AN HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE IMPACT OF EDUCATION ORDINANCES ON EDUCATION IN NORTHERN NIGERIA, 1916-1966

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENT

It is mandatory that every approved school or educational institution in Nigeria should keep a copy of the Education Ordinance. The question that has consistently cropped up in my mind is, why the Education Ordinance. It has never formed part of the training of Nigerian teachers to examine the Ordinance much more to question the contents. After working in education for over twenty-three years in different capacities--teacher, headmaster, principal, Inspector and Chief Inspector of Education--I began to take interest in this area which to my knowledge has never been adequately researched. The choice and pursuit of this particular study has, therefore, been stimulated by personal interest which was born of my own experience.

Acknowledgment is due to numerous individuals, friends and libraries. I am greatly indebted to Professor Russell Milliken, my dissertation advisor and Chairman of my doctoral committee, for his encouragement, counsel and assistance which I received at all times. I am grateful to the other members of my committee: Dr. L. L. Krantz, Dr. M. E. Ploghoft, Dr. O. Paul Roaden and Dr. Lowell Howard whose invaluable aid and guidance were made available to me. I am equally grateful to the

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Chapter 1

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

THE PROBLEM AND DEFINITION OF TERMS USED

Introduction. Nigeria is the biggest free black nation in the world. Its total land area of 375,250 square miles is greater than that of any nation in Europe, except Russia. It is four times the size of the United Kingdom, and one-eighth the size of the United States. It is one of the most democratic and stable countries in the entire undeveloped world. The rule of law and the liberties of its citizens are scrupulously observed. Population growth, estimated at 2½ percent a year has been comfortably offset by a 4 percent annual rise in gross national product. Its population is some 60 million. Egypt, the second most populous African country has only 28 million. Out of every six people who live in Africa, one is a Nigerian.[1] This description, at the time of independence, clearly underscores the significant position which Nigeria occupies in Africa and in the world at large. In order to understand the problem of education in any part of the country, it is necessary to go into some background of the history of Nigeria.

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[1]David Reed, "Nigeria--Black Africa's Brightest Hope," The Reader's Digest (March, 1963), p. 187.

Background history. The geographical entity called Nigeria today, is indeed a British imperial creation. British penetration into Nigeria dates back to the days of the slave trade. This penetration is attributable to three main groups of activities: (1) trade at the mouth of the river Niger, (2) the proselytizing zeal of Christian missions, and (3) the British government's determined effort to suppress the traffic in slaves. The adventurous journeys into the hinterland along the rivers Niger and Benue, beginning with the efforts of Macgregor Laird in the 1850s and continuing in later decades with the commercial and quasi-administrative activities of Sir George Goldie's Royal Niger Company, culminated ultimately in the establishment in 1900 of the Protectorate of Nigeria.[2] But in the same year, the rights and possessions of the company were taken over by the British Crown. Lagos was ceded to the British Crown in 1861. From Lagos British jurisdiction spread and extended into the hinterland as the requirements of order and peaceful trading dictated.[3]

It was on January 1, 1900, that the flag of the Royal Niger Company was hauled down at Lokoja and Britain formally assumed a protectorate over Northern and Southern Nigeria. It was not until 1906 that Northern Nigeria was

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[2]Kalu Ezera, Constitutional Developments in Nigeria (Cambridge University Press, 1960), pp. 12-13.

[3]Ibid.

finally pacified.[4]

Northern and Southern Nigeria were amalgamated on January 1, 1914, and Sir Fredrick Lugard, the first governor-general, established the Nigerian Council which included six Africans, none of whom were from Northern Nigeria. In 1946 Governor Sir Arthur Richards (Lord Milverton) inaugurated a new constitution which introduced a new element into Nigeria's government by the creation of regional houses of assembly (Northern, Eastern, Western) in addition to a central legislature. The regional houses were advisory only.[5]

Five years later, the regional houses were given ministerial appointments to increase their part in the running of affairs. On October 1, 1954, the pre-independence constitution was introduced.[6]

On January 16, 1960, the Federal House, sitting for the first time after December elections, passed unanimously a motion that:

> This House authorizes the Government of the Federation of Nigeria to request Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom as soon as practicable to introduce legislation in the Parliament of the United Kingdom providing for the establishment of the Federation of Nigeria on October 1, 1960, as an independent sovereign state. . . .[7]

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[4]Federal Ministry of Information, "Nigeria--1960," (London: Brown, Knight and Truscott Ltd.), pp. 9-12.

[5]Ibid. [6]Ibid. [7]Ibid.

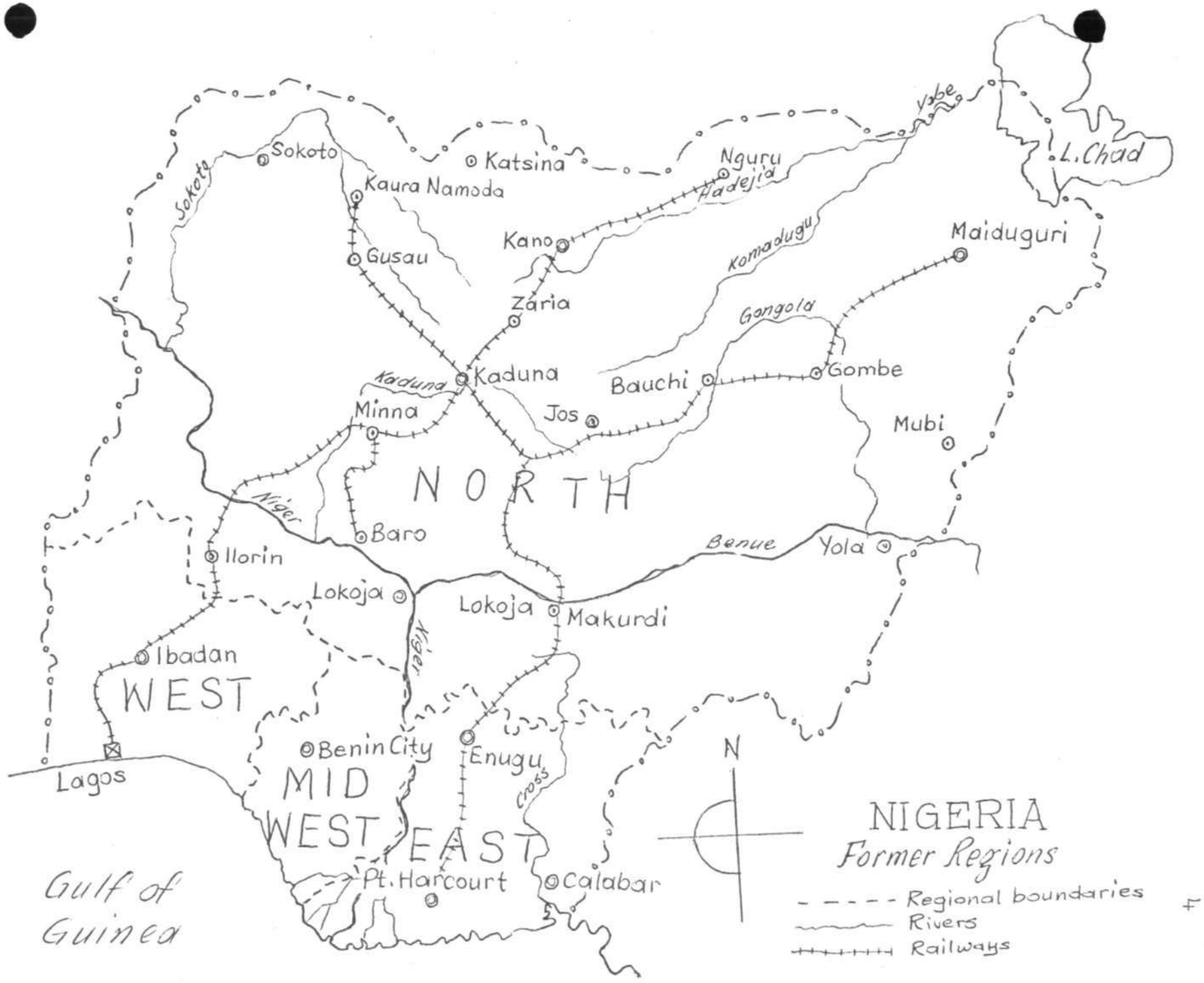

Sokoto
Katsina
Nguru
Yobe
L. Chad
Kaura Namoda
Hadejia
Kano
Maiduguri
Komadugu
Gusau
Zaria
Gongola
Kaduna
Bauchi
Gombe
Minna
Jos
Mubi
NORTH
Niger
Baro
Benue
Yola
Ilorin
Lokoja
Makurdi
Ibadan
WEST
Benin City
Enugu
Cross
Lagos
MID WEST
EAST
Pt. Harcourt
Calabar
Gulf of Guinea
N
NIGERIA
Former Regions
Regional boundaries
Rivers
Railways

Figure 1

Thus ninety-nine years after the annexation of Lagos, the first part of Nigeria to come under British jurisdiction, a new sovereign state was born. Nigerians stepped into shouldering the responsibility of social, economic and political developments of the country. Fortunately they did not start from scratch, for the British who ruled the country for nearly a century had laid a very solid foundation. In the field of education, schools established by voluntary agencies, government and private individuals have all helped to produce a starting point.

Nigeria's progress immediately following independence was phenomenal. By 1967, just before the outbreak of the tragic civil war, Nigeria had already made impressive progress in building its educational system. Enrollment in Nigerian universities was over 8,000 students and would have reached 12,500 by 1970. The intake into secondary grammar schools had already climbed from 12,000 in 1958 to over 37,000 in 1965, and it was growing by nearly 20 percent each year. "Few, if any, African countries can match Nigeria's post independence record of achievement in educational development."[8] This development was disrupted in 1966 by a series of military coups which led to a tragic civil war and military rule in

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[8]Fredrick H. Harbison, "From Ashby to Reconstruction, Manpower and Education in Nigeria" (unpublished material; East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1969), p. 2.

Nigeria.

HISTORY OF EDUCATION

Missionary activities in Southern Nigeria. Bearing the foregoing history in mind, it is necessary to go into some background history of education in Nigeria. The history of educational development in Nigeria dates from the advent of the Christian missions to the coastal areas of the Southern provinces. Missionary activities in education could be traced to the early sixteenth century, when in 1515 Portuguese missionaries visited Benin and obtained permission of the Oba of Benin to teach his son and the sons of a number of chiefs the rudiments of the Christian faith. In 1539, a Portuguese visiting mission to Benin found a Christian Negro who was held prisoner by the Oba, teaching boys to read. The Portuguese seminary established in Sao Thome, off Nigerian Coast, in 1571, sent missionaries to Warri to teach the Itsekiris to read. These early attempts were scattered and sporadic and so made no lasting impact as far as organized education was concerned.[9]

It was not until the last quarter of the eighteenth century that Western education made any significant impact upon Nigeria. The first missionary contact in modern times in Nigeria was made by the Wesleyan Methodist

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[9]L. J. Lewis, Society, School and Progress in Nigeria (Oxford: Pergamon Press), p. 23.

Missionary Society which began its work in the coastal town of Badagry in 1842 where it established a mission and built a school. This was in answer to the appeal made by James Fergusson, a Yoruba freed-slave who left Sierra Leone and came to settle at Badagry. In his letter dated March 2, 1841, to Reverend Thomas Dove, the Wesleyan Missionary in Freetown who converted him to Christianity, Fergusson wrote as follows:

> So I humbly beseach you, by the name of Jehovah to send one of the messengers of God to teach us more about the way of salvation because I am now in a place of darkness where no light is. . . . So I humbly beg of you that you . . . send us one of the servants of Christ to instruct us, by so doing, if we ourselves are well instructed, I will speak to them the same as I have been instructed.[10]

The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society and the Church Missionary Society were the first to respond to this appeal. In fact, their agents arrived in Badagry within three months of each other. The King of Abeokuta where most of the freed slaves had settled invited the first Methodist missionary to get to Badagry, Thomas Birch Freeman, to visit his town. Freeman entered Abeokuta on Sunday December 11, 1842. There he started a second mission station with a small school. In 1878 the Methodist Mission had advanced its educational work sufficiently to open a high school for boys and another for girls in

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[10] T. T. Solaru, Teacher Training in Nigeria (Ibadan University Press, 1964), p. 2.

Lagos.[11]

The Church Missionary Society comprised Bishop Samuel Crowther, a Yoruba who had been rescued by a British naval vessel from a slave-trading ship, a Mr. Townsend and the Reverend C. A. Golmer. They landed at Badagry from Sierra Leone and in 1846 they got to Abeokuta; there they built a mission, a church and a school. By 1849, the Church Missionary Society Yoruba Mission had established four main stations at Badagry, Lagos, Abeokuta and Ibadan. This initial effort in Western Nigeria was followed by enterprises into the Niger delta and Eastern Nigeria. Bishop Crowther and his party visited Onitsha in 1857 and established a mission at Bonny in 1863. The Church Missionary Society had opened a teacher training institution at Abeokuta as early as 1849.[12]

In 1847, the United Free Church of Scotland set up a mission much further to the east at Calabar. It established vernacular schools along the rivers, and in 1895 opened the Hope Waddell Institute at Calabar which provided for trade and vocational training as well as for the training of teachers and pastors.[13]

In 1853, the American Southern Baptist Convention began work at Oyo, founded the Baptist Academy at Lagos

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[11]Government Printer, "Annual Report of the Department of Education--1st April 1951 to 31st March 1952" (Lagos, Nigeria: Government Printer, 1954), pp. 5-6.

[12]Lewis, op. cit., pp. 24-26.

[13]Government Printer, Annual Reports, 1951-1952, loc. cit.

and developed a vocational and trades school at Abeokuta.[14]

The Roman Catholic Mission established schools in Lagos in 1868 and in 1872 four Sisters from France organized education for girls. In 1876 the school now known as St. Gregory's College was founded. After penetrating into the hinterland and establishing a mission station at Abeokuta in 1880, the mission extended its educational work over the Yoruba provinces. Asaba, which was in the Western provinces, became a second focal point for such work. In 1885, a third Catholic Mission at Onitsha commenced educational activities in the Eastern provinces.[15]

The Qua-Iboe Mission, a Protestant society with its headquarters in Northern Ireland, was founded not far from Calabar. In 1894, the Primitive Methodist Missionary Society came to the mainland from Fernando Po to spread its work over the Calabar and Owerri provinces.[16]

Beginning on the coast, most of the missions moved inland and along the main rivers and land routes establishing their influence in many areas.[17]

Hitherto, all the educational activities discussed have been mainly those of missions. It has become customary to divide the history of education in tropical

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[14]Lewis, op. cit., p. 27.

[15]Government Printer, loc. cit.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Ibid.

dependencies into three phases: (1) the initial period of missionary activity, (2) the period of government interest, and (3) a period of change between the two. Much as this pattern appears attractive, it needs to be examined and applied carefully, since at no period did any one agency take full responsibility.[18] For many years the missionary societies working in Southern Nigeria, had the field of education to themselves, all the same individual philanthropists, local and imperial governments and traders paid some attention to the needs of education. The distinguishing element in the effort of the Christian missions was its persistent and expanding nature.[19]

Missionaries in Northern Nigeria. The situation in Northern Nigeria was different. The activities of the Christian missions commenced much later in the North. They were greatly restricted by the fact that the Moslem emirs of the North had, during the period of pacification, secured pledges from government which partly made it impossible to admit the missions into the emirates without their consent.[20]

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[18] L. J. Lewis, Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Areas (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1954), p. 9.

