represented at Nigerian universities, it was women from the lower social class that were particularly conspicuous by their absence (pp. 124-125).

Another study by Biraimah (1987) found that the percentage of female enrolment at one Nigerian university has consistently paralleled national trends of relative marginality and slow growth. The university opened in 1962 with 9 percent of the undergraduate population representing women; after 20 years of operation, female undergraduate enrolment at this university was estimated at 22 percent in 1982 (p. 572).

Added to the above problems is the fact that school fees which were supposedly eliminated are being reintroduced in some states in the forms of one contribution fund or the other. And university tuition which was abolished is now being recouped in the form of inflated board and lodging fees. All these and more have accentuated the existing educational inequalities between the socio-economic classes, the states, and the various ethnic and regional groups. The persistence of inequality of

opportunity is compounded when the millions that have been educated cannot find jobs of any kind, or find places for further studies at the next level of education.

On the whole, the idea of free education at all levels designed to serve as an equalizer by bringing education to all Nigerians has probably failed. Those who have benefitted are in the minority, though a minority that includes many who would have not had the opportunity had it not been for the programme of free education at all levels.

#### The Search for National Unity Revisited

Among the objectives of the 1977 National Policy on Education is the use of education as a means to foster national unity. The basic aim is the elimination of the political and social problems that have often affected the country from the unbalanced educational development among the various ethnic groups in general and between the North and South in particular. Often the argument is heard that the differences in educational development is the root cause of Nigeria's political instability.

It was also noted in chapter two in the literature review that documented evidence abounds that supports education as a means to weld together people of ethnic diversities who happen to share a common polity. The countries of Western Europe, the United States of America and the Soviet Union are usually cited as practical examples where education has played a major role in keeping together diverse groups of people and giving them a national consciousness and political cohesion.

So, the question may be asked, to what extent has education helped to promote or foster national unity in Nigeria, given the enormous amount of money that has been pumped into the Nigerian educational system

especially in the past decade ? Well, there is no civil war in Nigeria today. It can even be said that there is some relative peace and cohesion in the country. But many Nigerians are of the opinion that education has not generated the expected integration amongst the various ethnic groups. It is in fact believed that most of the destructive forces that have afflicted Nigeria have often been released by the so-called well-educated Nigerians. Nigeria has produced people who compose and read poetry and have won Nobel Laureate. There are thousands of university graduates with Masters and Ph.D. degrees. But among these group of Nigerians are found the most tribalistic. Ikejiani (Op.cit., p. 101) supports this view when he commented:

Take the need for national unity. With all our graduate education we have not learned to respect our nation. We still do violence to the spirit of our nation, because we place self and tribe above nation. The agents of disunity in our country are highly educated and many used their education or miseducation to sow the seeds of discord in the nation instead of building a bridge to join our differing tribes.

Yakubu Gowon (Nigeria's President from 1966 to 1975) lamented the problem when he said

Unfortunately, our universities instead of playing their proper role have fallen victim of some of the evils which plagued us in this country. Take tribalism, for instance; it is a matter for regret that the University of Ibadan, made up of eminent scholars, has not been able to set the right example for the whole country by containing the more glaring manifestations of tribal chauvinism. Far too many individuals have tried in this institution to use tribalism as an instrument for attaining personal ends (Pierre van den Berghe, 1973, pp. 223-24 in Young, 1981, p. 145).

In another instance, Professor K. O. Dike (the late vice-chancellor of Ibadan University, and former professor of history (African Studies) at Harvard University), remarked:

It must be said to our shame that the Nigerian intellectual, far from being an influence for national integration, is the greatest exploiter of parochial and clannish sentiment . . . As you leave

us, you are going into a Nigeria torn by tribal strife, a country in which deep suspicions exist between different sections. You will be no credit to this university if you leave us to join the band of educated advocates of tribal division and strife and worshipers of tribal gods (Ibid.).

Crawford Young also observed:

At Ahmadu Bello University in Nigeria, . . . northern opinion preferred retention of a substantial and eventually replaceable expatriate cadre to a largely Nigerian staff that would, initially, be mainly Southerner. Space is thus reserved for the later appearance of qualified northern candidates. In 1976, half of the faculty were expatriates, though an adequate supply of Nigerian candidates could have been found to replace most, but for the defacto quota on southern Nigerians (Ibid., p. 153).

Or take the case of the July and August 1979 national elections that returned the country to a four year period of civilian rule (1979-83) before the military intervened one more time in the country's politics. It left some food for thought on the minds of those Nigerians who still count on mass educational development as the means to solving the country's socio-political problems. What was revealed in the elections was not pleasurable to "those who had wished for some transcendence of ethnicity" (Larry Diamond, in William Zartman ed. 1983, p. 42). In the word's of Dent (1979, p. 1406 in Diamond, Ibid.), "there was a sad level of regional and tribal correlation in voting behavior." The leaders of all five major political parties received support according to their ethnic origins and ethnic interest. See Table VII.XXV. To paraphrase Ofonagoro (1981, p. 2334), it shows the apparent impossibility of eliminating tribalism, or fostering ethnic integration and national unity through education because most of the party leaders and their political henchmen are educated Nigerians. It is a terrible tragedy that has been the cancer-worm creating political and social instability; education whether of the mind or body has failed to promote political unity in Nigeria.

Table VII.XXV  
1979 Election Results

	National Total	Four Yoruba States*	Four Hausa States**	Two Igbo States***
<b>Presidential vote</b>				
NPN	33.8%	7.8%	47.7%	11.2%
UPN	29.2	88.7	3.5	0.7
NPP	16.8	2.3	2.7	84.7
GNPP	10.0	0.4	14.6	2.3
PRP	10.3	0.3	31.7	1.1
<b>Senatorial vote</b>				
NPN	33.1%	13.3%	41.5%	14.1%
UPN	24.4	83.4	4.2	1.2
NPP	17.3	1.8	2.5	76.7
GNPP	14.9	1.3	21.2	6.5
PRP	10.3	0.1	30.6	1.4
<b>House of Representatives</b>				
<b>Seats Won</b>				
NPN	37.4%	4.5%	55.1%	8.5%
UPN	24.7	95.5	0.7	-
NPP	17.4	-	2.2	91.5
GNPP	9.6	-	5.9	-
PRP	10.9	-	36.0	-
<b>State Legislative</b>				
<b>Seats Won</b>				
NPN	36.2%	3.8%	52.0%	12.4%
UPN	24.7	96.2	1.0	-
NPP	16.8	-	2.5	85.9
GNPP	11.7	-	10.0	-
PRP	10.7	-	34.5	-

\*Lagos, Ogun, Ondo Oyo.

\*\*Bauchi, Kaduna, Kano, Sokoto.

\*\*\*Anambra and IMO.

Source: Computed from "Nigeria Verdict - 1979," prepared by Chief (Mayor) H. E. Oboh (in Okadigbo 1981, pp. 129-138), and adopted from Diamond in Zartman ed. Op.cit., p. 43.

A new and terrifying dimension, potent and more dangerous to the relative peace and quiet in the country at present has been introduced, namely, the destabilizing force of religion. There are two dominant religions in Nigeria, Christianity and Islam. Most of the 1980's have witnessed banner headlines from Nigerian and other journals and news magazines that read: "Nigeria: Across the religious divide," "Rival faiths: an uneasy peace" (African Concord, March 1988); "Nigeria: Religious riots at Gombe" (West Africa, May 1985); "Nigeria: Religion sparks riots" (New African, May 1987); "Nigeria: The Religious dimension" (West Africa, July 1988). In all of the above cases, educated Nigerians or their places of learning were implicated as the sources of the new political mayhem. Maxwell Nwagboso (1988) observed:

Religious rioting is not restricted to the streets, nor is fanaticism to be found only among "misguided and simple-minded Nigerians". Some educated Nigerians have been known to indulge in violence as a means of "defending" their faith. On May 3, 1986, the University of Sokoto was engulfed in chaos when members of the Muslim Students' Society (MSS) became violent while protesting against the programme of events prepared by the university students' union for the commemoration of the achievements of Nana Asamau, the daughter of Othman dan Fodio.

The MSS members, who belong to the Izala Muslim fundamentalist group led by the controversial Sheikh Abubakar Gumi, attacked their fellow students with dangerous weapons during the protest and set the vice-chancellor's office on fire. Only two days later, an unknown group set fire to a wooden sculpture of The Risen Christ at the chapel of the University of Ibadan.

More recently, on June 14, Ahmadu Bello University (ABU), Zaria, was shut down following a sectarian clash during an ill-fated students' union election. At least 100 students were injured during the disturbances; one of them died from his injuries (West Africa, July 18, 1988, p. 1294).

Greg Obong-Oshotse (1988) describing the circle of religious disturbance in Nigeria commented:

The last one in March 1987 has remained one of the most disturbing. Within a week, what had started as an apparently containable clash between Christian and Moslem students at a college of education, spread like wild bush fire in harmattan to six other towns. Before a combined team of soldiers and policemen could restore normality,

25 people had been killed and 61 injured. Six hundred suspects were arrested. Damaged property included 40 churches, three mosques, 46 private houses, 30 hotels, 19 vehicles and nine cattle. Most were completely razed to the ground with petrol fire (African Concord, March 18, 1988, p. 11).

Following the above rioting, the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) spokes-person at Ahmadu Bello University expressed as shocking "the obviously premeditated and coordinated acts of arson and assault on public peace by a group claiming to be acting in the interest of Islam" (New African, May 1987, p. 37).

So, what used to be described as an undirected episodic social unrest has metamorphosized into a deliberate, organized attack often initiated and directed by educated Nigerians. The argument that the differences in educational development between the North and the South in particular, and the various ethnic groups in general was the root cause of Nigeria's political instability should be re-evaluated.

What theory can possibly explain Nigeria's apparent inability to use education as a bridge to unite and integrate the various peoples of Nigeria? Four hypothetical and suggestive reasons are presented here; they range from the realistically logical to the somewhat cynical. Of course, further studies in each of them may help to explicate the problem. One is that there may be something in the national psyche that forces educated Nigerians to reject the socio-political integrative dynamics of education for the disintegrative and destructive aspect. The second is that Nigeria, possibly has not yet found the best or right form of education for her people. Or in the cynical remark of one University of Manitoba professor, that, "Nigerians are a different breed." And lastly, that education for national unity should not be the repeat-after-me slogans often couched in pious generalizations in which nobody believes.