[19] Ibid., p. 10.

[20] A. C. Burns, History of Nigeria (London: Allen and Unwin, 1929), p. 259.

It is important to note at this juncture that when Europeans first got to Nigeria especially Northern Nigeria, they did not find an educational vacuum. Due to the rise of Islam in Arabia in the ninth and tenth centuries, there was vast political upheaval which speeded up migration through Egypt into North and West Africa. From this early period began the intermingling of religious, economic and intellectual influences much of which is today reflected in the life of Northern Nigeria. The Islamization of the Northern parts of Nigeria established in places like Sokoto, Katsina and Kano, centers of intensive learning and religious activities.[21]

Before the establishment of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, native Muslim schools were already functioning on a fairly wide scale. These were for the most part the Koranic schools where religious instruction was emphasized by Mallams able to read and write the Koran. There were in addition a few higher schools conducted usually by Alkalis and Imams. In 1913, the number of native Muslim schools was estimated as 19,073, with a total attendance of 143,312.[22]

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[21]Desmond Wright Bittinger, "An Educational Experiment in Northern Nigeria in its Cultural Setting" (Doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1941), pp. 1-17.

[22]F. H. Hilliard, A Short History of Education in British West Africa (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1957), pp. 157-158.

Into this complicated situation obtruded another factor--the advent of mission societies wishing to extend their fields into the new British possessions. In 1865, Bishop Crowther moved his mission station to Lokoja at the invitation of Consul Fell. In September of the same year, Bishop Crowther opened a school, the very first in Northern Nigeria which has existed ever since and is today known as "The Holy Trinity School." A mission training college named "Institution cause Preparandi" was added in 1875 but made little progress and discontinued in 1891.[23]

The Church Missionary Society's Niger Mission stationed at Lokoja was primarily concerned with the conversion of non-Moslems but in May 1898 Lugard had been approached by Bishop Tugwell of the Church Missionary Society, with a request for permission for a party of missionaries, who had studied in Tripoli and who wished to establish a Christian mission at Kano, to enter the new Protectorate. The Hausaland mission was to be a mission to the Moslems.[24] This was the beginning of what later developed into intensive government-missionary tangle over the education of Moslems of Northern Nigeria.

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[23]R. J. Wingfield, "The Saga of Lokoja's 100 Years--Features of the Northern Region of Nigeria" (Kaduna: Northern Nigeria Information Service, Baraka Press, May, 1960), pp. 8-9.

[24]Sonia F. Graham, Government and Mission Education in Northern Nigeria 1900-1919 (Ibadan University Press, 1966), p. 7.

The effective subjugation of the Northern emirates was not completed until the spring of 1903. This had taken Lugard three years; the next stage in the Protectorate's existence was the establishment of an efficient civil administration. Lugard wanted and needed the goodwill of the people of Northern Nigeria. Both in 1900 and 1902, Lugard had explained officially his policy of "utilizing the abilities of this Fulani race, while putting an end to the tyranny and oppression which had hitherto marked their rule." Furthermore, Lugard had declared the Fulani to be

> . . . unfit at present to exercise power except under supervision, nor do I hope for any great success in the present generation, but I hope and believe that with careful guidance their sons and grandsons will form invaluable rulers under British supervision and that their superior intelligence can be developed as a useful asset in our administration.[25]

It is quite clear that Lugard was at this time thinking of organized education for the sons of the chiefs in order to sustain his policy of "Indirect Rule." This explains in part the reason why Lugard was prepared to allow the missions to extend their educational activities to Moslem areas despite his assurances of non-interference with their religion. Besides, it was cheaper to educate through the missions and there was also no precedent in West Africa where government provided an education system.[26]

Permission was, therefore, given to Bishop Tugwell

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[25]Ibid., p. 19. [26]Ibid.

to establish a mission station at Kano on condition that

> . . . when the missionaries desire to penetrate beyond the zone into which the Administration can afford them effective guarantees of safety they should undertake in the clearest manner to attempt no advance without his consent and to be guided by the limitations which he may see fit to impose not merely for their own safety, but with the object of avoiding any violence which may involve the Administration.

The permission given to Tugwell was extended also to the Canadian, R. V. Bingham, who was the head of the African Industrial Mission later known as the Sudan Interior Mission.[27]

On December 16, 1899, the pioneers of the Church Missionary Society's Hausa Mission led by Bishop Tugwell and comprising Dr. W. R. S. Miller, the Reverends S. A. Richardson and J. C. D. Ryder and J. K. Burgin left England with the objective of reaching "Kano or such other centre as God's providence may indicate," and they were bound by Tugwell's agreement with Lugard. The missionaries reached Jebba on February 16, 1900, and left the place on March 5 after they had failed to persuade the Emir of Ilorin to allow them to place a teacher in his city. They moved on to Kano through Daba and Wushishi without waiting for instructions from Lugard or any of his assistants. They got to Kano only to be turned out by the order of the emir who believed them to be spies.[28]

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[27] Ibid., p. 7.

[28] Ibid., pp. 11-12.

The party retired to Zaria where the emir gave them permission to live at Girku, outside Zaria town. Ryder died there and Richardson was invalided home to tell the story of the rebuff and hostility given by the Emir of Kano. The rest of the missionaries decided to move on to Sokoto to see the Sultan. Colonel Lowry Cole who was in charge of the West African Frontier Force at Girku pleaded with them to desist from doing so. But Tugwell's reply was very uncompromising, for he said:

> You are in no way responsible for us, we deeply appreciate your kind interest in us, but do not let us be a burden to you. Our service is rendered to the Ruler of the Kings of the earth--and therefore wherever we are, we are safe and therefore happy and confident.

Lugard intervened to stop them from going to Sokoto. This deadlock coupled with the treatment the missionaries got at Kano greatly strained the relationship between administration and the missionaries. All the same, more missionaries arrived on the scene.[29]

In 1902, a Roman Catholic Mission of the Holy Ghost in Southern Nigeria wished to establish a mission at Ibi among the non-Moslems. Lugard gave permission for this. The mission also obtained permission to enter Bassa province, where the Church Missionary Society was already at work. Later in 1905, the mission made little headway and withdrew from Northern Nigeria.[30]

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[29]Ibid., pp. 13-14.

[30]Ibid., p. 25.

The Sudan Interior Mission which was another rival to the Church Missionary Society had acquired a site near Pategi at the confluence of the Niger and the Kaduna. Its educational aims were industrial and agricultural and Lugard provided cotton seed for their farm. From Pategi the mission spread to Wushishi and Bida in 1903. The mission grew vegetables successfully but because of boll worm, two-thirds of their cotton crop was lost. They also experimented on keeping a poultry farm at Wushishi. This failed also. The industrial aims of the mission had no real success and so it concentrated on evangelization. Education was not emphasized very much by them and they were not given much encouragement by the administration as Lugard was getting suspicious of them. He once wrote as follows:

> I am informed that they [S.I.M.] preach the equality of Europeans and natives, which, however, true from a doctrinal point of view, is apt to be misapplied by people in a low stage of development, and interpreted as an abolition of class distinction.[31]

The year 1904 saw the advent of another mission in Northern Nigeria, the Sudan United Mission. Unlike the Sudan Interior Mission which was Canadian in origin, the Sudan United Mission was founded in Edinburgh because none of the existing societies of the Baptist, Congregational, Methodist or Presbytarian Churches of Great Britain or Ireland

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[31] Ibid., p. 26.

would accept the care of the new field alone. In September of the same year Dr. Karl Kumm arrived with a party of four other missionaries. The party wished to teach non-Moslems to use new agricultural tools, to make bricks and to speak a little English. They were allowed to set up a station near Wase North of Muri. By the end of Lugard's governorship, the impact of the mission on education was slight. The mission was later requested to desist from work in Wase town because the Moslem chief objected to the presence of Christian missionaries.[32]

THE ZARIA EXPERIMENT

So far, all the missionary organizations that ventured into Northern Nigeria concentrated on reaching the non-Moslems. Only the Hausaland Mission of the Church Missionary Society carried the message to the Moslems. The fact that the mission remained the only mission to the Moslems by 1905 placed it at a vantage position of formulating plans to help carry out the intensions of Lugard for getting mallams and sons of chiefs educated. Miller produced the first detailed plan for this purpose. This has come to be regarded as the "Zaria Experiment." From this experiment it was hoped that (if successful) it would develop to fulfill the educational needs of the Protectorate

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[32]Ibid., p. 27.



SKETCH MAP OF MISSION EXPANSION IN NORTHERN NIGERIA

Figure 2

recognized by both mission and administration.[33]

Miller drew up a plan as follows: First, he dealt with the literate mallam class. He suggested that the emir of each province should be requested by the governor to select two mallams, versed in Koranic scholarship but preferably not courtiers. They should stay with him for six months and for the first three months receive lessons in reading and writing Hausa in Roman script. Afterwards they should receive three months instruction in elementary geography, grammar, arithmetic and hygiene including health and sanitation. Lessons would occupy two hours and there should be no religious instruction at that time.[34]

Secondly, there was to be a boarding school for the sons of chiefs. Miller suggested that each emir should be asked to send two sons or two children of important families in his province, aged 12-16 years. Each emir was to pay whatever sum the governor considered adequate for the support of the two boys and for the school materials which they used. The school was to be built on ground given by the emir of whatever town was chosen by Lugard as the place of instruction.[35]

The idea behind the plan was that of a small inexpensive beginning from which mallams might later be sent

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[33] Ibid., p. 32.

[34] Ibid., p. 40.

[35] Ibid., p. 42.

to begin primary schools in other provinces, thus enlarging the one school system; moreover, the welfare of the country would be promoted by the training offered to the next generation of emirs.

Lugard indicated his approval of the plan, while praising the mission for its achievements, especially with Bida School. But then, Lugard's term of office was drawing to a close so he passed the decision on to his successor, Sir Percy Girouard. Girouard submitted Miller's plan and Lugard's comments to the Residents for comments.[36]

Meanwhile, Miller started his boys' school in May 1907. The Emir of Zaria chose fifteen boys from the leading families in Zaria town as the other emirs sent nobody. The boarding school became a day school. The Emir of Zaria continued to demonstrate interest in the school. In fact when Miller ran into difficulties and wanted to close the school because of the indifference of many of the pupils, the emir came to his rescue by weeding out the undesirables and left him with six keen pupils to each of whom the emir presented a special robe. The six boys attended regularly and made progress. This later developed into Wusasa day school. However, the boarding school for the sons of chiefs which Miller envisaged did not materialize.[37]

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[36] Ibid., pp. 46-48. [37] Ibid., p. 51.

The mallams class fared better. One convert, Mallam Fate, was to prove a great help to Miller in all translation work. Another mallam returned to his native town of Katsina after completing a course with Miller, and there gained the respect of the emir for his increased knowledge and ability. It was one of Miller's mallams who taught the Emir of Zaria to read Hausa in the Roman character. Thus with the adults Miller was achieving the results for which Lugard had hoped.

In the meantime, all the Residents had replied giving reasons for opposing Miller's plan. The Colonial Office in London studied all the opinions including those of Miller in which he expressed his dismay at the Residents' opposition to his efforts. The Colonial Office decided to withdraw its support for Miller's activities and so sent the following telegram:

> "I regret extremely that I gave any countenance to the project."[38]

FAILURE OF THE EXPERIMENT

Following the new stand of the Colonial Office, from 1907 onwards, the mission societies were to find it increasingly difficult to extend their spheres within Northern Nigeria, and the hope of the Church Missionary

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[38] Ibid.

Society of developing mission education throughout the Moslem provinces was "not only dead but damned."[39]

The pattern of educational development in the South was that of expansion in which the missions were encouraged to spread into the interior while the pattern in the North was that of restricted expansion.[40] Both in the Southern and Northern provinces, the government was faced with the problem of the education of the Moslem children. It became more evident in the Northern provinces, when the mission experiment was made to fail. For Miller not only blamed the residents for the failure of his scheme but also maintained that:

> I could have done a great deal for the education of the country before the Education Department got into its stride much later on, but this again was feared to have elements which would excite the suspicion of the Moslem rulers.[41]

Henceforth it became the sole responsibility of the Protectorate Government to provide schools for the education of Moslems in the Northern provinces. There was unhealthy rivalry and badly planned educational expansion among the different missionary organizations in the South.[42]

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[39] Ibid., pp. 52-59.

[40] L. J. Lewis, Society, Schools and Progress in Nigeria (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1965), pp. 23-30.

[41] W. R. S. Miller, Reflections of a Pioneer (London: C.M.S., 1936), p. 93.

[42] T. T. Solaru, Teacher Training in Nigeria (Ibadan University Press, 1964), p. 22.

All combined led to direct government participation and involvement. It became necessary for the government not only to provide schools but also to make laws for the operation of schools and the regulation of missionary activities in the field of education.

THE PROBLEM

Statement of the problem. Education laws in Nigeria are a carryover from the colonial era. These laws were and are still instrumental in determining the quality and quantity of educational offerings in Nigeria. They are, therefore, prone to promoting or retarding educational progress. The educational development of Northern Nigeria, though Nigeria's largest region, lags far behind that of the rest of the country. It is estimated that less than 11 percent of school-age children attend primary school.[43]

It was therefore, the purpose of this study to:

(1) trace the events leading to the formulation of school laws in Northern Nigeria,

(2) review literature on the history of each piece of legislation, the purposes and intents of the laws,

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[43]United States Agency for International Development, Nigerian Human Resource Development and Utilization (New York: Education and World Affairs, December, 1967), p. 43.

(3) ascertain the effects of the laws on education in Northern Nigeria, and

(4) make recommendations for the improvement of school laws in Northern Nigeria.

IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

In a democracy, public education is an instrumentality of society for carrying out a function which society has decreed to be a desirable one--the education of all the children of all the people. In carrying out this function, it is generally the prerequisite that goals and objectives be clearly defined.[44] It was this underlying principle that motivated the Federal Ministry of Education to summon Nigerians from all walks of life to a National Curriculum Conference to meet in Lagos on September 8-12, 1969. Nigerians were called upon to establish their educational goals and priorities. School laws should be instrumental in guiding the schools toward the attainment of set goals.

The study has been stimulated by personal interest resulting from the researcher's own experience. It was stipulated in the education ordinance that some records and books must be kept by all approved institutions of learning

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[44] Edmund E. Reutter and Robert R. Hamilton, The Law of Public Education (Mineola, New York: The Foundation Press, Inc., 1970), p. 1.

in Northern Nigeria. The education ordinance itself is one of such books. Penalty for failure to comply was clearly stated as follows: "The Manager of any institution where such failure takes place, shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding fifty pounds."[45] Many schools kept those books and records, but it was difficult to ascertain how many teachers really knew how those laws came about and what they were intended to achieve. A knowledge of school law should be basic to the education of every teacher and indispensable for the well prepared school administrator.[46]

The Institute of Education, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, is now the focal point of educational activities since the creation of six states out of the former Northern Nigeria and the dissolution of the Northern Nigeria Ministry of Education, Kaduna. Each state has continued to work toward evolving its own school laws. The institute has been actively involved. For the institute to be able to provide the required educational leadership, a good working knowledge of a relevant Nigerian education code of laws is a desideratum.

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[45] Government Printer, Education Law of Northern Nigeria, 1964 (Kaduna, Nigeria: Government Printer, 1964), pp. 46-48.

[46] Robert L. Drury and Kenneth C. Ray, Principles of School Law (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1965), p. v.

Northern Nigeria's educational program was designed differently from that of the rest of Nigeria. It was acclaimed a model system--the only truly indigenous approach to education in the whole of West Africa.[47] But Northern Nigeria is today, the most backward in education of all the regions of Nigeria. It was deemed important to know what role school laws played in these matters.

The study was, therefore, conceived as a project which would meet a definite need in Nigeria. Up to the time of writing, no research has been done on this subject and printed materials which were available on this subject were either sketchy or uncoordinated or both.

METHODS OF PROCEDURE

In the present study the historical method was used. An historical survey gave the background of the problem. A brief sketch of the historical background of Nigerian education focused the problem under study. An extensive survey of the literature pertinent to Nigerian Education Code of Laws was made to ascertain expert opinion of the importance to this investigation. This method sought:

> . . . to produce a faithful record of unique events that happened in the past, or to suggest through a survey of these events fruitful

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[47] Graham, op. cit., p. 144.

> generalizations from the past experience that may act as controls for behavior in the present or future.[48]

It involved: (1) collection and organization of data, (2) presentation of data, and (3) critical analysis of data presented.

Material on this problem was obtained from a study of pertinent literature, from interviews and conferences with officials of the Ministries of Education in the six Northern states of Nigeria, with experts on African education in Nigeria and American universities--Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Ibadan University, Ibadan both in Nigeria; and Ohio University, Ohio State University, Michigan State University and Wisconsin University--all in the United States. Close contacts for advice and criticism were maintained with educators--Nigerian, British and American.

Official documents from the National Archives in Kaduna and from the Nigerian government, Colonial Reports from the Colonial Office, London, transmitted by the British Information Services, and Annual Reports of the Departments of Education, Nigeria, furnished primary sources of great significance.

The researcher's twenty-three years of personal and

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[48] Garter Good, A. S. Carr, and Douglas Scates, Methodology of Educational Research (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1954), p. 239.

varied experience in educational work in Northern Nigeria was an added advantage.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study was not intended to include all education laws passed in Nigeria but was limited to codified school laws relating to the former Northern Nigeria now broken up into six states.

It was not intended to include university laws and higher education laws which are either on the exclusive legislative lists or on the concurrent list.[49]

It was limited to reviewing the general effects of the laws on education in Northern Nigeria and did not include the details of the laws as they relate to the different kinds of educational offerings.

It was not intended to include such other variables as economic factors, teacher shortage and teacher qualifications, and the sociological and other environmental factors that might equally affect education during the period covered by this study.

The study was limited to the period 1916-1966 as the laws passed before 1916 were limited to educational activities in Southern Nigeria and the period immediately

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[49] Federal Ministry of Information, The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1963), pp. 77-80.

beyond 1966 was the time the country was in a state of emergency due to the civil war.

The generalizations made from the interpretation of data were based largely on non-objective data which may possibly be experimentally inadequate and numerically incomplete. The generalizations, therefore, must be regarded as having only limited validity and should be subject to rapid correction as more data or more valid points of view come to light.

The application of the findings was limited to making recommendations for the improvement of school laws in Northern Nigeria.

DEFINITION OF TERMS USED

Effort was made to utilize terms in their proper context as they relate to the subject under investigation.

British government: means the Government of Great Britain.

Colonial government: means the government of a colony or territory ruled by an imperial power, e.g., the rule of Britain over Nigeria before independence.

Regional government: the Federation of Nigeria before 1 April, 1968, was divided into four parts, each of which was referred to as a region. The regions were: East,

West, Midwest and North.

County: one of the territorial divisions of Great Britain and Ireland serving as the most important divisional unit in the country for administrative, judicial and political purposes.

County council: a council which conducts the affairs of a county.

Borough council: a council in Britain which conducts the affairs of a town possessing municipal organization.

Native administration: means local government under a limited jurisdiction of a Nigerian ruler--an emir or a chief. The terms native administration and local administration have been used interchangeably.

House of Assembly: each of the four regions of Nigeria had a legislative assembly known as House of Assembly.

Civil service: is the term used to describe servants of the state or central government as civilians. It usually does not cover local government employees, nor staff of public corporations.

School board: means a board established under the education ordinance with advisory functions on matters of

education referred to it by the regional government.

Assisted school: is the term used in Northern Nigeria to designate a school that is partially supported by government grants-in-aid. A school not subsidized is referred to as an un-assisted school.

Voluntary agency schools: are schools operated by missionary bodies or other recognized bodies and are usually subsidized by grants-in-aid from the regional government.

N. A. schools: are schools under direct control of the native authorities who are the local government. The schools are usually subsidized by the regional government through grants-in-aid.

Koranic schools: are mainly collection of children under mallams where the Koran is learned by rote. The schools are usually regarded as religious schools. The opening and closing of such schools are not strictly controlled by law.

Government school: means a school owned and operated by the Northern Regional Government.

Elementary school: means a vernacular day school in town or village of Northern Nigeria in which a two-year syllabus was given. The average age of entry was ten.

The government disallowed this type of school after 1956 Ordinance.

Primary school: meant a boarding school in which education was given in the vernacular up to about the level of the English public standard VI. English was taught immediately on entry to all who have been through the elementary school. The average age of entry was twelve. This type was also discontinued after 1956.

Middle school: was a system of three-year course beyond the primary school. This was discontinued after 1956 and replaced by junior secondary school.

Primary school (after 1956): is an educational system with not less than ten pupils which offers a seven-year course. A child gets admitted into the beginners class at six.

Standards I-VI: up until 1956, when the term primary school was made applicable to both voluntary agency schools and native authority schools in the North, the voluntary agencies operated their schools on the syllabuses in use in Southern Nigeria. The course was an eight-year elementary school course broken down into Infants 1 and 2 and Standards 1 to 6.

Secondary school: means the same thing as American

secondary school. Nigerian secondary schools, however, are patterned after the English high schools and usually have two grades beyond the average high school in America.

Technical institutes: are vocational schools.

Primary school teacher: is a teacher who by qualification and/or training is allowed by the Education Law of Northern Nigeria to teach any of the classes 1-7 in a primary school.

Grade I teacher: usually completed Grade II course plus two or three years of academic and professional training. Grade I certificate could be obtained by passing the external examination of London University, (G.C.E.A. level) and undergoing a practical teaching test.

Grade II teacher: usually is a primary school level (graduate) plus five years of academic and professional training.

Mallam/Arabist: is usually literate in Arabic with no professional training.

Grants-in-aid: is an established practice in Nigeria of giving grants to schools maintained by agencies other than governmental for help in school equipment and teachers' salaries.

Resident: a British administrative officer in charge of a divisional unit.

Chapter 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON THE ORDINANCES

BACKGROUND

The failure of the "Zaria Experiment" mentioned earlier, shifted the responsibility of providing education for the Moslems of Northern Nigeria to the colonial government. Hanns Vischer, a Swiss who later became a British national provided this alternative. Hanns Vischer was first a missionary in Miller's party to Northern Nigeria. He resigned after serving for two years to join the Imperial service as Assistant Resident. On his appointment as the man to organize education for the Moslems of Northern Nigeria in 1908, he was given six months leave to study education systems of Egypt, the Sudan, the Gold Coast (Ghana) and Lagos. He returned more favorably disposed to adopting the Sudan system which appeared to him to be achieving genuine success because its methods had been so adapted to the requirements and the conditions of the country that education was becoming popular.[1]

On Vischer's return he proposed that the government

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[1] Sonia F. Graham, Government and Mission Education in Northern Nigeria 1900-1919 (Ibadan University Press, 1966), pp. 58-71.

schools should be confined to Moslem districts and that the missions be free to extend their work among the non-Moslems. Their schools should be subject to inspection by officials of the Education Department with a view to the eventual formation of a system of grants-in-aid. The extension of government schools to non-Moslem areas was to be considered after the successful establishment of Moslem schools.[2] Thus Vischer was not only committed to displacing the Christian missions in Moslem districts but was also determined on competing with the missions in pagan areas at a later date.

Meanwhile, the Resident of Sokoto started an unofficial school in 1909 and about the same time another school was started in Katsina by the Resident there. These were intended for the sons of chiefs. Vischer recommended that these and others similarly established by other Residents should receive government's recognition. The first government elementary school was planned for late 1910, to be followed a year later by a primary school in a central position. Kano was the site he suggested. Vischer's plans were not significantly different from what Miller set out to do. There was to be a class for the sons of chiefs which began in March 1910 with thirty-one pupils. The teacher-training class began earlier in

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[2] Ibid., p. 75.

September 1909 preparatory to the opening of the elementary school in Kano in October 1910. The subjects were Hausa reading and writing in Roman script, hygiene, arithmetic up to simple decimals and fractions and the geography of the Protectorate, Africa and the Empire. Local history and the history of the British Empire were to be added when textbooks became available. By December 1911, there were 80 in the mallam's class, 102 pupils in the new elementary school, 97 in the school for the sons of chiefs, 31 in the workshop and 10 in the surveying class.[3] This was a tremendous progress within such a short time among people who were considered extremely suspicious of Western education. Vischer wrote in his report as follows:

> The most encouraging part of the work is the natives' ready response to our efforts, and this fact, I think, justifies our highest hopes for the future. The arrival of almajirai (young mallam students) from outlying districts and the desire for schools expressed by the Emirs, indicate a real demand for further extension of our work.[4]

Vischer's appointment as Director of Education in 1910 marked the establishment of the Department of Education in the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria with its headquarters in Kano.[5]

Sir Fredrick Lugard became Governor-General and

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[3] Ibid., pp. 79-85.

[4] Ibid., p. 86.

[5] D. H. Williams, A Short Survey of Education in Northern Nigeria (Kaduna: Ministry of Education, Northern Region, 1959), p. 7.

Commander-in-Chief of the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria on January 1, 1914. He was committed to the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria. Nigeria was, therefore, in the process of being unified and there was a strong possibility that administration would become more centralized. Lugard introduced the system of Indirect Rule operating in the North to the South and also evolved an Education Ordinance in 1916 which was to reflect the oneness of the whole country.[6]

THE EDUCATION ORDINANCES AND REGULATIONS

Prior to 1916. Education ordinances were passed in 1882 and 1887 which relate to Nigeria. In 1882, the Colony of Lagos was still united to the Gold Coast colony (Ghana) and the first education ordinance was enacted to apply to West African territories. Lagos Colony was the only part of Nigeria that was affected by this ordinance. Following the separation of Lagos Colony from Ghana and the establishment of the colony and the Protectorate of Lagos, the first Nigerian education ordinance was enacted in 1887. The effect of this ordinance was, however, limited to Lagos Colony.[7]

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[6]Government Printer, "Annual Report of the Department of Education--1st April 1951 to 31st March 1952" (Lagos, Nigeria: Government Printer, 1954), p. 7.

[7]Ibid., p. 6.

The main features of these ordinances were: (1) they marked the beginning of a defined relationship between the missions and the government, (2) they provided for the setting up of a Board of Education and an official Inspector of Schools, and (3) they provided recurrent grants based on the system of "payment by results," that is, on the ability of the pupils to pass examinations.[8]

Education Ordinance 1916. Lugard's estimate of the products of pre-1916 education in Southern Nigeria was very low indeed. He observed that the system being reproduced with disastrous results in Southern Nigeria was that already admitted to be faulty in India. He maintained that such education produced discontent and unjustified assumption of self-importance. He judged that while the rudiments of education were widespread, the result had been the decay of family and social discipline, discontent and hostility to authority. Lugard, therefore, sought to build an education system which would promote "a better standard of discipline, self control and integrity" combined with educational qualifications more adequate to the demands of the state and of commerce.[9]

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[8]F. H. Hilliard, A Short History of Education in British West Africa (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1956), pp. 122-123.

[9]Solaru, op. cit., p. 23.

Principles embodied. Lugard himself summarized the principles embodied in the Code of 1916 as follows:

> (1) That the primary object of all schools should be the formation of character and habits of discipline, rather than the mere acquisition of a certain amount of book learning or technical skill, and that the grant-in-aid should be based in part, on success in this direction.
>
> (2) Teaching should be adapted to the needs of the pupils whether they are attending to qualify for clerical or other service; or, on the other hand, have no wish to leave their village and the pursuits which their fathers have followed.
>
> (3) The proportions of teachers to pupils should be adequate, they should be properly qualified, and their ability improved. Adequate grants must be given to assisted schools (from which Government and Commercial clerks were drawn) to enable them to pay adequate salaries to their staff.
>
> (4) That educational agencies whether controlled by Government or by Mission should co-operate with a common object; and as far as possible by similar methods of discipline and instruction.
>
> (5) Continuation and Evening classes for advances and specialized study, and institutions and classes for the training of teachers, should receive special encouragement.
>
> (6) The value of religion irrespective of creed or sect, and the sanction and incentive it affords, should be recognized and utilized as an agent for this purpose, together with secular moral instruction.
>
> (7) Government should exercise some measure of control over all schools, even though not assisted by grants, and endeavour to bring them into line with the general policy.
>
> (8) The schools should, as far as possible be conducted in accordance with native customs in matters of dress and etiquette in order that pupils may not become denationalized or consider themselves a class apart.[10]

Draft education ordinance. Lugard first produced a draft education ordinance and draft code regulations for

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[10] Ibid., pp. 23-25.

grants-in-aid to voluntary agency schools on his voyage home from Nigeria in April 1914.

Some of the innovations which the new ordinance planned to introduce were:

(1) A new approach to grants-in-aid: Earlier on payment of grants was consequent upon examination results conducted by government inspectors of education. The new code postulated that examination results should account for only 40 percent of the assessment. "Adequacy and efficiency of staff" was also to be taken into account in assessing grants.

(2) Re-organization of the school system. Three types of education were envisaged as follows: literary, rural and technical.

(a) Literary education was to provide clerks and teachers. These would come from the provincial schools. The provincial school went up to Standard VII, and was situated at a provincial headquarters under a British headmaster. It was a boarding school giving special encouragement to games. Evening classes for the teaching of advanced subjects like agriculture and survey and a class for the training of teachers were to be held at the provincial school.[11]

(b) There was to be a rural school for peasants

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[11]Solaru, op. cit., pp. 25-26.

under an African schoolmaster. The curriculum included arts and crafts, practical agriculture, carpentry and smithing, hygiene, local geography, colloquial English (in the South), Hausa (in the North) and rudimentary arithmetic. The purpose of such a school was the training of character discipline, industry and the improvement of the standard of life in the pupils' own village.