This observation by Abennethy (Op.cit., p. 259) may also be applicable. That:

One consequence of educational expansion . . . is that schools become progressively less capable of giving their students the kind of personal contact with different groups that can give rise to truly national sentiments.

Given the not-promising picture presented in this section, can it be said that there is no hope for Nigeria in her pursuit of unity by means of educational expansion? It is rather hard to say. However, one can take counsel in the following observation by Abernethy:

If a political system lacks a sense of unity-in-diversity, it may still be considered integrated if its domestic conflicts do not become so intense that extralegal methods must be used to resolve them. A polity may also be considered integrated if the lines of conflict cut across rather than reinforce each other, and if this cross-cutting pattern leads not to a stalemate of hostile forces but to a dynamic process of mutual interaction that strengthens the institutions through which contending groups struggle for power (Op.cit., pp. 261-62).

But then, extralegal methods have been used in Nigeria to resolve domestic conflicts. Recall the Nigerian civil war of 1967-1970 in which millions of people died. If we accept Abernethy's observation of "conflict-cut-across" cultural lines, we in essence accept David Easton's (1965) "political community" model in which groups or people may or may not be culturally integrated but in which they consent to continue to struggle with each other within approved common institutions (p. 177). We can then say that there is hope for Nigeria.

#### Manpower Shortage Persists

Given the findings in the section b of this chapter that Nigeria, for sometime now, is facing the problems of growing educated unemployed, it will seem odd to say that manpower shortage remains in Nigeria. Recall Bert Hoselitz's argument that at a certain point in the development of a

country's resources, an excessive expansion of educational programme may produce serious misallocations of resources, and that such misallocations produce surplus capacity with the implication that certain forms of human capital may be available in relatively large ratios that the economy cannot absorb them, while certain forms of human capital continues to be in short-supply. This is exactly what has happened in Nigeria. There is an overproduction of manpower at the junior and some areas of the intermediate levels, while there is still manpower shortage at the higher and managerial levels.

In the developed countries, for instance in Canada, a relatively high correlation exists between particular kinds of educational training and future occupational pursuits, like a person who studied medicine going out actually to practice medicine, or the individual trained in business and management studies going out actually to occupy managerial positions in the business community. This situation does not exactly apply in Nigeria. A lot of highly trained and educated people are in the wrong jobs where often their skills and expertise are hardly used, for example, when an engineer occupies a supervising position in the department of labour.

Fifteen years after the 1972 manpower survey showed that vacancies exist in the range of 7 percent to 23 percent in areas of medicine, pharmacy, engineering, architecture, town planners, surveyors, research and production chemists (see chapter 6), vacancies still exist in these and other high level, high-tech, sectors of the economy. For instance, there were in 1986 vacancies for about 23,500 engineering technicians, 5,400 for medical doctors, and about 32,000 for nurses (Fagbulu, in Ukeje et al. Op.cit., p. 126). The table below (Table VII.XXVI) gives

a distribution of teaching staff by nationality at the university. As can be seen, expatriate presence is more in the areas of sciences and engineering.

Table VII.XXVI

Distribution of a University Teaching Staff by Nationality

Discipline	Total	No. of Non Nigerians	% Average
1. Arts	847	274	32.3
2. Education	377	91	25.1
3. Law	108	23	21.2
4. Science	949	280	30.0
5. Medical	761	161	21.2
6. Social Sciences	525	95	18.1
7. Engineering	363	104	29.0
8. Environmental Studies	109	55	51.0
9. Management Studies	131	22	17.0
10. Agriculture	694	130	19.0
All Disciplines	4,843	1,235	26.0

Source: Adopted from Fagbulu, Ibid., p. 127-128.

Part of the Nigerian problem of high-level manpower shortage stems from the fact that Nigeria has come to resemble a manufacturer that produces more and high-quality goods but, for some reason, the finished products go into the wrong market. What is implied here is that in Nigeria, doctors do not want to practice medicine, lawyers with Ph.D. degrees who ought to say in the universities and teach and do research prefer to "wheel" and "deal" in high stakes outside the university, university lecturers and research fellows "have become charlatans selling half-baked programmes to the mighty" (Ibid., p. 132) and the

get-rich-overnight business entrepreneurs who have the money to buy such programmes.

The other part of the problem is that the thousands of well trained and qualified Nigerians in the U.S.A., Europe, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Far East are unwilling to return home because of the environmental and career uncertainties that are possible in Nigeria. Perhaps, the acute shortage of highly-trained and qualified manpower can be improved if the trained Nigerians who have chosen to remain abroad because of inappropriate working conditions at home are enticed to come home to a promising or exciting future in the development of our country.

CHAPTER VIII

WHAT CAN BE DONE

Many of the developing countries regard education as the magic wand for the development of their socio-political and economic institutions. As a result, their leaders often embark on massive expansion of the educational programme. Some even introduce free education at all levels. In most cases this is done without adequate consideration of the state of the national economy, as would be found in the case of Nigeria. Some nations have been successful while others have not yet succeeded. No progressive person would quarrel with the patriotic and nationalistic views of education, but what most developing countries like Nigeria seem not to be understand is that they need a strong and good financial base to embark upon free education at all levels.

Those who emphasize the productive aspects of education at any level generally draw from the United States, Canada, or the Western European countries as examples for the empirical evidence of the productive capacity of education. But what is often forgotten is that these developed countries have certain characteristics which are seldom found in the developing countries. For example, in the United State, Canada, or West Germany in which returns to investment in education is high, the economy is greatly developed and prosperous to the point that the subsistence sector is virtually eliminated. In addition, these countries have highly diversified economies in which there are high degrees of occupational specialization which require elaborate educational investment in people for many of the skilled occupations. They also have relatively efficient labour markets with facilities that provide information on available job opportunities and the skills

required for those jobs, and recruitment for them is principally based on achievement and not who you know or your place of birth. In Nigeria, all of the above characteristics are apparently lacking.

The state of the Nigerian economy today is in shambles, and it cannot sustain free education at all levels. This state of affairs seems to surprise and baffle Nigerians. In addition, other social problems with equal and competing demands on the nation's resources have surfaced, and some Nigerians are beginning to say that the Nigerian society would be better off if it released a significant proportion of the huge resources being pumped into education and allowed such to be used in expanding other sectors of the economy to stimulate the desired growth (Obasi, 1987). The assertion that general and massive educational expansion is a precursor to socio-political and economic development is now being questioned. Obasi (Ibid.) asks, ". . . to what extent has schooling made 'educated' Nigerians more productive and how has this been reflected in the transformation of the economy from its agrarian and petro-dollar dependent base, since well over a century of the history of formal education in the country" (in West Africa, June 20, 1987).

The crisis in education is nothing new. The call to re-evaluate the role and importance of education for development especially in developing countries began more than a decade ago. Perhaps, Nigeria might not be at the educational crossroad that it is today if the country's leaders had not been more interested in using education as a tool for welfare politics than designing an education policy that would reflect the capacity of its economy. Education cannot continue to absorb a disproportionate share of available resources. The question to be addressed now is, what percentage of our nation's resources should be

devoted to an educational system which continues to suffer from serious problems like inequalities in educational opportunities by sex, region, and socio-economic classes, irrelevance of the curriculum, declining quality, and educational dualities? How far has the expansionary projects in educational development contributed to human welfare when there is growing unemployment among the educated in the streets of major cities in Nigeria, and academic derelicts who continue to ferment social disturbances and sow seeds of ethnic disintegration?

In Nigeria today, it is generally common to hear statement like "education is nothing if you haven't got the dough", "it is no longer how much education you have got but how much money you have", "the educated unemployed"; and others. So this chapter, titled "What can be done?", examines how to provide achievable and feasible free education at the primary and junior secondary levels, and how to make the senior-secondary and university education readily available to any person that may need it without it being cost-free. If tuition fees are charged for the second levels of education, especially the university level, some of the funds that are presently allocated to the universities could be redeployed to strengthen free primary and junior-secondary education. Furthermore, the absence of tuition charges increases the number of aspirants to university education and this inflates the gap between the demand and the nearly rigid supply of university places. Consequently, the number of unemployed secondary school graduate increases which can cause a lot of social unrest. To this end, the following options and/or suggestions are presented here, and are fully discussed:

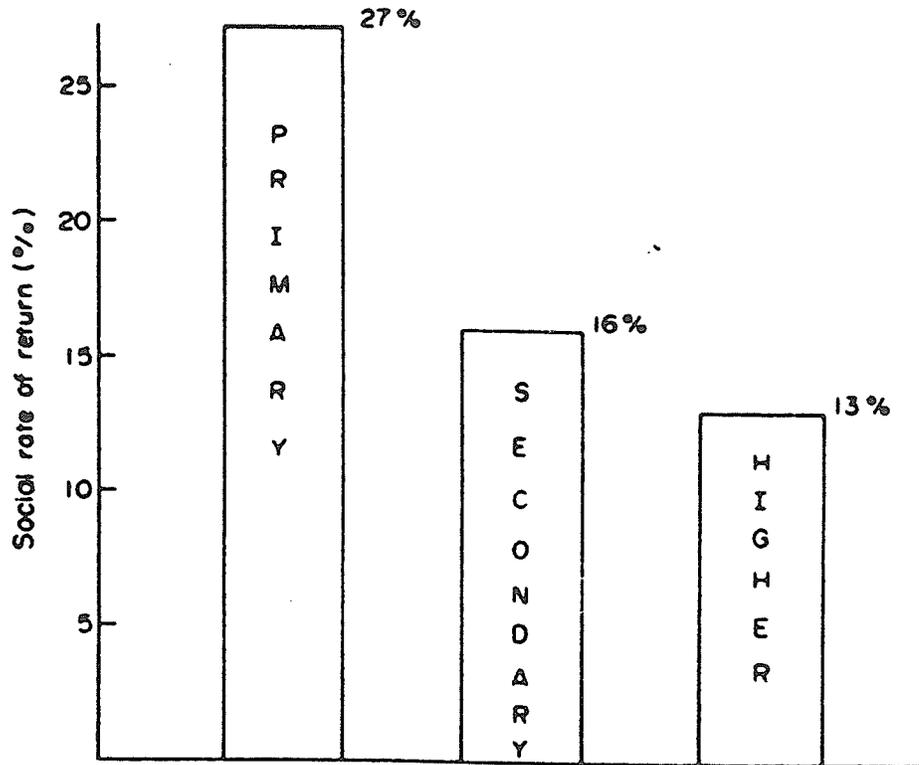
- 1) Free UPE and Junior-secondary education,
- 2) Tuition oriented senior-secondary and university education,

- 3) Institution of (a) student aid/loan scheme,  
(b) scholarship programme,
- 4) Optional residence at the university level, and
- 5) Other sources of educational finance: (a) communities, (b) business and multinational corporations, and (c) annual drive for excellence.