(c) Technical education: the object was to effect improvement in the training given in government workshops often to illiterate men, who could never make first-class workmen. Lugard insisted on a Standard IV or V qualificational entry in order to improve the status of the apprentice and the artisan so that they may be recognized as being on the same status as clerks. There was to be a close link between teacher training institutions and technical education.

(3) Board of Education: The ordinance provided for one Board of Education for Northern provinces and another for the Colony and Southern provinces. Each board's duties were to be prescribed by the governor.[12]

Reactions to the draft code. The code had been sent to managers of assisted schools, government inspectors and the Directors of Education for comments. The reception given to Lugard's suggestion in Southern Nigeria had been

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[12]Ibid., pp. 26-27.

gratifying, and he had his draft amended by the Attorney General to include some of the alterations suggested to him.

The main opposition to the 1916 Ordinance came from Northern Nigeria and the Colonial Office in London.[13]

Hanns Vischer, the Director of Education, was working in the War Office in London at this time and Mr. H. C. Brooks was Acting Director of Education, Northern provinces of Nigeria. Brooks' comments on the draft code were as follows:

> With regard to the Draft Education Code, I have the honour to submit the following for consideration: (1) The code appears to me to be more suited to a more advanced stage of education than that at present attained by the schools in the Northern Provinces, while its aims as revealed by the stress laid upon the successful passing of the Cambridge Senior Local Examination are opposed to the spirit of the system in use here. It is still early in the development of our methods to be able definitely to state the lines of future progress which will best meet the needs of the country. (2) From a practical point of view the department will not be in a position to carry out the necessary examinations and inspections, at any rate in the near future, and at the same time carry out the duties already assigned to it.
>
> (3) The regulations governing the registration and promotion of the native teachers would not suit the conditions obtaining in the Northern provinces and would bear hardly on many valuable teachers. Many of the present teachers and many others, who will in the future become teachers, will prove quite incapable of fulfilling the regulations regarding promotion and yet are admirable instructors in the subjects which they now teach and are fully fit for promotion in due course.
>
> (4) That the matter be submitted to the Director

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[13] Graham, op. cit., p. 133.

> of Education, Northern Provinces [then at the War Office in London], for his views and that the Code remain in abeyance as far as the Northern Provinces were concerned.[14]

Contrary to the views that Vischer was never consulted,[15] his letter from the War Office dated December 11, 1915, contained the following comments:

> With reference to the Draft Education Code and the letter from Mr. Brooks, I regret that I have not the time to state my opinion at any length. I fully endorse all Mr. Brooks says only I differ from him when he says that the Code appears to be more suited to a more advanced stage of education than at present attained by the schools in the Northern Provinces. These schools have been initiated and developed on lines altogether different and unless this will be altered and a different system introduced, this Code cannot meet at any time the requirements of our schools.
>
> If our aim is a national system of education for the people in the Northern Provinces it seems to me dangerous to lay down any hard and fast rules as we have to feel our way very carefully in developing and perfecting our system. In my opinion we <u>are not</u> yet in a position to lay down detailed instructions or rules for the management of our schools, the training of our teachers, etc. Also I cannot see how the same Code can ever apply to the Southern and Northern Provinces.
>
> Finally I would call attention to the enormous amount of work lying before us with the preparation of school text books.
>
> Hanns Vischer [signed][16]

The comments from Brooks and Vischer really set the stage for the stiff battle Lugard had to fight with the

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[14]Confidential No. 1279/1915--National Archives, Kaduna.

[15]Graham, op. cit., p. 138.

[16]Director of Education N.P., S.N.P. 9C. 119/1915, War Office, Whitehall, December 11, 1915, Archives, Kaduna.

Colonial Office in London over the Draft Education Ordinance 1914. It was clear from these replies, however, that the educational development of Northern Nigeria was not only different but was calculated to be lower than that of the South. Vischer, the Director of Education, was psoitive that the same code could never apply to both the Northern and Southern provinces of Nigeria and that the Northern teachers were quite incapable of fulfilling the academic requirements for promotion. Much as later events in the history of Nigeria really proved him wrong on both points, all the same the Colonial Office sided with him at this point.

The arguments put forward by Lugard against the points raised by the Colonial Office in connection with the Draft Education Code 1914, demonstrate clearly the issues involved.[17] The first argument advanced by the Colonial Office was that grants to mission schools "might involve the introduction of the Europeanized system of education which has tended to produce such unsatisfactory results in West Africa." Lugard's argument against this point was that there was already in the Northern provinces a large and

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[17]Lord Lugard: SNP8 File No. 87/1917, Archives Kaduna. (Extracts from F. D. Lugard Governor-General's letter to the Right Honourable A. Bonar Law P.C. M.P. Secretary of State for the colonies, written in London dated 14th August 1915.

constantly increasing number of mission schools situated for the most part in the "pagan" districts. Any proposal to discourage or if possible eliminate them was not likely to be effective or desirable. Besides, Lugard insisted that it was by means of the grant code itself and by cooperation between government and other agencies that the most effective check could be obtained against the evils which were feared. By recognition and by example, the government might be able to induce the acceptance of methods and principles even beyond what were contained in the four corners of the code.[18]

Another point raised against the code pertained to the Board of Education. The Colonial Office held that a board existed to keep education and public opinion in touch, and since there was no public opinion on matters of education in the Northern provinces, a board would be superfluous and might interfere with Vischer's work. Lugard replied to say that the main object of the board would be to facilitate cooperation between government and non-government educational agencies. Representatives on the board would have the opportunity to ventilate and focus the difficulties which surround the problems with the goodwill and assistance of those who have daily experience of the practical work of education. The governor, he went

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[18] Ibid.

on, would take care to see that the powers of the Director of Education were not unduly decreased.[19]

For the Colonial Office to have maintained that there was no public opinion on matters of education in Northern provinces at this time was not only unfortunate but was very unrealistic. If the experiment which Vischer was working at was to be truly indigenous then the natives themselves must necessarily form part of the decision-making.

Another charge brought against Lugard's code was that it did not recognize that the Southern and Northern provinces presented "essentially different problems." Lugard's reply was that more than half the Northern province was peopled by primitive pagan tribes whose education presented precisely the same problem as the corresponding tribes of the South. In religion the South contained large numbers of Mohammedans; even in Lagos itself the population was half Mohammedan. Lugard then went on to affirm:

> I do not regard the Amalgamation which I was selected to carry out as a geographical, political or more especially as a financial expression. I regard it, as I know that you do, rather as a means whereby each part of Nigeria may be raised to the level of the highest plane attained by any particular part, and in the matter of Education, each part has something to learn from the other.[20]

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[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid.

Despite these strong arguments put up by Lord Lugard the reply from the Colonial Office merely confirmed that as far as the Northern provinces were concerned, the battle was a lost one. The reply was as follows:

> In view of the explanation which you have afforded, I am prepared to agree to your proposals so far as the Southern Provinces are concerned.
>
> As regards the Northern Provinces I am prepared in Deference to your views, to agree to the establishment of a Board of Education. The functions of the Board should, however, be confined entirely to Christian and non-Government schools, and if a system of grants to Mission Schools is introduced it should be strictly limited to schools in the districts of Northern Nigeria where such schools are already established.
>
> I have etc.
> A. Bonar Law
> Downing Street
> 3rd January, 1916[21]

Effects of Colonial Office reactions to draft code. With the passing of the 1916 Education Ordinance as amended by the Colonial Office, there was to be one education ordinance for the whole of Nigeria ("Colony and Protectorate: An Ordinance Relating to Education No. 50 of 1916"). However, this did not result in the establishment of a unified Education Department and the Board of Education for Northern and Southern provinces were constituted differently as follows:[22]

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[21]Bonar A. Law, "A reply to Lord Lugard's extracts" (Kaduna: Archives, Downing Street, Jan. 3, 1916).

[22]Colony and Protectorate, An Ordinance Relating to Education (December, 1916), p. 2.

COLONY AND SOUTHERN PROVINCES	NORTHERN PROVINCES
The Lieutenant Governor	The Lieutenant Governor
The Administrator	A Resident to be nominated by the Governor
The Director of Education	The Director of Education
The Director of the Medical and Sanitary Service	Two other persons to be appointed by the Governor
Four other persons to be appointed by the Governor	

The board for Northern provinces had only two non-official members, which reduction gave a permanent official majority. Moreover, the president of the board in normal circumstances the lieutenant-governor, had a casting vote as well as a member's vote. The quorum was the president plus three members. As there were only two unofficial members, it followed, therefore, that no situation could arise in which the officials could be outvoted, if they were in accord. This gave Vischer the protection he wanted as his work was completely insulated from public criticism and influence.[23]

Article 13e of the Education Ordinance was a direct quote from the Colonial Office:

> No grant shall be made to any school or training institution which is a Mission or other Christian school or training institution situated in a District of the Northern Provinces in which no Mission or other Christian school or training institution is established at the commencement of the Ordinance.[24]

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[23] Graham, op. cit., p. 139.

[24] The Education Ordinance 1916, No. 50 of 1916.

This, in effect, meant that the missionary activities in the field of education were henceforth restricted. Bishop Tugwell was quick in his reaction to this particular clause of the ordinance. He wrote asking for an interview with the lieutenant-governor commenting on the clause as follows:

> It is not easy to discover what this means, unless it is the intention of the Government deliberately to exclude all such Christian schools or training institutions as may be established subsequently to the commencement of the Ordinance as grant-earning schools.[25]

Bishop Tugwell received a reply from the office of the lieutenant-governor to say that, "I am to add that the section in question was inserted at the direction of the Secretary of State for the colonies."[26] After receiving such a firm reply Bishop Tugwell could not press any further. It followed, therefore, that although the expansion of mission schools was not legally forbidden, this refusal of all state-aid was discouraging enough and demonstrated in unmistakable terms the opposition of administration to missionary expansion in the field of education.

Opposition to this particular clause (13e) continued to mount and in July 1917 the clause was dropped

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[25] H. Tugwell, "Letter from Bishop Tugwell, Lokoja, Nigeria, October 30, 1916" (Kaduna: Archives).

[26] Secretary, Northern Provinces, "Reply to Bishop Tugwell" File No. SNP8/4, 46/7; SM1002/1916, Lokoja (Kaduna: Archives).

through the Nigeria Gazette notice of amendment. Following this amendment, the government published in August 1917 new regulations which tightened the government's control over mission schools in Northern Nigeria.[27]

GENERAL EFFECTS OF THE CODE ON EDUCATION IN NORTHERN NIGERIA

The following table clearly illustrates the educational development which took place between 1916 and 1926 after which period a new ordinance came into being. In any comparison between the North and the South at this time, it is important to remember that the North was a late starter in the field of Western education. Besides, the North was hit the harder by the First World War as most of the teachers who were expatriates had to withdraw from the country. All the same the results are very revealing.[28]

The total number of children in schools in the Southern provinces in 1912 was 35,716 and this increased to 138,248 by 1926. This was an increase of over 290 percent. In 1912, the government schools provided only 8½ percent of the total number of children while in 1926 the percentage fell to 6½ percent.[29]

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[27] Graham, op. cit., pp. 144-145.

[28] S. Phillipson, Grants-in-Aid of Education in Nigeria (Government Printer, Lagos, 1948), p. 106.

[29] Ibid.

Table 1

Growth of Primary Education[30]

Region	Year	GOVERNMENT AND NATIVE ADMINISTRATION				VOLUNTARY AGENCY (ASSISTED)				VOLUNTARY AGENCY (UNASSISTED)			
		No. of Schools	Average Attendance			No. of Schools	Average Attendance			No. of Schools	Average Attendance		
			Boys	Girls	Total		Boys	Girls	Total		Boys	Girls	Total
SOUTHERN PROVINCES AND LAGOS AND COLONY	1912	59	3,873	111	3,984	91	9,673	2,059	11,732	(a)	(a)	(a)	20,000
	1926	58	8,800	575	9,374	192	28,229	7,046	32,275	3,578	(a)	(a)	96,600
	1930	64	9,599	1,061	10,660	275	37,885	10,534	48,419	2,387	72,951	9,403	82,354
	1937	108	10,667	1,516	12,183	339	52,803	16,661	69,464	3,086	116,819	20,144	136,963
	1947 (d)	183	21,604	4,436	26,040 (d)	473	114,935	38,824	153,759 (d)	4,328	294,322	64,270	358,592 (d)
NORTHERN PROVINCES	1912	5	(a)	(a)	350	---	---	---	---	29	(a)	(a)	604
	1926	68	(a)	(a)	2,207	1	(a)	(a)	(a)	56	(a)	(a)	3,003 (c)
	1937	195	(a)	(a)	9,130	22	2,623	807	3,430	322	5,909	1,800	7,709
	1947 (d)	400 (b)	19,551	5,571	25,122 (d)	167	15,804	5,584	21,388 (d)	543	18,407	6,045	24,452 (d)

(a) Figures not known.
(b) Includes 12 Middle Schools giving a five-year course subsequent to a four-year Junior Primary Course.
(c) Includes a number of pupils in one assisted voluntary agency school.
(d) The figures shown for 1947 are figures of enrolment, average attendance figures not being available, and are from returns made in respect of the year 1946.
(e) In addition, there was, in returns for the year 1946, record of 23,873 boys and 6,161 girls in private venture schools, in the Southern Provinces.

[30] Ibid.

In the Northern provinces there were only 954 children in school in 1912 as compared with 35,716 in the South. By 1926 the children in the Northern schools increased to 5,210 as compared with 138,248 in the South. The increase of over 400 percent for the Northern provinces was definitely phenomenal. This impressive growth readily underscored the potentials and possibilities that were available. But when one remembers that the North was almost 1½ times the South in population it could not be anything but grim that the gap between the North and the South should be that wide--5,210 to 138,248.[31] Mr. F. Urling Smith, Director of Education Northern Provinces, 1926-1929, commented on the situation as follows:

> There's now a tide running in the affairs of the Northern Provinces. How long an opportunity of taking it at the flood is hardly possible to say, but that we are missing some of it I have no doubt.[32]

The situation immediately after World War I was summed up in the following words by Sir Hugh Clifford, the Governor:

> In the Northern Provinces there has been until recently a certain tendency to regard education of the local population with some uneasiness and suspicion, as a process likely to exert a disintegrating and demoralizing effect upon the character of those who are subjected to it; and where this feeling has been overcome, a further tendency is observable to

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[31] Ibid.

[32] Solaru, op. cit., p. 46.

> regard education too exclusively as a handmaid of administration. . . . After two decades of British occupation, the Northern Provinces have not yet produced a single native . . . who is sufficiently educated to enable him to fill the most minor clerical post in the office of any government department. . . . The African staff of these offices throughout the Northern provinces are therefore manned by men from the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and from the Southern provinces of Nigeria. . . . Education in the north has been practically confined to the vernacular and to Arabic, has been allowed to become the almost exclusive prerequisite of the children of the local ruling classes, and has for its main object the equipment of these children with just sufficient knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic to enable them in after life to fill posts in one or another of the various Native Administrations. . . .[33]

This critical observation of the educational system in the North could not have come from a better person than the governor himself. His point of view was later reinforced by Solaru of Oxford University Press, Ibadan, when he said:

> In the North, Government experiment at making education practical had not in twenty years, succeeded in producing northerners capable of filling minor government posts. In trying to encourage the local languages to the exclusion of English in the lower schools, difficulties arose which made it impossible to expand the scope and extent of teacher training.[34]

It could be deduced, therefore, that Vischer's educational experiment in the North which the 1916 Ordinance completely approved and protected, did not quite work in

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[33]Reginald Bunting, The Educated African (New York: Fredrick A. Praeger, 1962), p. 365.