1. Free UPE and Junior-Secondary Education

Given the educational objectives highlighted earlier contained in the 1977 National Policy on Education, education at this level should be regarded as a consumption or welfare services that the government ought to provide to the people. As a result, it should be tuition free. In addition to this, research has shown that the returns to both primary and secondary (social and private) are higher than at the tertiary levels. For instance, in a study by Psacharopoulos (1981), of 22 African, Asian, and Latin American countries on the social returns to investment in education by school level, it was found that the primary level of education consistently recorded the highest returns, followed by the secondary level. As a result Psacharopoulos argues that "top priority should be given to both primary and secondary education as a form of human resource investment" (p. 333). See figure VIII.I.

Figure VIII.I: The Social Returns to Investment in Education by School Level in Third World Countries.



Source: Adopted from George Psacharopoulos, *Ibid.*

In another study by the World Bank (1986) of 105 countries, it was also found that the social rates of return to investment in education was highest at the primary and secondary levels respectively. Furthermore, other than measurable monetary rewards, the World Bank report argues that "investment in the lower levels of education may generate more externalities than would investment in the higher levels" of education; for example, lower fertility, better health and nutrition (*Ibid.*, pp. 8-10). See Table VIII.I. According to Cochrane et al. (1980), the

children of educated parents are healthier and better nourished, and may have a higher life expectancy than the children of illiterate parents (Ibid., p. 8). See also Psacharopoulos (1985), Woodhall (1973).

Table VIII.I

Returns to Investment in Education, by Country Type  
and Level (percent)

Region	Social			Private			Number of countries reporting
	Primary	Secondary	Higher	Primary	Secondary	Higher	
Africa	28	17	13	45	26	32	16
Asia	27	15	13	31	15	18	10
Latin America	26	18	16	32	23	23	10
Europe, Middle East, and North Africa	13	10	8	17	13	13	9
Developing countries	24	15	13	31	19	22	45
Developed countries	--	11	9	--	12	21	15

Source: Adopted from World Bank Report 1986, p. 7. The original source of this data is Psacharopoulos, 1985, pp. 55-56.

As a result, the World Bank report suggests that in developing countries, primary education should be given the highest investment, followed by the secondary level education (p. 9).

According to the World Bank (Ibid.) cost recovery by educational level in Nigeria around 1980 calculated in user fees as a percentage of unit public cost was 30.3 for the primary, 39.0 for the secondary, and 12.4 for the higher education level (p. 55). As already noted the Nigerian government has introduced a new 3-3 secondary education system

that is employment oriented. At the junior secondary level, subjects to be taught are carpentry and woodwork, metal work, technical drawing, electricity, masonry, plumbing, typing and shorthand, and others. It will require lots of money to achieve the objectives expected from the new 3-3 system. And if part of the money that is now spent on the higher levels of education is released and deployed into the new 3-3 system where employment after graduation is expected not to be a problem, it would relieve the pressure and demand for more senior secondary and university admissions. The main reason why many Nigerians keep on going from one level of education to the other is to enhance their economic marketability at the end of their studies. So effective development of education at the primary and junior-secondary levels is likely to stem the tide of excess demand at the senior-secondary and university levels which will in turn help curb graduate unemployment.

The new junior-secondary education system also emphasizes farming as a lucrative alternative source of employment. But farming techniques have become more complex, and a good education has also become necessary in order to enhance farmers' productivity. And research shows that educated farmers are more productive and active in finding and effectively, and efficiently using agricultural extension services (Perraton et al. 1983). And according to the World Bank report (Op.cit.), a survey of 52 World Bank agricultural projects showed that providing education or training did increase greatly the profitability in agricultural development (p. 8). An observation of 8 Third World countries by Jamison and Lau (1982) indicate that the annual crop yields of farmers with four years primary education are on average 9 percent higher than those of uneducated farmers (Ibid.). In fact, the main reason why

youths in Nigeria shy away from farming as an employable calling is ignorance. If a good and effective primary and junior-secondary education is provided for youths interested in farming, that view is likely to be countered. Perhaps, Nigerian will be on the road to producing enough food for its growing population.

## 2. Tuition-oriented senior secondary and University Education

The argument being made here is that senior secondary and university education should not be free of cost. Education at the higher levels is a production good and as such should be approached with much economic rationalization. As argued by Nwagwu (1983):

The economy and the education system have a symbiotic type of existence. Education produces the manpower for economic development while a productive and viable economy supports the expansion and consolidation of the education system. Inadequacies and wrong priorities in one therefore affect the other (in Adesina, et al., Op.cit., p. 211).

In Nigeria, the introduction of free higher education in a state of under-developed economy seems to be keeping the nation's educational objectives in turmoil. There seem to be no priorities anymore in the national education system due to the vicissitudes and vagaries of a unidimensional, oil-based economy. The nation's leaders and politicians use education as a pawn in their political game and provide half-baked and far-fetched inoperable free higher education in a state of economic uncertainty.

Why should anyone expect free higher education in Nigeria when much of education at this level is an investment in oneself?

Psacharopoulos (1981) observed that generally speaking, the private returns to investment in education are in excess of social returns at the university level. And for Nigeria in particular, the discrepancy between

the private and social returns to investment in higher education was 34 percent as against 17 percent respectively (p. 327). See also Psacharopoulos (1985, pp. 54-56). The implication in this finding is that individual and family investment in education by way of tuition fees can always be a profitable venture.

In a study by Gini Mbanefo (1980) on sharing the cost and benefits of university education in Nigeria, it was found that both benefit from university education (that is, the difference between the life time earnings of a university graduate and that of a high school graduate), and net benefit (that is, the difference between benefit from university education and costs incurred in obtaining university education) were consistently high to the point that individual or private investment in education continues to be profitable in Nigeria, irrespective of whether the student bore the full cost of his/her university education or not. According to Mbanefo (Ibid.) the net benefit from university education at 5 percent discount rate prior to 1977/78 session when students paid tuition fees, room and board, was N42,100 naira. At the current charges (that is free tuition but with room and board at the rates introduced in the 1978/79 session), the net benefit amounted to N41, 700 naira. And at full cost charges (that is, tuition, room and board at the current rates paid by student), the net benefit would be N37,800 naira (p. 71). See Table VIII.II and III. From the findings in the above study, it can be deduced that a shift of part of the cost burden from the government to the individual and his/her family is not likely to result in any dramatic decrease in investing in university education in view of the high margin of profit. For the rational student and his/her family would bear the costs of education as long as the private returns to the student

equal or exceed the costs.

Table VIII.II  
Present Value of Private Costs of University Education  
at 5 Percent Rate of Discount

	Former Cost	(N) Current Cost	Full Cost
Foregone Earnings	4,500	4,500	4,500
Room and Board	800	1,700	1,700
Out-of-pocket Expenses	900	900	900
Tuition	500	Nil	3,900
Total Cost	6,700	7,100	11,000

Source: Adapted from Gini Mbanefo, Ibid., p. 72.

Table VIII.III  
Present Value of Benefit from Investment in University Education  
at 5 Percent Discount Rate

Cost Category	University Education Cost i	High School Graduate Earnings ii	University Graduate Earnings iii	Benefits University Education iv=(iii-ii)	Net Benefits University Education v=(vi-i)	Benefits Ratio of Costs vi=(iv-i)
Former Cost	6,700	38,700	87,500	48,800	42,100	7.28
Current Cost	7,100	38,700	87,500	48,800	41,700	6.90
Full Cost	11,000	38,700	87,500	48,800	37,800	4.44

Source: Adopted from Mbanefo (Ibid.).

One other manifestation of the high rate of private returns to education is the strong persistence of excess demand for university education in Nigeria. As was noted earlier, there are more willing students than available openings in the universities. This is reflected in the ratio of applicants to admissions for university education. See Table IV.I. The average rate of acceptance for university education in the 1979/80 session was 16 percent. In some faculties like law and business administration, it was 5 and 8 percent, respectively (Adesina, 1982; Hinchliffe, 1984; World Bank, 1986).

The universities can generate some of the funds needed for internal administration. I do not know of any place in the world where free university education exists for all students, or where the universities depend entirely on the government for all their revenues. In a country like Canada with its enormous wealth in natural and human resources, about 60 percent of university operating revenue is provided by the two levels of government, that is, provincial and federal; while about 25 percent of the operating revenue is provided by student tuition fees (Financing Education in Canada, No. 7, 1970, p. 55). We noted in earlier sections that the financial situation of the universities in Nigeria has been discouraging for almost ten years now. And this invariably has led to a deterioration in the quality of education (Ad'Obe Obe, *Op.cit.*, Aminu, 1986). If the higher levels of education, particularly the university becomes tuition-oriented, some of the money generated can be used to up-date the libraries, provide materials and equipments, and make available to both professors and students current textbooks. When Chief Simon Adebo one of the architects of the "blue print" for Nigerian education commented, "I don't think that what is coming out of

our universities is satisfactory at all. They are indolent in public life. They don't think and teach themselves. We are producing robots," (West Africa, May 1984, p. 977). He did not only indict the quality of education in the universities in Nigeria but also the lack of finance which appears to be the root cause of the universities' internal administrative problems. In addition, part of the money derived from charging tuition fees can be used to finance additional places for those who are now denied admissions due to limited and restrictive university places, especially in fields like medicine, engineering and technology where the country is still in need of qualified manpower.

Another argument for the introduction of tuition fees in higher education has to do with the value placed on what one pays for. University students in Nigeria are generally known for their wanton rampage and riotous violent demonstrations during which university and government properties are destroyed with careless-abandon, and often lives are lost. Boycotting classes and being sent home on indefinite holidays as a result of violent demonstrations appears to have become a scintillating and pleasant past-time for many Nigerian university students. If university education becomes tuition-fee oriented, the cost and risk of failure and or repeat of courses would be removed to an extent from the government and the university authorities to the individual student and his/her family. As a result, students would in all probability be forced to realize the futility of resorting to violence at the slightest act of provocation. And like a wise investor, they would be encouraged to pay close attention to their studies in order to obtain their degrees. According to Peter Williams (1974) a proposal in 1970 to charge Ghana University students for their board and lodging forced student council

representatives to come up with a proposal on ways to reduce cost of university education in that country (World Bank Report, Op.cit.).

Since tuition fees were abolished in the 1978/79 academic session, the number of Nigerians that want a university education (both qualified and unqualified) has been phenomenal. Even those who know that they stand the least chance of acceptance into the university have no qualms applying for admission because university education is free and they may not have to pay for it from their pockets. Sometimes if they have people in the high apparatus of the university and in the government, and given the climate of corruption in Nigeria, they gain acceptance and thereby block the chances of those better qualified. But if university education becomes tuition fees oriented, some of the unqualified may not want to apply. Student selection may also improve since those with little or no chance of acceptance and successful university completion would be discouraged from applying. Furthermore, paying or charging tuition fee would lead to an appropriate match between student ability and selected areas of study.

The view that is often expressed by the proponents of free university education is that it fosters equality of opportunity. But this has not been the case in Nigeria, for the universities are still dominated by the middle and higher classes who benefit from the educational subsidy which often the lower class provide through taxation. Recall the studies by Becket and O'Connell (1977); Woodhouse (1987); Biraimah (1987). The idea of free university education in its present structure is regressive, in the sense that those families whose children account for only a small proportion of university level students are made to finance free university education through the taxes they pay. This is particularly

outrageous and an improper way to foster equality where the majority of university students are from well-to-do families. It is a noted fact that in Nigeria only the farmers, wage earners and the poor people regularly pay taxes. The rich and big-business people, well-to-do self-employed and many politicians characteristically evade paying taxes, and these classes of Nigerians are the ones whose children and family members dominate our universities. To the former class of Nigerians whose children are unevenly represented in our universities, it is a double social disadvantage.

The introduction of free university education has three other adverse side effects on equality of opportunity. The Nigerian government, acting in the name of equality of opportunity, abolished tuition in the university and thereby generated extra demand for university admissions in an atmosphere of steep educational pyramids. Because the supply of university places cannot expand as fast as the demand for places, a restrictive mechanism of competitive examinations and possession of certificates with very high Grade Point Average (GPA) is instituted. This criteria for selection is known to favor students from well-to-do families (Psachropoulos, 1977; Eicher, 1982).

The second adverse side-effect on equality of opportunity is that resources are pumped into the educational level that manifests the lowest social and monetary returns to the society as against the highest private and monetary returns to the individual. And lastly, free university education generates serious unemployment at two fronts. One is among secondary school leavers who on the one hand are unable to move on to university education because of the restrictive and limited supply of places, and on the other hand are not ready to accept low status or menial

jobs. Nor do they wish to stay in the rural areas because free university education and the possibility of ultimate high graduate salary have raised their expectations in life (Psacharopoulos, Ibid., p. 85). The other is among the university graduates who, because of the lure of free education, accepted courses of study in which the supply of labour in the Nigerian labour market is already saturated. Hence the graduate unemployment in Nigeria noted in chapter seven. The irony in the whole situation is that the illusion and silhouette of free education prevents most Nigerians from realizing that in fact, it is really inequitable.

If indeed equality of opportunity is the goal of free education, a lot more can be achieved at the primary and junior secondary education levels for a start, given the present capacity of our economy. Research has shown that higher education is considerably more costly and expensive per person than primary and junior secondary schooling. For instance, the present average cost of university education in Nigeria per student is N4500 as compared to about N150 in the primary level education. What is implied here is that the resources spent on providing one year of university education for a student whose parents in all probability can afford to pay for it or part of it can be used to send about 30 more children to primary education.

Charging tuition fees at the higher education level and releasing some of the money that should have been devoted to higher education for the expansion of primary and junior secondary education would enable those who right now cannot obtain basic education to acquire literary skill and numeracy. This redirection of resources most likely would benefit the Nigerian lower class because it is the group that is most widely represented at this level of education, the primary and junior

secondary levels. What about the small percentage of qualified students from poor families? How will their education be financed? The next section examines the provision that can be made for this category of university students.

### 3 (a) Student Aid/Loan Scheme

It is true that the institution of tuition fees may prevent or push qualified candidates from poor families out of the school unless they can be given some financial sponsorship. This problem can be alleviated by student aid and loan schemes for these category of students. This has been done in several developed countries like Canada, the United States, Sweden, West Germany, and Japan. It also exists in some developing countries like Brazil, El Salvador, Argentina, Kenya, Lesotho, India, Pakistan, and others. Actually, the Nigerian government had experimented with the loan scheme in the 1970's and the early 1980's but abandoned it on the flimsy excuse that the number of defaulters was high.

Since the aid and loan scheme will be designed to serve primarily the educational opportunities of the poor, it should be interest-free for the period of the recipient's study. And the rate of interest during the time of repayment, at least for the first three years, should be below market rates. This is to enable the young graduate to have a decent beginning after graduation. In addition, a portion of the loan should be a grant or outright aid that should not be repayed. For instance, if the cost of a student's university education is N6000 naira, the government can absorb one-third, (N2000 naira) of the cost as a form of remission so that in the end the student will repay only N4,000

naira. This is the practice in some Canadian provinces like Alberta.

The student aid and loan scheme can be carried out in one of two ways. The Nigerian Government can make the loans, or arrange with commercial banks and other money-lending institutions in the country to provide the loans while the government guarantees it for repayment in case of default by a student. This is the practice in Canada and in Barbados. The second option may be the more viable one since the commercial banks would endeavor to make it workable for the profit that they are likely to make.

The major criticisms against student aid and loan schemes are that they are difficult and expensive to administer because of high default rates and high cost of collecting small loans over a period of, like, ten years (World Bank, Op.cit.). It is also said that keeping track of students after graduation can pose a problem. But research shows that all of these concerns are not insurmountable. In Colombia, the first student loan scheme was instituted and made available in 1953 by the Institute Colombiano de Credito Educativo y Estudios Tecnicos en el Exterior (ICETEX). By 1984 more than 30,000 loans had been provided for about 10 percent of all university students (World Bank, Ibid.). As at in 1979, "nearly US \$150,000 or 20 percent of ICETEX's total income came from loan repayments". And default rate is between 5 and 11 percent (Ibid., p. 2728).

In 1977 in Barbados, the government established the Student Loan Revolving Fund with the help of the Inter-American Development Bank. According to the World Bank (Ibid.) between 1977 and 1982, about 118 loans were made to students at the higher educational level. A study in 1982 revealed that most students completed their studies and that 87

percent of them accepted jobs in Barbados. Furthermore, the study showed that defaulters or those in arrears are small in number and that loan repayments and interests by graduates absorbed all administrative costs (Ibid.). Because of this successful result, the Government of Barbados plans to expand the student loan scheme by absorbing its scholarship programme which had been very expensive and costly into a mixture of loan and grant to be dispensed according to student's course of study and income. Other countries that have also recorded an impressively low rate of default are Costa Rica 0.5 percent; Brazil 2 percent; in Honduras, Jamaica and Mexico the range is between 5 and 11 percent (Ibid., p. 28).

Both Colombia and Barbados are Third World countries like Nigeria, and the success stories of these two countries can be repeated in Nigeria if the political will is there. Besides, this is the computer age, and Nigeria has produced hundreds of computer science graduates and has bought and installed many computers in many government offices and departments, so collection repayment may not pose a serious problem since most graduates can be traced by computer through the government offices, the National Youth Service Directorate, and the income tax system. In addition, the government can arrange with employers to make deductions from loan recipient graduates' salaries for repayment. And some category of graduates like doctors can be asked to work-out portions of their loans if they accept to remain in the rural or deprived areas of the country. Finally, the government can direct that the loan repayment period be short so that the scheme could become self-financing in a short time except during temporary unemployment or long period of job-search following graduation as is the case in Nigeria at the present.

This can be a very viable and feasible option to provide higher education for anybody qualified for it without it being cost-free. The failure of the loan scheme of the 1970's to early 1980's was not because graduates could not generate enough income to repay their loans but because of inefficient, faulty and corrupt administration (Woodhall, 1983). As already stated, all that it will take is the political will and muscle of the government to institute an efficient mechanism for the student aid and loan scheme.

b) Scholarship Programme

Apart from the student aid and loan scheme, the government can also continue to award competitive scholarships on meritorious grounds to encourage academic excellence and to promote enrolment in the manpower scarce areas like the sciences. There may be some students from the extremely poor families, especially in the rural areas and villages who are risk-averse and may not want to obtain the loan if made available. Such deserving students can be encouraged to apply for scholarships where the element of risk default is non-existent. The scholarship programme if properly and deservedly awarded may lead to improved efficiency in admission selection since a large pool of applicants will be competing for admission.

One last inescapable problem with the student aid and loan scheme, and the scholarship programme is that given the climate of corruption in Nigeria, and the malfeasance in government bureaucracy, the target population and those eligible may not be the actual recipients of the scheme and programme. Well, this can be prevented by matching the information that candidates provide on their admission forms against

what may be provided on student aid loans and scholarship forms. However, research may also be necessary in the determination of family income levels and the expenditure patterns. Finally, the parents or guardians of those students who pay for their university education should be given some form of income tax relief to off-set a small portion of their ward's education cost. If these options are taken, they would also ensure greater autonomy for the universities as a larger proportion of their income could now be derived from tuition fees.

c) Optional University Residence

The university residences should be completely self-supporting in terms of both operating costs and amortization charges. This means that students living in residences should not be subsidized for if they were not in the university they would have to provide their own lodging and board, anyhow. Besides, the student living at home or occupying a private accommodation does not enjoy any residence subsidy benefit. In this way, university residence should be optional for those students that can afford it. For the needy students, the student aid and loan scheme should subsidize their residence cost. The universities should manage for profit purposes, food and other welfare services provided to staff and students or assign these services to non public sources for full cost.

The policy of providing subsidized residence for the university staff should also be reevaluated. Teachers at the primary and secondary levels of education in Nigeria do not receive an accommodation subsidy. If anything, it is these categories of teachers that should, because of their relatively low income, be entitled to residence subsidy. In most

other countries, Canada for instance, university staff residence is not subsidized. And yet, Canada is a more economically developed and resource endowed country than Nigeria. The money that is spent on erecting certain unnecessary edifices on our university campuses can be redirected to the primary and junior-secondary school levels where equality of educational opportunity can be more attainable. More provision should be made for extramural degree programmes; this will help free the universities or the government from providing lodging and board facilities, and the cost of student transportation. This will also allow students to work and pursue further studies at the same time. Furthermore our present national perception of universities and university life as places of "mammoth housing and recreational building programmes for students and staff" in a "secluded, isolated, encapsulated" environment "cushioned from the harsh realities of a Third World African country" must be changed. (Jubril Aminu 1986 in West Africa, December 1987, p. 2448). The unnecessary pampering and the secluded life in the universities give the Nigerian student an over-inflated ego and a false image of himself/herself as a "special breed" that deserves to be educated at the public expense. At least, the adverse economic climate in the country as present necessitates this change.