[34]Solaru, op. cit., p. 73.

the interest of the people since (1) it failed to take account of the needs of the locality in particular and the country in general, (the impact of the railway and the expanding mercantile and governmental operations required trained local personnel for clerical and artisan posts which Vischer's system refused to acknowledge), (2) the educational system which was declared truly indigenous in character included in its primary curriculum subjects like the history and geography of the British Empire, (3) where agriculture was taught, it was with particular attention being paid to cultivation of crops which might form the staples for exports,[35] and (4) to have insisted on the use of the native languages mainly under such difficult conditions--lack of textbooks, and native teachers, numerous languages and dialects--was to have deliberately adopted the slow process. Miller's remarks are pertinent here:

> All this might have been forseen and prevented. The foolish policy which withheld the study of the English language during the earlier stages of education and development of the Northern Province has brought a sad Nemesis upon the people themselves. Many years ago, I pleaded for full instruction in English, not only as a subject, but as the vehicle of instructions, realizing that English must certainly become the language both of literature and of commerce of the near future. It was in vain.[36]

He went on to say that the policy of preserving

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[35] Graham, op. cit., p. 80.

[36] W. Miller, Have We Failed in Nigeria (Lutterworth Press, 1947), pp. 12-25.

the culture of the North was overdone and that the government policy was rather dictated by political consideration rather than by the educational needs of the people.[37]

For Vischer to have insisted on teaching the people their own culture to the exclusion of all other cultures through schools of Western origin was not only presumptuous but was to attempt the near impossible. It was Murray who once said:

> We foreigners cannot give him African culture, because it is not ours to give. We can only give him European culture, because that is what we have. . . . But the African heritage includes all that has ever taken place since the world began, if only it can be put at his disposal.[38]

On the whole, 1916 Education Ordinance encouraged educational expansion in the South while it limited missionary expansion in the North, it approved and protected Vischer's educational experiment which slowed down comparatively the educational development in the North. Vischer's experiment emphasized liberal education to the neglect of relevant vocational training that was badly needed at this time. This led to the influx into Northern Nigeria of people from the South to occupy important civil service posts which in later years developed into suspicion

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[37] Ibid.

[38] A. Victor Murray, The School in the Bush (London: Longman's, Green and company, 1929), p. 329.

and bitter resentment and so paved the way for the Nigerian Civil War.[39]

The significant question which should be raised at this juncture and answered later in this investigation is how much should the government be involved in directly organizing and providing education for the people.

EDUCATION ORDINANCE 1926

Background and principles embodied. The dominant feature of the years immediately following the First World War was the rapid increase in the number of unassisted schools especially in the Southern part of Nigeria. The schools had multiplied so rapidly as to be beyond the effective supervision and control of many of the agencies which had sponsored them in answer to local demands and utterly beyond the power of the Education Department. The concern aroused in the governor's (Sir Hugh Clifford) mind by this state of affairs found ultimate expression in an important memorandum which he prepared in 1925 for the Secretary of State's Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical Africa.[40]

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[39] Auberon Waugh and Suzanne Cronje, Biafra: Britain's Shame (London: Michael Joseph, 1969), pp. 19-20.

[40] S. C. M. G. Phillipson, Grants in Aid of Education in Nigeria, A Review with Recommendations (Lagos: Government Printer, 1948), pp. 17-18.

The memorandum recognized unreservedly the need for the Government of Nigeria to spend on education a very much larger sum than had been spent in the past. That the government did not exercise supervision or control over the bulk of educational activities in the Southern provinces was another point that was emphasized in the memorandum. Sir Hugh Clifford referred to these schools in Southern provinces as "hedge schools" and insisted that the control of these schools was the "crux of the problem." He urged that the products of the "system or lack of system" were cut adrift from their fellows and from the tribal and family obligations. He held the view that it was government's business to provide a solution for an "utterly deplorable state of affairs."[41]

It may well be that the memorandum expressed rather exaggerated alarm at the unsatisfactory by-products of a process which was in certain respects a healthy and vigorous social phenomenon--and which in any case was the inevitable resultant of the forces playing on the community at that time--in which case it might not wholly be susceptible to official control. Be that as it may be, the fact remains that small schools had multiplied exceedingly and from lack of proper supervision and shortage of qualified teachers many of the schools were of very poor quality.[42]

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[41] Ibid., p. 18.

[42] Ibid.

Sir Hugh Clifford sought to secure control of educational expansion by conferring on a representative Board of Education executive powers to regulate the opening of new schools and to close any schools which might be proved to be inadequately equipped, housed or managed, or in which the teachers were themselves too ignorant to be able to impart education of a really sound character. He also proposed that in future elementary education should be entrusted in the Southern provinces exclusively to the Christian missions. This proposal marked the first definite departure from the policy followed earlier or of direct government intervention through the provision of government elementary schools.[43]

Innovations. Consequent upon Sir Hugh Clifford's recommendations, a new education ordinance came into force on May 26, 1926, which aimed primarily at conditions of schools in the Southern provinces. For all practical purposes, the 1926 Education Ordinance (No. 14 of 1926) for the Northern provinces incorporated most of the provisions of the Education Ordinance of 1916. The new features of the new ordinance were as follows:[44]

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[43] Ibid.

[44] Ordinance, No. 50 of 1916--An Ordinance Relating to Education and Ordinances, No. 14 of 1926--An Ordinance Relating to Education in the Northern provinces.

(a) Definitions.

1916	1926
"School" means an institution in which more than ten pupils are systematically taught, and in which any person is engaged to impart education.	"School" means an institution in which not less than ten pupils receive regular instruction and includes any assembly of not less than ten pupils for the purpose of receiving regular instructions, and any institution for the training of teachers.

(b) Composition of Board of Education.

In 1916 Ordinance, only two non-official persons were to serve on the board. This was increased to four in the 1926 Ordinance to bring it at par with what was obtained in the Southern provinces in 1916.

These were the only two changes and were significant in the sense that the new definition of "school" has not only improved upon that of 1916 but has enlarged the idea of a school to include a teacher training institution and "any assembly of not less than ten pupils." The latter clause was rather ambiguous as it could refer to any religious assembly. This was later dropped. By increasing the non-official representation on the Board of Education to four, more representation was provided for obtaining public opinion than hitherto.[45]

On July 17, 1929, the Education Departments of the

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[45]Graham, op. cit., pp. 137-139.

Northern and Southern provinces which had continued separately until then were united under the directorship of Mr. E. R. J. Hussey. He formulated a policy calculated to improve the quality and quantity of education in Nigeria. Mr. Hussey's policy was designed to correct the orientation toward Standard VI examination which was given so much emphasis by the Education Code. He accordingly proposed the introduction in the Southern provinces of a six-year primary school. Beginning with the three R's, teaching would be in the vernacular (where English was not the lingua franca). Agriculture in rural areas and handicrafts in towns were to be special features of the curriculum. English would be taught as a language from the third year of the elementary school.[46]

To achieve this, the curriculum of teacher training institutions should correlate with the activities of daily life. It was obvious that such training was not being done in the existing higher elementary training colleges. Hussey, therefore, proposed the setting up of elementary centers by the government. For the Northern provinces, three government elementary centers for vernacular teachers were to be established which would give a three-year course in general education and proficiency in teaching the elementary school syllabus. The medium of instruction was

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[46] Solaru, op. cit., pp. 48-49.

to be Hausa. Meanwhile local teacher training classes for supplying village assistant school masters were to continue until the supply of better trained teachers could catch up with the demand. All these centers would be under the care of superintendents of education assisted by experienced elementary teachers from England. The syllabus was to include practical agriculture and handicrafts.[47]

General effects of the ordinance. The Education Ordinance of 1926 aimed at providing a better quality of education through (1) increased direct government control and supervision, (2) cooperation with voluntary agencies by means of increased subsidies to schools and training institutions, and (3) by an attempt to improve the quality and status of teachers. That it did not succeed to any great extent was partly due to the great slump in international trade.

Its positive effect was greatly felt in the pagan areas of the North. For in 1926, there were only a little over 5,000 primary school enrollees and by 1947, the enrollment had climbed to approximately 71,000.

The group that benefitted most from the new government policy in addition to the new enrollees who could find places, were the teachers in the mission schools,

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[47] Ibid., p. 50.

since the greatest part of the grants-in-aid went to pay the salaries of qualified instructors.

In addition, the government began to stress quality and the need for better qualified teachers, with the result that it raised the standards for teacher qualification.[48]

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (1929-1948) IN NORTHERN PROVINCES

The Education Departments of Northern and Southern Nigeria were amalgamated in 1929. In that year there were 116 schools conducted by government with the financial help of the native administrations. There were ninety-five elementary schools, eight crafts schools, twelve primary (or middle) schools, and one secondary school. The total average attendance was 3,549 pupils.[49]

The missions had 152 schools out of which only five were assisted.[50]

During the "thirties" the elementary and middle schools of the North which have been described as government schools became more appropriately known as "native

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[48]Albert A. Blum, Teacher Unions and Associations, A Comparative Study (Urbana, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1970), p. 240.

[49]Government Printer, Annual Report of the Department of Education 1st April, 1951 to 31st March, 1952. (Lagos, Nigeria: Government Printer, 1954), p. 12.

[50]Ibid.

administration schools." By 1938 the number of these schools grew to 216 and there were ten middle schools working up to Class IV. The only full secondary school in the north was still conducted by the government. The voluntary agency schools numbered 383, more than doubling their number since 1929. They now received more financial assistance from government than previously.[51]

The period 1926-29 was one of relative financial prosperity during which the new ordinance operated without hinderance and educational progress was marked. However, due to the great slump in international trade a financial crisis developed and the "thirties" was a period of set-backs and frustrations. The severe restrictions which financial exigencies placed, throughout the decade on the scope and scale of government assistance, had an adverse effect on the efficiency of the schools. The situation became so grave that by 1940 an application was made to the Secretary of State for the Colonies for a grant from the Parliamentary Vote for Colonial Development and Welfare with which the salaries of mission teachers could be improved. The Secretary of State was of the view that unless the governor could produce plans for controlling educational expansion in Nigeria, such an application could not be considered.[52]

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[51] Ibid.

[52] Ibid.

Accordingly, a plan covering a ten-year period was drawn up and submitted to the Secretary of State in 1942. The plan was, however, criticized as being inadequate and was rejected. One of the aims set out in the abortive plan was the provision of more adequate financial assistance to missions and other voluntary agencies. In order to achieve this, it was suggested that grants-in-aid be assessed at 100 percent of the salaries of all certified teachers and special register teachers, a maximum quota of each grade of teachers was laid down for each type of institution. The effect of this would have been to abolish the distinction between assisted and unassisted schools. The proposal was incorporated in a new education ordinance passed in 1942 which was designed to supercede that of 1926 and abolish the arrangement whereby education in the Northern and Southern provinces had been administered under different ordinances. The new ordinance was never brought into operation as the new basis for grants assessment did not receive the approval of the Secretary of State.[53]

As the financial situation had improved substantially by 1941, government endeavored to provide from its resources the funds necessary to pay adequate salaries to voluntary agency teachers. Thereafter, until 1948, interim

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[53]Ibid., p. 13.

measures were adopted by government to pay voluntary agency teachers remuneration commensurate with those of other salaried persons of similar attainments.[54]

In 1944, the Director of Education undertook a review of educational policy with reference to the issues raised by the non-acceptance of recommendations contained in the Ten-Year Plan. After full consultation, a comprehensive memorandum on policy was drawn up in 1945. A plan, based on the memorandum, was formulated known as a Ten-Year Plan of Educational Development and this formed the subject of an application for assistance under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. The major provisions of the plan were (1) extension of facilities for secondary education and teacher training, (2) the establishment of rural education centers, (3) the development of technical education, and (4) a supplementary five-year plan under which the Northern provinces would receive additional £500,000 for the development of secondary, teacher training and senior primary education. The plan was substantially approved. It became necessary that a new education ordinance be drafted for putting the recommendations into effect.[55]

Before a new ordinance was drafted, it became necessary also to review the process of assessing grants-

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[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid., pp. 13-14.

in-aid and early in 1948 an investigation was undertaken by Mr. Phillipson (now Sir Sydney), with a view to making recommendations regarding the financial provisions of the ordinance. The results of his inquiry were published in a report, "Grants-in-Aid of Education in Nigeria--A Review with Recommendations." Following the publication of the report, a new ordinance was enacted in 1948 which together with the regulations came into effect on January 1, 1949.[56]

EDUCATION ORDINANCE 1948

Background and principles embodied. A bill entitled, "An Ordinance to make better provision in regard to Education in Nigeria," was debated in the Regional Houses and thereafter in the Legislature Council before being assented to by the governor in His Majesty's name on the 10th September, 1948. During the debate in the Northern Regional House of Assembly, the Regional Deputy Director of Education in moving the motion of acceptance of the bill introduced the bill by drawing attention of the House to the fact that (1) the bill was the first that would be valid throughout Nigeria, (2) it was framed with the avowed policy of giving members of the community an opportunity of expressing public opinion

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[56] Ibid.

through membership of the various boards. He then went on to say:

> . . . since the Ordinance will cover the whole country and since there is, at present, very much greater educational activity in the East and West than in the North, it was inevitable that it should have what one might call a Southern flavour, and that procedure hitherto peculiar to the North should disappear. Certain sections may, therefore, seem strange at first, but since we are trying to bring practice into line with that of the South we must also adopt procedure. . . . By this Ordinance and the Regulations, the Northern Provinces will receive equal treatment with the East and West and I make a very serious appeal to the North to take advantage of it.[57]

The Provincial Member for Adamawa, the late Honourable Alhaji M. Muhammadu Ribadu did not appear to share the views of the Deputy Director with regards to the Southern flavor of the bill when he said:

> Mr. President, Sir, formerly there was different Ordinances and syllabuses for the North and South. I believe that that was why the standard of education in the South was always higher than that of the North. Now it is a great advantage to the North to have one uniform Education Ordinance for the whole of Nigeria. The system of Grants-in-Aid has been re-organized on a better basis than before. The Native Administrations and Voluntary Agencies are now enabled to expand and improve the conditions of their schools and also employ more efficient teachers. It also enables the Government to have control over such schools. . . . I support the Bill in principle.[58]

Generally, the reaction of the people to the 1948 Ordinance

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[57] Government Printer, Northern Regional Council House of Assembly Debates, Second Series 15th, 16th and 17th July, 1948 (Kaduna), pp. 33-39.

[58] Ibid., pp. 43-44.

was a favorable one.

Innovations. The ordinance provided for the supersession of the Old Colony and Southern Provinces Board of Education by a Central Board of Education and four Regional Boards. It thus introduced the regionalization of education by establishing three regional Deputy Directors of Education with Regional Boards. It further provided for the establishment of Local Education Committee and Local Education Authorities.[59]

Under the new ordinance no new school could be established without the consent of the appropriate Regional Deputy Director of Education. The Regional Deputy Director of Education could prohibit the opening of a new school if he was not satisfied that the school would be conducted efficiently or staffed adequately. An appeal from his decision could be made to the Regional Board of Education and thence, if necessary, to the Central Board of Education.[60]

The new grants-in-aid regulations provided for the award of assistance to all schools considered to be socially useful and efficient. Thus the voluntary agencies and the native administrations were given parity in grants-

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[59] Annual Reports, 1952, op. cit., p. 14.

[60] Ibid., pp. 14-15.

in-aid of education.[61] The system hitherto in force for the granting of assistance from government funds to the schools of the voluntary agencies was completely revised. Specific conditions were laid down regarding the staffing arrangements, premises, equipment and management of a school, which must be fulfilled in order to render it eligible for a grant.[62]

The amount of financial assistance to a qualified school was to be calculated in accordance with a fixed formula, consisting of the recognized expenses, namely the amount of the teachers' salaries together with a contribution. Assumed local contribution was assessed according to the stage of development of the area concerned.[63]

The new regulations, therefore, gave a logical basis of control over the development of the educational system by providing a set of criteria by which assistance to voluntary agency schools was to be determined. At the same time, the new regulations made it possible for the voluntary agencies to assess in advance the commitments which they and the community would incur.[64]

The first five years of the Ten-Year Development

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[61] Gary L. Cowan, James O'Connell, and David G. Scanlon, Education and Nation-Building in Africa (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1965), pp. 78-119.

[62] Ibid. [63] Ibid. [64] Ibid.

Plan came to an end in 1950-51 and during that year a revision of the Plan was made to cover the period 1951-56. The main effect of the revision was to reduce slightly the provision for development of general education in the Eastern and Western provinces, to provide the voluntary agencies with additional facilities for secondary education and teacher-training in the Northern provinces, and to increase considerably the provision for technical education throughout Nigeria.[65]

With the introduction of the new constitution, extensive amendments became necessary to the Education Ordinance (No. 39/1948), to the Grant-in-Aid Regulations and to the Education Regulations, 1949. The amendments required were so numerous that it was considered convenient to draft a new ordinance and new regulations so that the amended legislation might be available in as convenient a form as possible to those who would have to refer to it. Regulation No. 17 of 1949 as amended became the Education (General) Regulations and for purposes of convenience formed schedule B to the new ordinance.[66]

The opportunity was taken to include in the new ordinance legislation enacted in 1950 and 1951 and also

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[65]Government Printer, Annual Report of the Department of Education, April, 1951-March 1952. (Lagos, Nigeria: Government Printer, 1954), p. 15.

[66]Ibid., p. 27.

certain amendments which were recommended by the Central Board of Education at its meeting in 1951.[67]

The essential feature of the ordinance was to bring legislation into line with the requirements of the new constitution. To that end, the membership of the Central and Regional Boards was changed slightly and the Colony Board was abolished with the inclusion of the Colony in the Western region. As regards the grants-in-aid regulations, Regulation 2 was deleted since the payment of grants to the regions was governed by Section II of the Nigeria (Revenue Allocation) Order-in-council, 1951. The new Regulation 16 provided for the revision of the rates of recognized expenses and assumed local contribution during 1952 for the three years from January 1, 1953.[68]

General effects of the ordinance and regulations. The Ten-Year Development Plan for Nigeria was revised and its items regionalized.[69]

The shortage of trained teachers rather limited expansion in the Northern region as some native authorities could not open projected schools. This could be traced to the fact that a large number of teachers were engaged in political activities which the ordinance did not forbid, with the result that their services were lost for

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[67] Ibid. [68] Ibid.

[69] Solaru, op. cit., p. 99.

considerable periods each year.[70]

Junior secondary schools emerged to replace the middle schools in the North.[71]

The first appeal in the Northern region under section 21 of the Education Ordinance 1952 was heard against the withholding of consent to open a Sudan Interior Mission School at Matazu in Katsina Province by the reconstituted Northern Regional Board of Education. It was successful--a question of principle being involved (the right of a Christian community to establish its own school in a Moslem area where existing educational facilities were still inadequate to meet the needs of all children of school-going age). It was significant to note that the official members abstained from voting.[72]

Native authorities could invoke a Compulsory Attendance Order, if they wished and in certain areas it was done. There were cases where compulsory recruitment was directed mainly against peasant class, and the children of the official and more prosperous classes were left out. In the more backward areas, it was alleged that the power to invoke this order discriminated unfairly against the voluntary agencies.[73]

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[70]Government Printer, Annual Report of the Education Department, Northern Region, April 1952-March 1953 (Lagos, Nigeria: Government Printer, 1954), pp. 8-24.

[71]Ibid. [72]Ibid. [73]Ibid.

In many areas, the new salary scales hit the voluntary agency unassisted schools very hard. While it was not compulsory to pay the approved rates in unassisted schools, it was obviously undesirable to have teachers with similar qualifications on different rates, contingent on whether they were working in an assisted or unassisted school.[74]

There were three salary scales operating in the region-government, native authority and voluntary agency. All were very similar, but there were slight differences, so that it was possible for two teachers with the same seniority and the same qualifications working in adjacent schools to be paid at different rates. The differences were usually very small and sometimes the man who started on a lower salary finished on a higher one, or received more advantageous increments. This gave rise to dissatisfaction.[75]

Regulations were at last printed and made available for issue by managers to schools which could then for the first time comply with the regulation which required all assisted schools to be in possession of a copy of the ordinance.[76]

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[74]Government Printer, Annual Report of the Education Department Northern Region, April 1953-March 1954 (Zaria, Nigeria: Gaskiya Corporation, 1954), pp. 14-19.

[75]Ibid.

[76]Ibid.

Comparative figures for primary education over the past five years were as follows:[77]

	SCHOOLS		PUPILS	
	N.A.	V.A.	N.A.	V.A.
1949	532	851	33,510	62,088
1950	605	851	40,705	68,030
1951	646	889	41,891	65,670
1952	703	990	47,853	74,292
1953	744	1,033	51,303	92,506

These figures indicate that whereas in 1949 only one child in twenty-six was in school, four years later one in every seventeen was receiving some form of primary education. There were half as many more children in school than there were five years before. In 1952, 549 native administration primary schools were assisted and 154 unassisted; 614 voluntary agency schools were assisted and 365 unassisted. The voluntary agencies would appear to be shouldering the greater responsibility for education still.[78]

EFFECTS OF CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

During 1954-55, the constitutional changes which followed the London Conference of August 1953, and its

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[77] Ibid.

[78] Ibid.

resumed meeting in Lagos in January 1954, became law on October 1, 1954. As a consequence of the new instruments of government the administrative separation of the Education Department in the Northern region, both from the central headquarters in Lagos and from the department in the other regions in the federation, was duly brought about. The Central Ministry of Education disappeared, and with it the Central Board of Education; the former office of the Inspector General of Education in Lagos was abolished, and the education service in the region became a part of the separate Northern Regional Public Service. Various administrative links with the center, such as those concerned with promotions, appointments, the certification of teachers, the control of examinations, and particularly, the legislative controls contained in the Nigerian Education Ordinance of 1952, were finally severed, to meet the circumstances of the new federation.[79]

The Education Department thus found itself in much the same position as it was in 1929, immediately prior to the appointment of the first Director of Education for Nigeria. There was one salient difference, however, which did not exist twenty-five years ago. That was that the activities of the department were the sole responsibility

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[79]Government Printer, Annual Report of the Education Department of the Northern Region of Nigeria, 1954-55 (Kaduna: Government Printer, 1956), p. 1.

of the Minister of Education in the regional government, and supervision of these activities was exercised on his behalf by the Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Education.[80]

With the introduction of the Federal Constitution in October 1954, an adaptation education law was enacted in order to enable the Ordinance of 1952 and its regulations to remain in force, mutatis mutandis.[81]

EDUCATION ORDINANCE 1956

Later in 1956 the regional legislature passed into law the new education ordinance, which superseded the 1952 Ordinance previously applicable to the whole of Nigeria. A new Board of Education was constituted and provision for local education committees and advisory boards was made. Grants-in-aid for both capital and recurrent expenses were regularized and made available on equal terms to both native authorities and voluntary agencies.[82]

Innovations and general effects of the 1956 Education Ordinance. In November, the Ministry of Education in common with the other ministries in the Northern region,

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[80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid., p. 12.

[82] Williams, op. cit., p. 55.

was re-organized in connection with a process known as "Integration." This was done in fulfillment of Section 121 of the Nigeria (Constitution) Order-in-council, 1954. As a result of "Integration" the Department of Education, which had existed in the North since 1910, ceased to exist as such and was merged within the Ministry of Education. The offices of the Director and Deputy Director also ceased to exist and the holders of these two offices were appointed respectively as Advisor and Chief Inspector of Education, the latter assuming charge of the newly formed Inspectorate Division of the Ministry. The executive control of the ministry passed to the Permanent Secretary who was assisted by a deputy. The holders of these offices were administrative officers.[83]

The difference between the educational development of the riverain provinces of Northern Nigeria and that of the "Far Northern" began to be more noticed and emphasized. Honourable Aliyu Makaman Bida, Minister of Education, in his preface to the Annual Report of 1954-55, made the following pertinent remarks:

> In my Preface to last year's Annual Report, I discussed the disquieting difference in educational demand as between the Riverain and the "Far Northern" Provinces within the Region. It is my duty once more to invite the public's attention

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[83]Government Printer, Annual Summary of the Education Department of the Northern Region of Nigeria (Kaduna: Government Printer, 1959), p. 1.

> to the danger of uneven development which is likely to be caused by this difference. . . . A Region in which some citizens thirst for "Western" knowledge and others show little or no interest in it manifestly sets the Regional Government extremely difficult problems to solve.[84]

A new seven-year primary school syllabus was introduced in January, 1956. This comprised a four-year primary and a three-year senior primary course, and replaced the former four-year primary followed by three-year middle school syllabus previously in use in the region and the "Southern" eight-year syllabus which was used by some of the voluntary agencies.[85]

With increase in the number of schools generally, it became glaringly noticeable that no fees were paid in the schools, generally secondary schools, owned by government nor were they paid in government training centers. Nominal fees were paid in a great number of native authority schools. Fees were collected in all voluntary agency schools and training centers and the more popular the schools were the easier it was to charge economic fee.[86]

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT 1956-1966

Ashby Report. The expansion of education in Northern Nigeria during this period was based mainly on

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[84] Annual Report, 1954-55, op. cit., p. i.

[85] Ibid., p. 8.

[86] Ibid.

targets given in the Ashby Report. In 1959, the Federal Government of Nigeria appointed a commission, comprising Nigerian, United States and British members, under the chairmanship of Sir Eric Ashby, Master of Clare College, Cambridge, to "conduct an investigation into Nigeria's needs in the field of Post-School Certificate and Higher Education over the next twenty years." The commission met on three occasions and according to their report:

> We were fortunate to secure the services of five experts who prepared papers on aspects of our work. Professor F. Harbison, from Princeton University, prepared for us an estimate of manpower needs. . . . Mr. V. L. Griffiths, from Oxford University, prepared a report on teacher training, and Mr. M. W. Pritchard, one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of schools prepared a report on secondary schools. All three of these advisers spent some weeks in Nigeria on our behalf. . . .[87]

The commission's report ably set out the needs for developing education in Nigeria and the special needs of the Northern region were fully recognized. The targets for the North as set out by the commission were (1) 25 percent of all children to complete primary education, (2) 10 percent of all children completing primary schooling to go to secondary education, and (3) 30 percent of those completing the school certificate course to go for higher training, including degree courses at university.[88]

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[87]Sir Eric Ashby, Investment in Education, Report of the Commission on Post-School Certificate and Higher Education in Nigeria (Lagos, Nigeria: Government Printer, 1960), p. 2.

[88]Ibid., pp. 10-47.

The government of Northern Nigeria quickly followed up this recommendation with a summary report on education in the region. The government set forth its intension to encourage more even expansion of the educational facilities over the region. The two main objectives specifically stated were, the development of full seven year co-educational primary schools and the raising of the standards of such schools.[89]

Oldman Report. The increase in pupil enrollment which the government anticipated would follow the implementation of Ashby's recommendations and the administrative and financial commitments that would be required to successfully prosecute the educational programs especially at the primary level led the government of Northern region in 1961 to invite Mr. H. Oldman, Chief Education Officer for the city of York in England, to undertake an inquiry and to write a report on the problems of administration and finance associated with the development of primary education. The following terms of reference were approved by the Executive Council:

(a) to advise on the form which the local contribution to the cost of Primary education should take.

(b) to advise on whether there would be advantages

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[89]Government of Northern Nigeria, White Paper on Education Development in Northern Nigeria (Kaduna: The Government Printer, 1961), pp. 1-10.

in delegating control of Primary education to Local Education Authorities and on whether or not such Local Education Authorities should have powers of precept.

(c) to advise on whether the English system of "aided" and "controlled" schools or the Scottish system of transferred schools or some modification of either would have relevance to Northern Nigeria conditions.

(d) to advise on any amendments to the Education Law and to the Grant-in-Aid Regulations that might be desirable.

(e) to advise on the future development of the Primary Schools' Inspectorate and on the administrative machinery required by Universal Primary Education.[90]

The Oldman Report recommended the formation of local education authorities, each with an education committee and the training of suitably qualified officers to serve the new authorities. Provincial education secretaries were to be trained also and appointed so that they could help native authorities in the task of setting up the local education authorities.[91]

EDUCATION ORDINANCE 1962

The Education Law (No. 17 of 1956) underwent an extensive review and the various changes and modifications based on Oldman's recommendations resulted in the new

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[90] H. Oldman, The Administration of Primary Education (Kaduna: Government Printer, 1961), pp. 5-6.

[91] Ibid., pp. 28-30.

Education Law (N.N.No. 43 of 1962). In 1964 the Education Law 1962 and the Education (Amendment) Law, 1963, were revised and appeared as Chapter 36 of the Laws of Northern Nigeria.[92]

Innovations and general effects of Education Ordinance 1962. The powers of the Minister of Education were clearly stated in the light of the powers conferred by the Constitution.[93]

There were significant changes in the ministry and in the provinces. The Chief Education Officer (General) became Senior Inspector Primary Schools and a post of Deputy Senior Inspector Primary Schools was created. In the provinces, the posts of Area Inspectors were abolished, together with the posts of Provincial Education Officers. The duties of Provincial Education Officers were divided into two: inspection and administration. The posts of Provincial Inspectors of Education and Provincial Education Secretaries were created. The former to do the inspection and deal with professional matters and the latter to deal with administration of schools.[94]

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[92]Government Printer, Education Law of Northern Nigeria, 1964 (Kaduna: Government Printer, 1964).

[93]Ibid.

[94]Ministry of Education, Education in the Six Northern States of Nigeria, 1962-73 (Kaduna: Baraka Press Ltd., November, 1967), pp. 15-48.