#### 4) Other Sources of Funds

In view of the stagnant condition in the national economy now, other sources of funding for the higher levels of education must be explored. The following could be effective sources of finance:

(a) communities; (b) big business and multi-national corporations; and

(c) annual drives for excellence.

a) Nigerian communities have a great propensity to organize themselves formally and informally for a purpose. They recognize that some things can be done effectively by the government and that a lot more can be accomplished by community organizations. This tendency is universal in Nigeria and is evidenced in the various ethnic and cultural organizations, and by many development projects, like road construction, rural electrification and the installation of pipe-borne water. Often a community embarks on a five or ten year development plan for a particular amenity or facility which is to be executed through annual launch-on activities and festivities during which all community members, men and women, rich and poor, educated and uneducated, resident at home or abroad are expected to contribute their levies to the development fund. The fiscal capital required for the project will have been determined by the development committee, and usually it runs into millions of naira. After the first two years of the launch-on programme, the project is started with the money so far collected. And by the time the last year of the development plan is reached, the project will be near completion. This was how my home town of Olokoro in Imo State brought pipe-borne water and electricity into every household and hamlet in the community many years ago. Other communities have done similar things.

Besides, most of the Nigerians, particularly from the southern parts who studied abroad and received university education in the 1940's to the 1960's, were financed through community contributions. Before the government and politicians began to tantalize the people with free university education, communities used to set up funds for the education

of deserving sons and daughters over-seas or in local universities. This kind of community-cooperative effort can be reactivated and harnessed by the government by means of matching naira for naira for scholarships and educational projects initiated and carried out by any community or ethno-cultural organization. Given the education consciousness of Nigerians as a people, this would be a viable and effective source of extrafunds for the higher levels of education in Nigeria.

b) Big businesses and the multinational corporations can be another source of extra finance for the higher levels of education. The Federal government can arrange with them to provide summer employment for any university student willing to be employed during the summer holidays. The salary has to be reasonable to enable the students to save toward their next academic year. The government will provide a portion of the salary while the employer provides the other half. And for this kind of service, businesses and corporations would be granted some tax break or incentive to enable them to recoup their lost profits. Furthermore, for this arrangement, students will be required to save a fixed amount of money from their summer employment, and the amount saved will help to off-set a portion of the aid and loan required for the next academic session. This kind of arrangement may eventually lead to a student holding a permanent job with the employer, especially if his/her skill and knowledge are deemed beneficial to the company. Lastly, the Federal government can persuade big businesses and multinational corporations to begin an annual chest appeal on behalf of higher education with the individual universities themselves assuming the responsibilities for the disbursement of the proceeds. Alumni or former graduates should be encouraged to contribute on an annual regular basis on a scale of at

least 3 percent of their incomes to their former universities, or to university funds in general in appreciation of the education that they received at the public expense. Appeals should be made to their employers to match the contributions of an alumni, and both should be tax-deductible.

c. Drive for Excellence Campaign

The individual universities should recognize and begin an annual drive for excellence in education, very much like what happens in most Canadian universities. During the drive for excellence, the university should recruit volunteers who will call on prosperous rich individuals across the nation, former graduates, educators and every possible donor to contribute to the excellence fund. A fiscal target should be set and a particular capital project should be delineated for each annual drive for excellence. In return for their contribution and donations, certificates of appreciation should be awarded.

Lest my views be misconstrued, I am not advocating that the Federal and State governments should not fund education at all; rather, I am of the opinion that the options examined in this chapter can be viable sources for obtaining some of the recurrent revenue or operating costs of university education in Nigeria, and that both the Federal and State governments continue to be the sources for universities' capital funds. It is my view that the egalitarian objective of university education can not be achieved in the present circumstance unless there is a levelling effect at the primary and junior secondary levels of the educational system.

### CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

This study had two purposes: 1) to trace and determine the historical origin of free education at all levels in Nigeria, and analyze the socio-cultural, political and economic factors behind it; 2) to examine and analyze selected consequences of free education at all levels in Nigeria. As such, any conclusions drawn from this study legitimately and fittingly apply to Nigeria and its people. But this case-study of Nigeria is significant in other ways. Nigeria is a Third World developing nation, and because many Third World countries and their leaders share the view that mass educational expansion is a precursor for social, political and economic development, the policy options already examined, and the conclusions drawn from this study may be quite relevant to other countries outside Nigeria.

Noted in this study were the varied and dynamic forces that pushed the Nigerian government(s) into the educational expansion programmes of the past ten years. The socio-cultural perception of the educated as the possessors of secret knowledge and guardians of the peoples' political institutions; the colonial heritage of education as the most viable avenue for upward social mobility; the desire for equality of educational opportunity for all Nigerians and the political imperative of bridging the educational gap between the North and South in particular; the social demand for education; pressure groups and social activists' lobby for free education; the need for national unity; the political leaders and political parties perception of education as a vote-winning welfare programme; the military leaders' need for political legitimacy; the need for educated manpower; the favorable financial conditions of the 1970's and early 1980's; the desire for human capital development for

indigenous control of the economy--all these forces, mutually reinforcing each other have been instrumental in Nigeria's educational revolution especially in the past ten years.

In terms of accomplishments within this period, primary education for all children has been strongly promoted. Secondary and university education were also expanded and made reasonably available to many citizens. There have been enrolment increases at all levels of education and growth in education buildings and relative availability of learning facilities. The overall literacy and numeracy rate in the country is on the increase. The problematic educational gap between the North and South appears to be closing, and many, particularly, the very poor, girls and Muslims who without free education might not have been educated have now acquired some education, especially at the primary level. The degree of accomplishment is phenomenal and interesting for an African nation. Nigeria, it can be said, appears to have made spectacular gains in education in the past ten years.

But at the same time, problems of enormous proportions and gigantic consequences have emerged. As this study has shown, the record of Nigeria's educational achievement in the past ten years seems to be dwarfed in relation to the enormous problems that have surfaced. The Federal government's vision of education as an instrument par excellence for national development appears to be just a dream. The educational expansionary programme of the past decade has not solved Nigeria's outstanding problems; if anything, the educational policies of this period have compounded significantly the socio-political and economic problems facing the country.

The view held by the Nigerian government that educational expansion

would fulfil Nigeria's yearning for national unity and ethnic cultural integration is in theory very interesting and desirable. However, that most of Nigeria's political problems often have been engineered by the educated elites, especially when their status-quo is threatened, is of greater practical relevance. The problems of "overeducated" ethnocentred and parochial national elites who continue to thwart the role of education as a bridge for national integration seem to defy solution. Education for national integration does not lie in platitudinous propaganda and slogans which those that shout the loudest may not even believe, but in using the knowledge gained from education to build a country where all Nigerians can live and work anywhere without discrimination or prejudice based on ethnicity, religion, or tribe.

The drive for equality of access to education, particularly at the higher levels, has become more difficult to attain. Political survival provided the framework for the egalitarian national education policy of the past decade, but geographical, economic and ecological factors still produce differences in the physical access to educational services. Free education at all levels may improve levels of literacy, higher degrees of urbanization and rising opportunities for individual wage earning employment in a relatively developed economy. But it can neither equalize access to educational services nor to economic opportunities. That most people have gone to school and obtained more schooling does not mean that they will all become rich. Those who had been disadvantaged will have to make gains in relation to those who had earlier educational opportunities in order to bridge the gap between them. However, for general equality of educational opportunity to take

place, equality of economic opportunity has to take place first or simultaneously. Free education at all levels may also offer the greatest benefit to those areas that had an earlier contact with western education.

Furthermore, we must realize and accept that inequality in whatever form is a fact of life. There are also others who, when and if given the educational opportunity, may never be educable because of their low level of mental capacity. Otherwise, pumping scarce resources into the educational sector in the name of equality of opportunity may in the end be a misdirection and misallocation of resources which might have been more productive in terms of employment and output of goods if reallocated to other areas.

Many Nigerians have gone to school and received education at a time when the economy could not absorb them. The consequence in the 1980's is the emergence of educated persons whose knowledge and skills do not match the requirements of the Nigerian labour market. The government apparently seems to lack the political will to come to terms with the obvious fact that in the present state of the nation's economy, it cannot afford to maintain a costly social welfare programme. This has hindered the reallocation of resources to other competitive and vital sectors of the economy to create new jobs so that school leavers and graduates could be usefully employed. It is my opinion that restrictive access to the higher levels of education will likely reduce the problems of the educated unemployed. This is the case, to a relative degree in Kenya, Tanzania and Malawi--all African and Third World countries. To advocate free education at all levels in the present state of our nation's economy, or without any proper guidance and direction would be clearly unreasonable and positively unsuitable for the needs of the country. As eloquently

argued by Duruji (1978):

. . . The attainment of universal literacy cannot be given the highest priority in the earliest stages of economic development. Otherwise education alone can swallow more than a reasonable proportion of the national revenue only to serve in the end, as the greatest cause of social unrest rather than generate social stability (p. 72).

In the above perspective, Lewis (1963) observed:

. . . In the same way as economic development is a process which extends in range from communities only slightly removed from a subsistence economy to communities with elaborate social and economic structure of the western nations, so is education development a continuum with an appropriate policy relevant to each stage (cited in Duruji, Ibid.).

Furthermore, every effort should be made to develop the rural economy in order to halt the flight of the most talented rural people to the cities whereby the serious problem of urban unemployment is compounded. Since agriculture is the dominant feature of the rural economy, more emphasis should be placed on this sector. And in order to make it more attractive to most school leavers, other facilities such as public health clinics, good marketing structure, rural public works, and everything that will encourage young people to go back to the land should be developed. Since education appears to be the main avenue for paid employment in Nigeria, educational investment schemes should be related to the labour absorption capacity of the economy.