Forty-six local education authorities were set up and a further eight were to be set up in 1968. In the authorities' areas, voluntary agency primary schools were transferred to the authority concerned. The voluntary agencies retained the right to inspect religious teaching, which must conform to that customarily given in school, and to approve the names of teachers proposed for engagement in their schools. The formation of the authorities led to considerable savings in administrative costs and a much closer control over these costs.[95]

A course for educational administrators was established at the Institute of Administration, Zaria (now at the Institute of Education, Zaria). The course trains education officers for local education authorities and also for government service in the ministry's headquarters and in provincial education offices.[96]

The system of grant-aiding primary education was changed. Instead of being based on teachers' salaries plus additions for recognized expenses, less a sum assumed to be the local contribution, grants were now to be paid on per capita basis on the number of children in school. The total cost of primary education proved to be approximately £10 a head a year. The government grant was fixed at £5, now £6 a head, leaving the remainder to be found

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[95] Ibid.

[96] Ibid.

from local resources, that is, from fees or taxes or a combination of both. This is bound to prove a strong incentive for local authorities to be economical in their expenditure and to encourage children of school age to enter their local school since government grants are fixed and the local contribution is residual.[97]

Significant increase in primary school enrollment was realized as follows:[98]

PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT

	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
1959	184,522	66,390	250,912
1960	206,443	76,405	282,849
1961	230,500	85,764	316,264
1962	262,083	97,851	359,934
1963	295,644	115,062	410,706
1964	323,399	128,920	452,319
1965	381,900	152,300	534,200

In less than eight years, the increase was well over 100 percent. In addition to these considerable increases in roll, more pupils completed their courses as wastage had declined. The main reason for this was that the division between junior and senior primary schools had been removed.[99]

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[97] Ibid. [98] Ibid. [99] Ibid.

SUMMARY--GENERAL EFFECTS

Education Ordinance 1916. The total number of children in school in Northern provinces in 1912 were only 954. In the South there were 35,716 children in school in the same year. By 1926, the children in the Northern schools increased to 5,210 as compared with 138,248 in the South. The increase of over 400 percent for the Northern provinces was definitely phenomenal. However, the gap between the North and South was still very wide: 5,210 to 138,248.

Northern Nigerians were not prepared for clerical jobs and this led to the influx of qualified people from the South, Gold Coast (Ghana) and Sierra Leone who came over to take on the jobs.

Vischer's educational experiment which the Ordinance 1916 sought to protect did not quite work in the interest of the people.

1916 Ordinance encouraged educational expansion in the South and slowed down comparatively the educational development in the North.

Education Ordinance 1926. The great slump in international trade greatly limited its success in the aims the Ordinance set out to achieve: (1) increased direct government control and supervision, (2) cooperation with voluntary agencies by means of increased subsidies to

schools and training institutions, and (3) an attempt to improve the quality and status of teachers.

Its positive effect was greatly felt in the pagan areas of the North. For in 1926, there were a little over 5,000 primary school enrollees and by 1947 the enrollment had climbed to approximately 71,000.

The teachers in the mission schools benefitted most since the greatest part of the grants-in-aid went to pay the salaries of qualified instructors.

The government stressed quality and the need for better qualified teachers with the result that it raised the standards for teacher qualification.

Education Ordinance 1948. The Ten-Year Development Plan for Nigeria was revised and its items regionalized.

Native authorities could not open projected schools due to shortage of teachers. A large number of teachers were engaged in political activities which the Ordinance did not forbid with the result that their services were lost for considerable periods each year.

Junior secondary schools replaced middle schools in the North.

The first appeal against withholding of consent to open a Sudan Interior Mission School at Matazu in Katsina province was successful. The principle involved the right of a Christian community to establish its own school in a Moslem area.

Compulsory attendance law could be invoked by native authorities.

The new salary scale hit hard the unassisted mission schools where teachers got paid lower salaries than those of their counterparts in assisted schools.

There were three salary scales operating in the region--government, native authority and voluntary agency. This gave rise to dissatisfaction.

Ordinances were at last printed and made available for issue to the managers.

There was great increase in school enrollment. In 1949 only one child in twenty-six was in school, four years later, one in every seventeen was receiving some form of primary education. There were, therefore, half as many more children in school than there were five years before.

The voluntary agencies would appear to be shouldering the greater responsibility for education still.

Education Ordinance 1956. The Ministry of Education was re-organized in connection with a process known as "Integration." As a result the Department of Education which existed in the North since 1910, ceased to exist as such and was merged with the Ministry of Education.

The Offices of the Director and Deputy Director also ceased to exist and the holders of these two offices were appointed respectively as Advisor and Chief Inspector

of Education, the latter assuming charge of the newly formed Inspectorate Division of the Ministry. The executive control of the ministry passed to the Permanent Secretary who was assisted by a Deputy. The holders of these offices were Administrative Officers.

The difference between the educational development of the riverain provinces and that of the "Far Northern" began to be more noticed and emphasized.

A new seven-year primary school syllabus was introduced. This replaced the former four-year primary followed by the three-year middle school syllabus previously used in the region and the "Southern" eight-year syllabus which was used by some of the voluntary agencies.

With increase in the number of schools, it became noticeable that no fees were paid in government schools. Nominal fees were paid in native authority schools and fees were collected in all voluntary agency schools.

Education Ordinance 1962. The powers of the Minister of Education were clearly stated in the Ordinance in the light of the powers conferred by the constitution.

There were changes in the ministry and in the provinces. The Chief Education Officer (General) became Senior Inspector of Primary Schools and a post of Deputy Senior Inspector of Primary Schools was created.

In the provinces, the posts of Area Inspectors were abolished together with the posts of Provincial Education

Officers. The duties of Provincial Education Officers were divided into two: inspection and administration. The posts of Provincial Inspectors of Education and Provincial Education Secretaries were created--the former to do the inspection and deal with professional matters and the latter to deal with administration of schools.

Forty-six local education authorities were set up.

A course for educational administrators was set up.

The system of grant-aiding primary education was changed. It was henceforth to be based on Oldman's recommendations.

There was significant increase in primary school enrollment. In less than eight years, the increase was well over 100 percent. In addition to the increase in roll, more pupils completed their courses as wastage declined. The division between junior and senior primary schools had been removed.

Chapter 3

THE IMPLICATIONS FOR NORTHERN NIGERIA

From the review of literature on education ordinances, it was deemed important to examine in detail the following important points which have significant implications for education in Northern Nigeria: (1) voluntary agencies, (2) control of education, (3) teacher and teaching profession, (4) curriculum, and (5) administration and financing of education in Northern Nigeria.

VOLUNTARY AGENCIES

The role played by the missions, more often referred to as the voluntary agencies, in the educational development of Northern Nigeria has brought very positive results as the review of literature has revealed. All the same, their role has been the subject of different reactions from different quarters. Dr. A. D. Galloway, Professor of Religious Studies at the University College, Ibadan, had the following to say:

> In spite of their pietistic theology, the early missionaries came from a culture which kept only one eye fixed on heaven, while the other was focussed quite firmly on the earth. Though the comforts of this world were regarded as possible distractions from an ultimate heavenly testing, yet at the same time they were regarded as indications of the goodness and providence of God. . . . Therefore, in

> the first humane relations between Britain and Nigeria, the sharp distinction between Mission and Trade was not strictly observed.[1]

It was, therefore, correct to say that some people looked upon missionary activities as a concomitant of British Imperialism. Chief Dennis Osadabey, formerly Premier of the Mid-Western State of Nigeria described the situation in the following words:

> The missionary has made the African soil fertile for the growth of imperialism . . . (but) he has equally helped to buy the foundations for the present spirit of nationalism . . . when African historians come to write their own account of the adventure of Africa with imperialism, they will write of the Missionaries as the greatest friends the African had.[2]

Mr. P. O. Okeke, Principal of Our Lady's High School, Onitsha, had the following to say about the curricular offerings of the early missionary education in Nigeria:

> The earliest schools in Nigeria were modelled along the lines of these charity schools. The curriculum was overweighted with religious knowledge--recitation of the catechism, reading passages from the Bible and singing hymns. When the songs were not religious they had to be in praise of Britain or of British scenery or of an episode in British history--"Rule Britannia," "D'ye ken John Peel," "Bonnie Charlie," "Ye Banks an' Braes," etc. Since the emphasis was on softening the minds of the "wild" children, religious instruction was

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[1] A. D. Galloway, "Missionary Impact on Nigeria," Nigeria, A Special Independence Issue of Nigeria Magazine October 1960 (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information, Printing Division, 1960), p. 59.

[2] Ibid.

> re-inforced by moral lessons on virtue, charity, humility, courage and truthfulness. Some reading, writing and arithmetic were added to the school curriculum.[3]

On the other hand, L. J. Lewis of the Institute of Education, London University, commented on the situation as follows:

> In attempting to pass judgment on the work of this initial period of uncoordinated activity, it is important to refrain from judging wisely after the event. It must be recognised that, despite the apparent deficiencies, such education as was provided not only produced an excellent cadre of local assistants for state and church, but also a number of outstanding individuals. In addition, among the educated population there was created a quality of public opinion, which on occasion exercised considerable influence to the advantage of those in authority. It is, in fact, in terms of the lives and characters of individuals rather than in terms of policy and organisation that the educational effort of this period is to be judged.[4]

Be that as it may, the question still to be answered is, how did the voluntary agencies come to play such a big part in Northern Nigerian education, especially in view of Lugard's assurances to the Moslem emirates and the early attempts of the Colonial Office in London and Hanns Vischer to stop their expansion? R. J. Mason supplied the answer when he said:

> It is not surprising that the British brought

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[3]Okechukwu Ikejiani, Education in Nigeria (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965), p. 43.

[4]L. J. Lewis, Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Areas (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1954), p. 13.

> their educational philosophy and their pattern of organisation to Africa, especially as the coming of the British to Africa coincided with a period of great religious activity in England which resulted in the formation of a number of missionary societies. The relationship between the State or Government, and the Voluntary Agencies in Africa has followed very much the pattern of that in England, and development in England has conditioned development in Africa.[5]

Sir Eric Ashby, in his comments on Overseas British policy on higher education had the following to say:

> Underlying British enterprise in providing higher education for her people overseas was one massive assumption that the pattern of university appropriate for Manchester, Exeter and Hull was ipso facto appropriate for Ibadan, Kampala and Singapore. If we were going to export universities to our overseas dependencies, they would of course be British universities, just as the cars we export there are British cars. As with cars, so with Universities. We willingly made minor modifications to suit the climate, but we did not regard it as our business to enquire whether French or American models might be more suitable.[6]

It would appear therefore that the attempts of Hanns Vischer and the British Colonial Office to restrict through the education ordinances, missionary activities in the field of education in the Northern provinces had to fail in the long haul. The reason being that the British Colonial officers ended up doing precisely what they best knew how to do at home, working and cooperating with the

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[5] R. J. Mason, British Education in Africa (London, England E.C. 4: Oxford University Press, Amen House, 1959), p. 21.

[6] Sir Eric Ashby, Universities: British, Indian, African (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1966), p. 224.

voluntary agencies. This situation might have led to (1) the evolution of "dual control" in the operation of the schools in Northern Nigeria which was also the case in Britain, (2) the uneven educational development between the riverain areas of Northern Nigeria, and the "Far North" Moslem areas of Northern Nigeria, and (3) the division of teachers and the teaching profession into different categories: civil service, voluntary agency teachers and native authority teachers.

CONTROL OF EDUCATION

From the review of literature, it became clear that the missionaries were the first to establish schools in Northern Nigeria. The government decided to start its own schools afterwards. The missionaries, or voluntary agencies as they were called, were later restricted to the non-Moslem areas, while the government was to provide education for the Moslems. In this regard, the British officials deviated from what obtained in England where the Imperial Government did not operate its own schools directly. This might be because, as Professor Lewis puts it:

> There is no need for it [Government] to operate schools or school systems unless there is no one else able to perform the task or unless that course alone conforms to its ideology.[7]

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[7]L. J. Lewis and A. J. Loveridge, The Management

That the government of Northern Nigeria decided to provide its own schools might be due much more to the latter reasons given by Professor Lewis. In any event, there has been gradual development in the area of devolution of powers in the operation and control of schools in Northern Nigeria. The evolution of the local education authorities in the United Kingdom makes an interesting parallel comparison with the situation in Northern Nigeria.

Voluntary agencies in England. For centuries in England, the only education that was available was that given by the church. Until the passing of the 1870 Act, the church or individual Christians provided almost wholly what schools there were. From 1800-1840, a number of societies developed on a national basis for the promotion of elementary education. The two largest were, "The National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales" and the "British and Foreign School Society." When the government gave its first grant (£20,000) toward the cost of education in 1833, it was confined to the schools that were managed by these two societies. The committees of these societies apportioned the grant to their schools as they thought fit. The

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of Education (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965), p. 25.

government had no special office or department that dealt with education. The grant was made by a treasury minute.[8]

Between 1833 and 1870, there were controversies in England regarding who should run the schools and how they should be run. The Education Act passed in 1870 provided a compromise for it established what has come to be regarded as "Dual Control" in education. In any area or district where there were no voluntary schools or they were insufficient, the act required that school boards should be set up and these boards were to provide schools sufficient to insure compulsory education for all children between five and thirteen years of age.[9]

Evolution of the Ministry of Education. In 1938, a special committee of the Privy Council was appointed "for the consideration of all matters affecting education of the people" and to determine "in what manner the grants made from time to time" by Parliament should be distributed. This committee of council continued as the agent of government in educational matters until 1899, when it was replaced by the board of education under a president and a parliamentary secretary. By the 1944 Education Act, the board became a ministry and the president became the minister.[10]

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[8]Mason, op. cit., p. 17.

[9]Ibid., pp. 18-19.

[10]Ibid.

Development of the local education authorities.

The government act passed in 1855 brought about great reform of local authority organization in England. It was, however, not until 1902 that the new education act making education the concern of the local government authorities was enacted. The new authorities became known as the local education authorities and they were the county councils, the borough councils and the urban district councils. The county councils and the larger borough councils were required to provide for elementary, secondary and technical education. The smaller borough councils were allowed to provide only for elementary education. Both types of authority were allowed to levy rates and to raise loans to meet the cost and to use the rates for assisting voluntary schools. The county councils and the county borough councils also had the power to establish training colleges for teachers, schools of art, evening classes and other kinds of further education if they wished to do so. All the local education authorities were empowered to appoint education committees subject to the constitution of each committee being approved by the education board. The authorities could delegate to those committees any or all their powers except the right to raise a rate or a loan.[11]

The majority of the members of a committee had to

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[11]Ibid., p. 30.

be members of the council. The others were to be appointed from people with experience of education and with special knowledge of the needs of the various schools in the different districts under the authority. At least two of the members had to be women.

The 1944 Education Act abolished the authorities that were responsible only for elementary education. With the acceptance of a national policy of "secondary education for all" the term "elementary education" was replaced by "primary" and "secondary." The county borough councils together with a few non-county borough and urban district councils with a population not fewer than 7,000 pupils in their schools, became the local education authorities for all kinds of education.