It was noted earlier that the desire to become an industrialized nation has played a role in the educational expansion programme of the past decade. Nigeria must have a solid pool of trained manpower in order to join the orbit of the industrialized nations. But in the present scheme of things, quality of education is being sacrificed for egalitarianism. This has prompted the view among some people that

Nigeria's educational achievement in the past decade has been quantitative rather than qualitative. To this end, Sofenwa (1976) comments:

. . . No sector of our national economy performs to maximum efficiency. There is a lot of manpower wastage because education is confused with only formal schooling and because of our bid for egalitarianism, we have replaced aspiration to excellence with shoddy mediocrity. We have not given parity of esteem to services that are crucial not only to the development of our country but also, in fact, to the very survival of our nation. We must now see the relevance of John Gardner's warning that "An excellent plumber is infinitely more admirable than an incompetent philosopher. The society which scorns excellence in plumbing because plumbing is a humble activity and tolerates shoddiness in philosophy because it is an exalted activity will have neither good plumbing nor good philosophy. Neither its pipes nor theories will hold water" (Op.cit., pp. 138-139).

Nigeria must not sacrifice quality and excellence for egalitarianism. Otherwise in the end, there may be nothing to choose between the performance of a school graduate and that of an illiterate. The federal government and the people of Nigeria must review, and review more critically, more rationally and realistically the nation's educational provisions. The government alone cannot provide free and quality education for all citizens at all levels from its limited resources. The public, parents, big business and multinational corporations, individuals and voluntary agencies should be mobilized for the purpose of providing quality education at all levels. Money is the determining factor in the success of most of life's undertakings. But in those situations where lack of money may retard an undertaking, government take-over is not often the solution.

The theme of this study therefore, is that Nigeria in the present scheme of things cannot afford effective and efficient programme of free education at all levels. As a result, five major implications emerge

from this study. First, that education at the primary and junior secondary school levels should be free. Second, that the senior secondary school level and university education should be tuition-fee oriented until such a time as the economy can absorb the huge financial burden of free higher education. Third, that the Nigerian government should continue to shoulder one hundred percent, all capital expenditures and fifty percent of all recurrent expenditures in the higher levels of education. Fourth, that the institutes in the higher levels of education should provide for the other fifty percent of their recurrent expenditures and fifth, that structures like loan, student aid and scholarship programmes should be put in place to ensure that money will not be a hindrance in the education of qualified applicants from poor families.

Knowing the political vehemence, the emotional fervor and the sensitivity with which educational issues are discussed in Nigeria, I have ventured on a difficult and controversial ground. But I will borrow the example of St. Augustine and quote from him some lines and paraphrase others of the preface to his work De Trinitate:

If my reader shares one or other of my convictions, let him come along with me; if he shares my doubts, let him search with me, if he recognizes his error, let him retract with me, if he finds that I am in error, let him turn me away from it . . . Thus we shall go forward together along the [path of knowledge]

If the reader is not satisfied he should take care to consider that it was better that I should speak than that I should remain silent. . . It is useful that many different works should be [written] upon the same subject, but within the unity of [one purpose--the survival of our nation].

. . . If any one says "I have understood but it is not true", let him defend his point of view and refute mine. If he does this with charity, with sincerity, if he takes care to advise me of it - it should be that I am still in this world - I shall draw thence great benefit [from his knowledge] (De Trinitate, 1, 5-6 PL 42, 822-823 cited in Henri Rondet, 1972, pp. 10-11).

Furthermore, and finally:

It has grown into the positive conviction that truth is best attained and advanced by free competition among ideas and that moral responsibility and the enrichment of values are consequences of understood diversity (Richard McKeon, Aspects of Human Equality, 1956, p. 7).

"Felix Qui Potuit Rerum Cognoscere Causas"

"Happy is the man who is able to understand the causes of things."

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APPENDIX A



ADMINISTRATIVE MAP OF NIGERIA

= University locations

FCT:= Federal Capital Territory

Source: Bulletin of the National Universities,  
Reproduced by Enoch Okoli,  
Department of Town Planning,  
University of Manitoba.

APPENDIX B

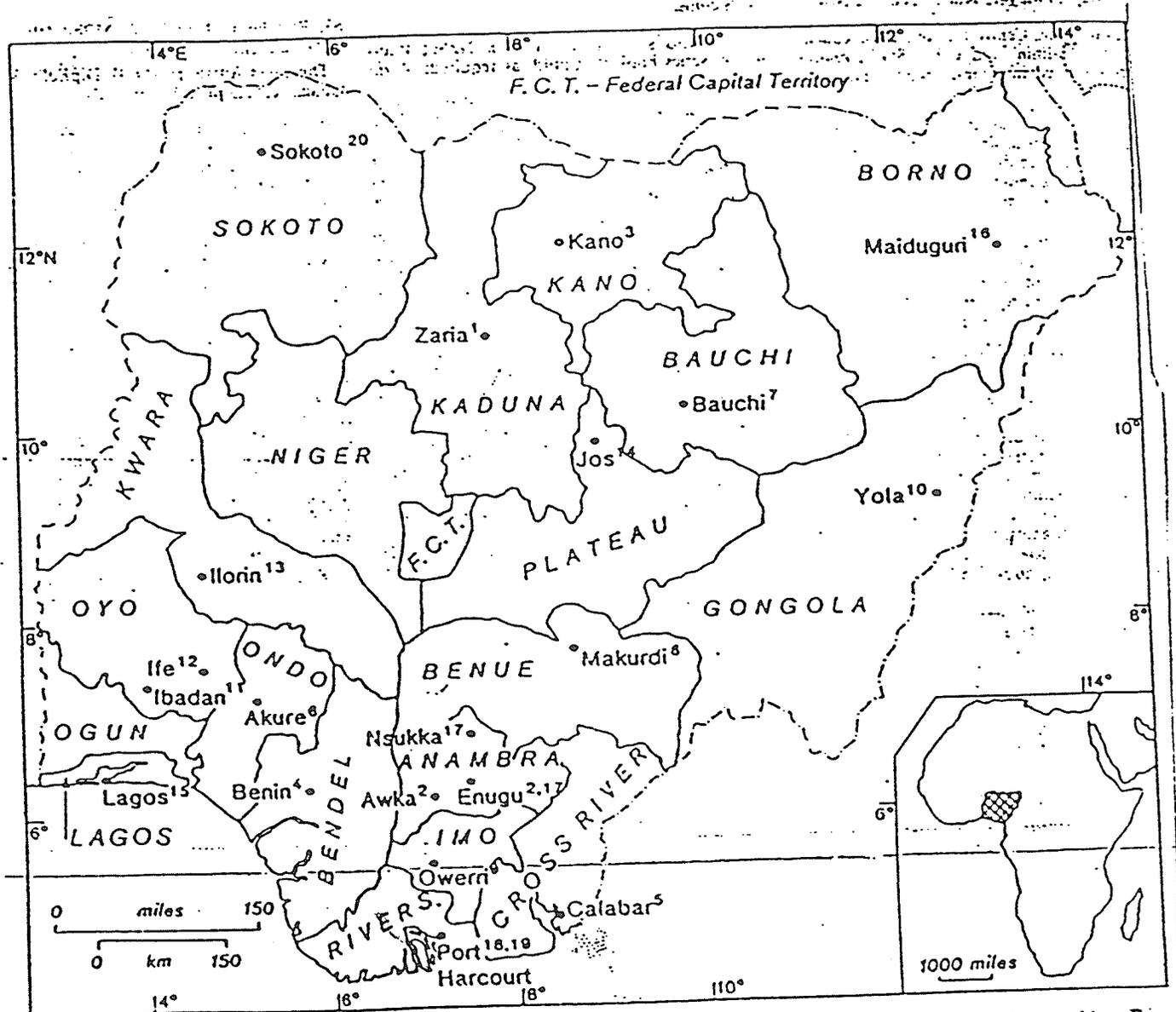
Nigerian Universities

- \*\* 1. Ahmadu Bello University
- \*\* 2. Anambra State University of Technology\*
- \*\* 3. Bayero University
- \*\* 4. University of Benin
- \*\* 5. University of Calabar
- 6. Federal University of Technology, Abeokuta
- \*\* 7. Federal University of Technology, Akure
- \*\* 8. Federal University of Technology, Bauchi
- \*\* 9. Federal University of Technology, Makurdi
- 10. Federal University of Technology, Minna\*
- \*\*11. Federal University of Technology, Owerri
- \*\*12. Federal University of Technology, Yola
- \*\*13. University of Ibadan
- \*\*14. University of Ife
- \*\*15. University of Ilorin
- 16. Imo State University\*
- \*\*17. University of Jos
- \*\*18. University of Lagos
- \*\*19. University of Maiduguri
- \*\*20. University of Nigeria
- \*\*21. University of Port Harcourt
- \*\*22. Rivers State University of Science and Technology\*
- \*\*23. University of Sokoto
- 24. Ondo State University, Ado Ekiti\*
- 25. Bendel State University, kpoma\*
- 26. Ogun State University, Ago Iwoye\*
- 27. University of Cross River State, Uyo
- 28. Lagos State University, Ojo\*
- 29. Modibbo Adama College, University of Maiduguri, Yola
- 30. Abubakar Tafawa Belewa College, Bauchi
- 31. University of Jos-Makurdi Campus

\* Denotes State Universities.

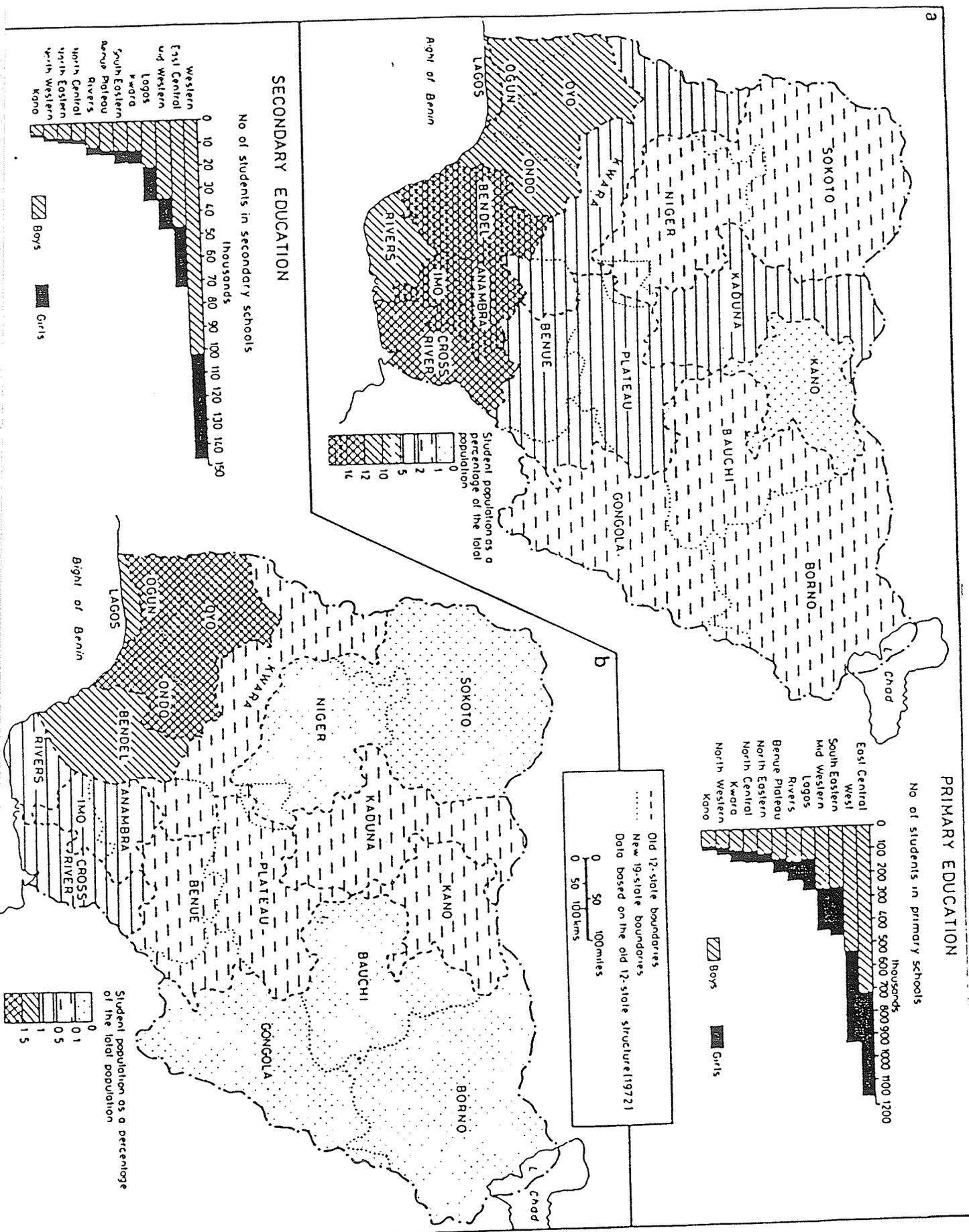
\*\* See Appendix C.

APPENDIX C



The places named in black are the seats of the Universities with \*\* in Appendix B. The locations of the remaining 11 on the map of Nigeria have not yet been determined.

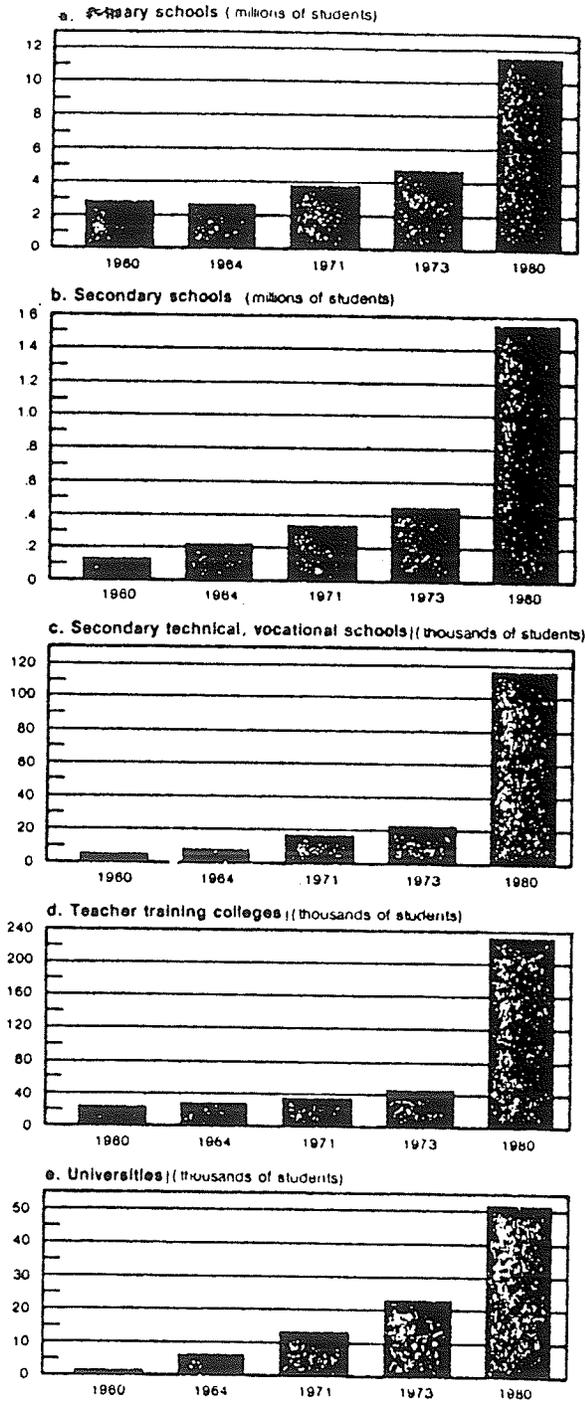
Source: Adapted from Commonwealth Universities Year Book, 1983; and from Education in Nigeria, 1987, Federal Ministry of Information, Lagos, Nigeria.



SOURCE: Adopted from J. C. Nwafor (1982) Nigeria In Maps, African Publishing Co., a division of Holmes & Meier Publishers Inc. New York. P. 51

Appendix E  
1960-1980

Enrollment in Nigerian schools



Source: Third National Development Plan 1975-1980

Source: Federal Government of Nigeria, Third National Development Plan 1975-1980.

## Appendix F

## - Enrollment targets for Nigerian schools

State	1973		No. of new schools	1980	
	No. of Schools	Enrollment		No. of new classrooms	Enrollment
<i>Primary schools</i>					
Benue-Plateau .....	990	217, 017	-	12, 565	780, 000
Kano .....	552	120, 276	-	21, 840	1, 017, 700
Kwara .....	611	151, 462	-	2, 535	498, 200
North-Central .....	646	160, 000	-	14, 835	776, 500
North-Eastern .....	772	171, 753	-	29, 365	1, 380, 000
North-Western .....	874	153, 280	-	21, 365	1, 036, 200
East-Central .....	2, 135	1, 268, 456	-	8, 445	1, 680, 900
South-Eastern .....	1, 495	521, 089	-	7, 045	847, 300
Rivers .....	556	243, 081	-	2, 155	377, 500
Lagos .....	474	286, 247	-	1, 330	375, 700
Mid-Western .....	1, 556	474, 157	-	2, 995	673, 200
Western .....	3, 867	980, 000	-	21, 520	2, 096, 700
Total .....	14, 525	4, 746, 808	-	150, 995	11, 521, 500
<i>Secondary schools</i>					
Benue-Plateau .....	70	12, 920	20	1, 850	32, 920
Kano .....	18	5, 768	5	200	14, 450
Kwara .....	66	21, 163	54	5, 129	128, 100
North-Central .....	27	10, 572	16	2, 260	84, 932
North-Eastern .....	43	10, 240	114	1, 674	109, 632
North-Western .....	31	8, 565	25	546	24, 900
East-Central .....	199	84, 457	151	12, 636	421, 200
South-Eastern .....	73	22, 243	32	9, 451	56, 600
Rivers .....	246	18, 469	79	1, 591	63, 640
Lagos .....	82	35, 655	6	200	108, 360
Mid-Western .....	126	52, 852	25	934	158, 846
Western .....	518	166, 000	250	11, 240	270, 000
Federal .....	-	-	20	470	18, 800
Total .....	1, 499	448, 904	797	48, 232	1, 555, 180
<i>Technical and vocational schools</i>					
Benue-Plateau .....	6	748	8	186	8, 220
Kano .....	3	1, 145	7	104	3, 626
Kwara .....	3	605	9	200	12, 000
North-Central .....	4	1, 276	1	226	12, 250
North-Eastern .....	6	911	5	113	5, 414
North-Western .....	3	528	-	16	1, 056
East-Central .....	11	4, 738	28	2, 099	41, 982
South-Eastern .....	10	1, 900	11	90	3, 800
Rivers .....	9	1, 284	12	547	13, 119
Lagos .....	4	1, 378	2	20	2, 178
Mid-Western .....	12	5, 954	6	264	10, 500
Western .....	13	2, 450	2	178	3, 541
Total .....	84	22, 588	94	4, 079	117, 686
<i>Teacher training colleges</i>					
Benue-Plateau .....	9	3, 004	-	538	18, 840
Kano .....	8	4, 461	-	974	34, 115
Kwara .....	11	537	-	238	8, 340
North-Central .....	14	5, 118	-	617	21, 600
North-Eastern .....	17	6, 084	-	1, 277	44, 720
North-Western .....	23	8, 640	-	901	31, 560
East-Central .....	22	5, 517	-	448	15, 700
South-Eastern .....	9	1, 626	-	402	14, 080
Rivers .....	7	1, 726	-	128	4, 505
Lagos .....	4	591	-	107	3, 730
Western .....	23	5, 538	-	802	28, 095
Mid-Western .....	10	4, 109	-	267	9, 375
Total .....	157	46, 951	-	6, 699	234, 680

Source: Data from Federal Ministry of Education, Lagos, Nigeria.

APPENDIX G

1 University	2 Total Cost of the Project as at 31-3-77 N	3 Estimated Expenditure in 1976-1977 N	4 Actual Expenditure in 1976-1977 N	5 Total Expenditure at 31-3-77 N	6 Total Balance at 1-4-77 N	7 Estimated Expenditure in 1977-78 N	8 Adjusted Estimated Expenditure in 1977-78	9 Estimated Expenditure in 1978-79 N	10 Estim. Expend in 15 N
1. Benin	64,050,123	18,353,441	15,214,225	34,015,115	30,035,008	22,907,121	20,000,000	7,987,495	304,
2. Ibadan	33,911,532	7,690,000	9,127,517	22,156,205	11,755,327	7,446,539	7,446,539	4,150,789	—
3. Ife	47,995,364	15,129,316	9,740,558	25,528,189	22,467,175	15,379,014	15,379,014	4,132,028	—
4. Lagos	58,393,886	15,380,053	13,064,344	32,855,898	25,537,988	22,509,212	19,000,000	6,537,988	—
5. Nsukka	48,878,490	17,319,964	13,614,864	24,149,656	24,728,834	12,891,825	12,891,825	7,486,366	3,133,
6. Zaria	96,866,284	26,169,942	17,395,412	45,806,576	51,059,708	32,836,573	22,000,000	27,900,558	1,159,
Running Total (N350m)									
7. Calabar	15,521,302	4,531,032	9,423,689	9,423,689	6,097,613	5,562,510	5,562,510	535,103	—
8. Ilorin	12,035,452	2,102,500	1,431,101	1,431,101	10,604,351	9,471,126	9,471,126	1,133,225	—
9. Jos	13,445,830	5,835,530	*5,000,000	*6,055,000	*7,390,830	7,390,830	7,390,830	—	—
10. Kano	3,334,436	1,225,768	*1,000,000	*1,307,801	*2,026,635	2,026,635	2,026,635	—	—
11. Maiduguri	11,399,356	2,125,143	*1,000,000	*10,274,213	*1,125,143	1,125,143	1,125,143	—	—
12. Port Harcourt	6,635,544	3,490,500	*1,306,775	1,306,775	5,328,769	4,903,735	4,903,735	425,034	—
Running Total (N416.3m)									
13. Sokoto	3,882,685	650,000	*1,000,000	*1,000,000	*2,882,685	2,882,685	2,882,685	—	—
14. Sub-Total	416,350,284	119,973,189	98,318,485	215,310,218	201,040,066	147,332,948	130,080,042	60,288,586	4,596,
15. Central Planning	11,500,000	6,255,000	*4,000,000	*4,000,000	*7,500,000	7,500,000	7,500,000	2,000,000	—
16. Contingen- cies	3,995,000	—	Nil	Nil	3,995,000	—	—	—	—
17. Total less line 16	427,850,284	126,198,189	102,318,485	219,310,218	208,540,066	149,332,948	137,580,042	62,288,586	4,596,
18. Unapproved Projects	12,222,293	—	4,987,196	5,402,971	6,819,322	—	—	—	—
19. Grant Total	440,072,577	—	107,305,681	224,713,179	215,359,388	—	—	—	—

Summary of EXPENDITURE for CAPITAL PROJECTS UNDER CONSTRUCTION at 31-3-77 \*Assumed Interpolated Figures

Source: National Universities Commission (NUC) Annual Report, July 1977.

APPENDIX H

	2 Grants for projects under construction 1977-78 N	3 Grants for Permanent sites New Univer- sities N	4 Grants for temporary sites New Univer- sities N	5 Grants for projects older Univer- sities N	6 Distribu- tion of appropria- tion for 1977-78 N	7 Supplemen- tary alloca- tion for 1977-78 N	8 Available credit reserves for 1977-78 N	9 Available funds for 1977-78 N	Antic exp. P under stru 197
1. Benin	9,000,000	—	—	—	9,000,000	—	7,946,361	16,946,361	20,00
2. Ibadan	3,000,000	—	—	—	3,000,000	1,250,000	3,224,800	7,474,880	7,46
3. Ife	9,000,000	—	—	—	9,000,000	500,000	4,683,942	14,183,942	15,37
4. Lagos	3,000,000	—	—	—	3,000,000	1,000,000	14,612,053	18,612,053	19,00
5. Nsukka	13,500,000	—	—	—	13,500,000	—	(5,076,775)	8,423,225	12,89
6. Zaria	9,000,000	—	—	—	9,000,000	500,000	10,101,858	19,601,858	22,00
7. Calabar	8,500,000	3,000,000	—	—	11,500,000	250,000	(-4,353,889)	7,396,111	5,56
8. Ilorin	3,150,000	2,000,000	—	—	5,150,000	750,000	3,349,239	9,249,239	9,47
9. Jos	5,150,000	4,000,000	—	—	9,150,000	1,250,000	1,463,067	11,863,067	7,39
10. Kano	—	4,000,000	—	—	4,000,000	1,000,000	5,517,419	10,517,419	2,02
11. Maiduguri	—	4,000,000	—	—	4,000,000	250,000	4,467,700	8,717,700	1,12
12. P. Harcourt	1,200,000	2,000,000	—	—	3,200,000	1,500,000	3,473,565	8,173,565	4,90
13. Sokoto	—	4,000,000	—	—	4,000,000	1,750,000	4,397,700	10,147,700	2,88
14. Sub-Total	64,500,000	23,000,000	—	—	87,500,000	10,000,000	53,807,040	151,307,040	130,08
15. Central Planning	—	4,500,000	—	—	4,500,000	—	2,500,000	7,000,000	7,00
16. Contingen- cies	—	—	—	—	—	1,000,000	3,995,000	4,995,000	—
17. Total	64,500,000	27,500,000	Nil	Nil	92,000,000	11,000,000	60,302,040	163,302,040	137,08

*Nigerian Universities allocation of capital grants for 1977-78 including Supplementary Grants*

Source: National Universities Commission (NUC) Annual Report,  
July 1977-June 1978, P. 57.

APPENDIX I

1	2 Total Cost of the Project as at 31-3-78 N	3 Actual Expenditure in 1976-77 N	4 Estimated Expenditure in 1977-78 N	5 Actual Expenditure in 1977-78 N	6 Total Expenditure as at 31-3-78 N	7 Total Balance as at 1-4-78 N	8 NOTE:
1. Benin	89,043,059	15,875,737	20,000,000	16,326,734	46,326,734	42,631,323	Provision: Assessment
2. Ibadan	38,932,172	9,017,517	7,446,539	5,810,368	24,602,566	14,329,606	
3. Ife	52,032,733	13,084,191	15,379,014	*7,033,096	*36,174,918	*15,857,815	
4. Lagos	60,130,595	13,064,344	19,000,000	7,080,753	39,469,577	20,661,018	
5. Nsukka	55,166,394	13,614,864	12,891,825	9,241,239	30,536,417	24,629,977	
Running Total (N392.4m)							
6. Zaria	97,170,205	20,563,438	22,000,000	17,517,119	62,277,104	34,893,101	Provision: Assessment Col. 2 and figs. prov- sional
7. Calabar	19,074,239	9,423,689	5,562,510	3,885,346	13,097,630	5,976,609	
8. Ilorin	12,035,452	1,431,101	9,471,126	*4,193,424	*5,624,525	*6,410,927	
9. Jos	21,511,170	*5,000,000	7,390,830	*7,000,000	*12,127,540	*9,383,630	
10. Kano	13,325,941	1,422,739	2,026,635	3,484,777	5,331,064	7,994,877	
11. Maiduguri	11,388,027	634,447	1,125,143	*750,000	*10,647,897	*740,130	
12. P. Harcourt	11,741,020	2,143,071	4,903,735	4,912,154	7,055,225	4,685,795	
Running Total (N489.0m)							
13. Sokoto	7,492,040	804,502	2,882,685	*5,183,718	*5,988,220	*1,503,820	
14. Sub-Total	489,043,047	106,079,640	130,080,042	92,418,728	299,344,419	189,698,628	
15. Central Planning	11,500,000	4,500,000	7,000,000	4,331,000	8,831,000	2,669,000	
16. Contingen- cies	4,995,000	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	4,995,000	
17. Total less line 16	500,543,047	110,579,640	137,080,042	96,749,728	308,175,419	192,367,628	
18. Unapproved Projects	33,759,450	572,107	—	9,548,483	10,120,590	23,638,860	Provision: Assessment
19. Grand Total	534,302,497	111,151,747	137,080,042	106,298,211	318,296,009	216,006,488	

Preliminary Statement: Summary of Expenditure for Capital Projects under Construction as at 31-3-78

\* Assumed and/or Interpolated Figures

Source: National Universities Commission (NUC) Annual Report, 1977-1978.

APPENDIX J

1 University	2 1975-76 Grant	3 1976-77 Grant	4 1977-78 Grant	5 Total Col. 2,3 and 4	6 1978-79 Allocation	7 Enrolment as at 1978
N	N	N	N	N	N	N
1. Benin	17,295,000	15,963,900	9,000,000	42,258,900	10,000,000	2,257
2. Ibadan	11,621,000	7,733,000	4,250,000	23,604,000	5,000,000	8,865
3. Ife	7,670,000	10,344,500	9,500,000	27,514,500	5,000,000	7,117
4. Lagos	15,700,000	16,365,300	4,000,000	36,065,300	6,000,000	6,509
5. Nsukka	15,853,000	8,222,900	13,500,000	37,575,900	8,700,000	6,887
6. Zaria	13,887,000	15,242,000	9,500,000			8,526
Unallocated	—	—	—	38,629,000	9,800,000	
7. Sub-Total A	82,026,000	73,871,600	49,750,000	205,647,600	48,500,000	40,161
8. Calabar	4,715,000	3,569,800	11,750,000	20,034,800	9,730,000	1,336
9. Ilorin	2,000,000	2,767,700	5,900,000	10,667,700	9,730,000	472
10. Jos	7,606,000	3,569,800	10,400,000	21,575,800	9,940,000	1,339
11. Kano	2,587,000	4,429,000	5,000,000	12,016,000	10,150,000	1,857
12. Maiduguri	2,615,000	2,767,700	4,250,000	9,632,700	10,570,000	1,184
13. P. Harcourt	2,000,000	2,767,700	4,700,000	9,467,700	9,310,000	382
14. Sokoto	2,615,000	2,767,700	5,750,000	11,132,700	10,570,000	194
15. Sub-Total B	24,138,000	22,639,400	47,750,000	94,527,400	70,000,000	6,764
16. Central Planning	—	7,000,000	4,500,000	11,500,000	1,000,000	—
17. Univ. HF Radio Network	—	—	—	—	500,000	—
18. Contingen- cies	671,000	3,324,000	1,000,000	4,995,000	—	—
19. Sub-Total C	671,000	10,324,000	5,500,000	16,495,000	1,500,000	—
20. Total	106,835,000	106,835,000	103,000,000	316,670,000	120,000,000	46,925

*Distribution of annual government appropriations for the fiscal years 1975-76, 1976-77, and 1977-78; and allocations to all Nigerian Universities for the fiscal year 1978-79.*

Source: National Universities Commission (NUC) Annual Report, 1977-1978.

APPENDIX K

Actual and Projected Enrolment by levels of Education in  
Nigeria: 1960-2000.

<i>Year</i>	<i>1st Level (in million)</i>	<i>2nd Level (in 000's)</i>	<i>3rd Level (in 000's)</i>	<i>Total (in million)</i>
<i>0</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>
1960	2.94	168	2.55	3.10
1985	14.68	3,808	213.73	18.70
1990	18.75	6,832	488.30	26.07
2000	25.91	11,412	920.70	38.24

Source: UNESCO (1983) Table IX