Local education authorities in relation to Ministry of Education. A local education authority in England today provides for nursery, infant, primary and secondary schools, teacher training colleges, technical colleges, schools of art, trade schools, special courses, and evening classes, besides a school of medical and dental service, school meals, recreational facilities, transport to and from schools and grants for university education. The local education authority working through its education officers and the teaching staff in its schools carries out the duties imposed upon it by the education act. The teachers

are servants of the authority, not of the Ministry of Education.[12]

The Ministry of Education gives effect to the laws and regulations relating to education which are enacted by Parliament. It has its specialist staff, its principal agents being Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools, one of whose duties it is to see that government policy is carried out. But the ministry is much more than a law-enforcing body and an administrative machine. It has several consultative committees for the various branches of education. Through these committees and its inspectors it is a means whereby new ideas and new techniques are suggested to the local education authorities and teachers.[13]

COMPARISON WITH EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN NORTHERN NIGERIA

The development of education in Northern Nigeria as reviewed in the preceding chapters, beginning with the exclusive missionary activities in the field of education and culminating in the Oldman's recommendations for the establishment of the local education authorities approximates a carbon-copy of the situation in the United Kingdom. The main differences, however, are: (1) the councils that were constituted into the local education authorities in

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[12]Ibid., p. 34.

[13]Ibid., pp. 34-35.

England were elected representatives of the people whereas the native authorities (now local authorities) in Northern Nigeria on which the local education authorities were grafted, are still for the most part hereditary natural rulers (emirs and their councilors); (2) the local education authorities in England were responsible for all kinds of educational offerings. The local education authorities in Northern Nigeria were, however, limited to primary schools; and (3) the Ministry of Education in England did not and still does not operate and run schools of its own directly. On the other hand, the Ministry of Education, Northern Nigeria, did, and its successors the Ministries of Education of the Six Northern States, still do.

Local people should run their schools. The main reason for preferring local authorities to the Ministries of Education in the running of schools is that it affords the local people an opportunity to gain real experience in, and understanding of, a service that should be nearest to their hearts. For any school to achieve its objectives it must relate to the people it is supposed to serve. In that case, the people must form part of the decision-making machinery in order to make the schools serve their purpose. On the other hand, if the ministry administers directly this would tend to become autocratic, bureaucratic and out-of-touch with local opinion and needs.[14] The native

[14]Mason, op. cit., pp. 61-62.

authorities (local authorities) constituted into local education authorities are not democratically selected bodies, as they are hereditary natural rulers, and in that sense could not be truly representative of the average man on the street. For,

> With the introduction of the system of Indirect Rule, there was established a network of Local Government bodies called, variously Native Authorities, Local Native Councils, Local African Councils. . . . They were expected to take interest in education particularly at the elementary school level, in the same way as they were expected to be interested in agriculture, animal husbandry, health, forestry, roads, and marketing. Their prime function (and the one they were probably most successful in) was the preservation of law and order and the administration of justice, since these were matters in which they were intimately concerned and of which they had long experience. To many members of Native Authorities, Western education was a new and strange thing, and they were rather suspicious of it.[15]

Not only were native authorities arms of governments and were therefore governments in their own rights, but the annual reports of the Ministry of Education confirmed that the weaknesses in the schools run by them were partly due to the same reason:

> Voluntary Agency Primary Schools belonging to the larger Missions are better than the Native Administration schools. They so often have a tone the Native Authority Schools lack, possibly because the local people take more of an interest and the teachers do not regard themselves as civil servants.[16]

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[15] Ibid., p. 47.

[16] Annual Reports, 1954-55, op. cit., p. 15.

To advocate that our local authorities should become elective constitutes a radical departure from a well tested tradition that has worked very well in many other ways. It would, in fact, be beyond the scope of this investigation. However, the local authorities do not have to be overburdened with the additional responsibility of operating schools. The American system of electing laymen to operate their schools becomes relevant here. For where the British system of local education authority operates through councils that are responsible for other functions of local government, the American system elects laymen who devote their time to education only.

> It has been the general practice for State legislatures (in the United States) to provide for the creation of Boards of Education to be in immediate charge of the public schools of the various school districts. Having created such managing boards the legislature further implements the authority of such boards by enacting laws prescribing their powers, duties and responsibilities. . . . The composition of a school board, the nature and eligibility requirements of board members are regulated in the various states by statutory provision.[17]

It should be possible for such a lay board to respond to the real needs and feelings of the people and should be able to provide all the forms of education needed.

The argument that could be advanced against this proposal is that in many parts of Northern Nigeria there

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[17]Robert L. Drury and Kenneth C. Ray, Principles of School Law (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1965), p. 15.

are not many people with sufficient Western education to qualify. It was Governor Arthur Richards who once satirized the relative educational backwardness of the North when he said:

> Finally, I should like to make a few general remarks about the Northern Provinces. If by education you mean formal schooling according to Western ideas this great area has been relatively backward and this is true both of the solidly Mohammedan and very homogenous society of the far North as well as of the Middle Belt with its varied religious, tribes and tongues. But this state of affairs is now changing. The younger men, especially, are beginning to enquire why, seeing that they pay so large a proportion of the taxes, the Northern Provinces receive such a tiny fraction of the Grant-in-Aid. They are apt to complain that Government has neglected them all these years and if twitted with the obstinacy of their fathers, to maintain that Government, like the rich host in the parable, should have searched the highways and byways and compelled them to come into the feast.[18]

Though the speech was made in 1946, the governor observed that the situation was changing for the younger people were beginning to speak out. The situation has changed more in recent years. In places like Sokoto and Kano, private citizens came together to establish schools of their own in competition with those run by the government and the local education authorities. These are indicative of the fact that local people who can serve as qualified members of school boards are not lacking. Besides, many Northerners

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[18] Sir Arthur Richards, "Speech and Address by His Excellency the Governor Sir Arthur Richards, G.C.M.G., to the Legislative Council, 18th March, 1946" (Lagos, Nigeria: Government Printer), p. 56.

operated and are still operating recognized Koranic schools on their own. Many of such people could make valuable contributions if they are given the chance.

School authorities should therefore take complete control. On this particular issue, Lewis and Loveridge have the following to say:

> There is a tendency in many newly emerging Nations to pay lipservice to these ideals and to erect an education structure with an element of centralisation and an element of decentralisation existing side by side, but the motive force for erecting local authorities seems to be almost entirely a desire to tap local financial resources rather than to leave developments to local responsibilities. Where a clear attempt to achieve the latter aim is present, it is still often dictated by financial stringency at the centre and is known to be such at the local level. This is evasion rather than decentralisation and is not likely to be successful as a stimulant of education. . . .
>
> There may be some validity in the arrangement if secondary education is on such an exiguous scale that there can be no purely local interest, or if there is not adequate local personnel--although there is no reason to suppose that the direction of secondary schooling is any more arduous than direction at the primary level.[19]

It follows, therefore, that the Ministry of Education should not continue to operate schools in competition with other agencies. It should concern itself with thorough inspection and supervision essential to insure that educational standards are maintained. And to handle the appropriation of grants-in-aid in accordance with government

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[19] Lewis and Loveridge, op. cit., p. 26.

law.[20]

TEACHER AND TEACHING PROFESSION

As the review of literature on the ordinances in Chapter 2 has tended to reveal, there were three categories of school management in Northern Nigeria: (1) schools under the local education authorities, mainly primary schools, (2) secondary schools and teachers colleges run by voluntary agencies, and (3) secondary schools, teacher's and technical colleges operated directly by the government. This tripartite school management situation has led to unjustified classifications of teachers which discriminate against teachers of identical qualifications in salaries and professional nomenclature.[21]

Teachers in government institutions are civil servants and therefore get their salaries and promotion geared to the different sectors of the civil service. It is not unusual therefore, for a teacher entering the civil service, say, as a Grade 1 teacher to rise by promotion to the administrative position of the Chief Inspector of Education or Permanent Secretary without obtaining additional academic qualifications.[22] This type of situation

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[20]Mason, op. cit., p. 63.

[21]Government Printer, "Education Law of Northern Nigeria 1964" (Kaduna: Government Printer), pp. 32-35.

[22]Government Printer, "Staff List, 1962" (Kaduna: Government Printer).

did not apply to the voluntary agency teachers for there were no promotion ladders and the salaries were strictly based on academic qualifications stipulated by the government. For the purposes of illustration, a Grade 1 teacher working for a voluntary agency could never be expected to earn more than £855 per annum unless he acquires higher qualifications. His counterpart with identical qualifications who joined the civil service and remained in the classroom as a teacher could rise to the status of Senior Education Officer on a salary of £1,368. Over and above this, the teacher-civil servant could get promoted to such administrative positions such as Provincial Inspector of Education and the Chief Inspector, which posts were not open to the teacher working for the voluntary agency. The salary of a Chief Inspector of Education was £2,469 and this approximates three times the salary of the Grade 1 voluntary agency teacher.

The teacher under the local authority was not as well-off as the teacher working for the government but he was better-off than the teacher in a voluntary agency school. The local authority teacher can transfer his services to the civil service with his seniority intact. This does not apply to the voluntary agency teacher.

The remarks from Governor Sir Arthur Richards are not only pertinent but revealing. He said the following with regards to teachers working in voluntary agency

schools whose salaries were grant-aided by the government:

> There are, indeed, some unhealthy features in the present administration of the Grant. . . . Another substantial slice goes to the payment or part payment of teachers' salaries and cost of living Allowance. Now although these payments are made to the Agencies and not directly to the teachers it was almost inevitable that the latter should come to regard themselves as quasi-civil servants. They have in fact done so and lay increasing emphasis on their rights and claims on Government. This is not a happy state of affairs for although Government may accept a moral obligation to help these teachers it is not proper that it should be pressed to treat as its servants those over whom it has so little control.[23]

With regards to the working conditions of voluntary agency teachers, Governor Richards went on to say:

> Government has lately extended its educational responsibilities by publishing a scheme for the superannuation of non-Government teachers. Broadly speaking this scheme is in line with that adopted for Government servants. It provides, subject to certain qualifications and safeguards, that a certificated teacher who retires on a salary of £50 or more shall become eligible for an annual allowance and that one who retires on a lesser salary shall be eligible for a gratuity based on the length of his service.[24]

However, with government teachers, he had the following to say:

> Government teachers, for their part, have shown an increasing disposition to regard themselves as a separate caste and do not coalesce readily with other members of their profession. . . . It would make for greater harmony in the teaching profession if the scales of Government and non-Government teachers approximated more closely.[25]

All that could be deduced from the governor's remarks

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[23] Ibid., p. 54. [24] Ibid. [25] Ibid.

was that he did not advocate for equal pay and conditions of service for all the teachers. For on conditions of service for voluntary agency teachers, he maintained that "it is not proper that it (the government) should be pressed to treat as its servants those over whom it has so little control," and on superannuation scheme for the same teachers, he went further to say, "Broadly speaking this scheme is in line with that adopted for Government servants." In other words, the schemes were not identical. Where the governor wanted harmony among the government teachers and the voluntary agency teachers, he suggested that "it would make for greater harmony . . . if the scales of Government and non-Government teachers approximated more closely." He was still not advocating for equality of pay. A situation like this one could never bring about a virile truly representative teacher's professional organization or even promote a healthy growth of teaching as a profession in Northern Nigeria. It would therefore require a change in the management of schools to bring about equitable conditions of service to all teachers.

CURRICULUM

After the First World War, the American Baptist Mission decided that, in planning for postwar development, a thorough study of the existing situation in Africa was essential as the first step. A commission of inquiry,

headed by Dr. Jesse Jones and including an African member, Dr. James Aggrey of the Gold Coast (Ghana) and Columbia University, left for Africa in 1920. The commission was financed by the Phelps-Stokes fund, a trust established to further the education of Negroes in Africa and the United States.[26]

The commission found educated Africans already occupying "positions of importance" in every colony visited and was impressed by the potentialities shown, but the educational policies of governments and missions alike seemed inadequate and "largely unreal so far as the vital needs of Africans are concerned." It criticized the view that "a curriculum well suited to the needs of a group on a given scale of civilization in one country is necessarily the best for other groups on a different level of advancement in another country." The commission made detailed suggestions as to how education could be adapted to the needs of African society, "so as to promote its development without causing its disruption."[27]

Following the recommendations of the Phelps-Stokes Commission the Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa was set up in 1923 "to advise the secretary

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[26] "Education in Africa," (New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1922), p. xxiii.

[27] Ibid., p. 38.

of State on any matters . . . which he may from time to time refer to it, and to assist him in advancing the progress of education in the Colonies and Protectorate." In 1925, it brought out its memorandum which became a landmark in the history of education in the colonies. The committee outlined the following broad principles:

(1) Government welcomes and will encourage all voluntary educational efforts which conform to the general policy.

(2) Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples, care must be taken to avoid creating a hiatus between the educated class and the rest of the community.

(3) A thorough system of supervision and inspection is indispensable for the vitality and efficiency of the system.

(4) So far as local conditions permit, women's and girls' education must be attempted wherever possible, care must be taken however, to see that such an education does not have a unsettling effect upon the people of the country.[28]

On very close examination of all the suggestions put forward by both the Phelps-Stokes Commission and the Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Areas (incidentally, Hanns Vischer was the secretary of the committee), one is bound to conclude that there was close semblance between those suggestions and the principles underlying the education ordinances which Lugard and the

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[28]British Information Services, "Education in the U.K. Dependencies" (London: Cox and Shavland Ltd., May, 1959), pp. 9-11.

subsequent governors introduced in Nigeria. More so could these suggestions be identified with what Hanns Vischer set out to do in Northern Nigeria where according to him:

> The system of education should endeavour to educate without, if possible, in any way damage their racial feeling or separating them from their parents or their surroundings. . . . The general instruction is to be given in Hausa. . . . The technical instruction is intended to produce efficient artisans not dependent on European machinery.[29]

The question to raise at this juncture is how did practice relate to theory? It was true that Vischer insisted not only on a breakaway from the tyranny of foreign school examinations and diplomas but also tried to relate his curriculum to the Northern Nigerian environment.

However, Vischer's method of adaptation precluded relevancy. He insisted on local crafts to the exclusion of modern machinery at the time modern means of transporation--railways, motor cars and mercantile houses were making their impact on Northern Nigeria. He did not prepare Northern Nigerians for overseas examinations and diplomas while the government departments with which Vischer himself was associated would not employ Nigerians unless they possessed those very overseas diplomas.[30] Oduorah Okeke recently commented on the situation as follows:

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[29]Williams, op. cit., pp. 19-20.

[30]Graham, op. cit., pp. 148-152.

> There is a second major problem, that of the WAEC School Certificate which every secondary school child strives to acquire as a passport to government employment. As long as the incentive is there--a civil service job--there is no way to break the vicious circle, however much we desire to do so. No policy paper has yet been adopted which would divorce the Secondary School Certificate from civil service employment.[31]

By denying the Northern Nigerians this type of education and allowing Southerners with those same certificates to come over to the North and get employed, while they lived in segregated areas, was not only unfair to the Northerners who were made to look inferior educationally but went a long way to undermine the economy of the North and laid the foundation of mistrust, jealousy and unhealthy rivalry among the Northerners and Southerners which ultimately led to the recent civil war.[32]

It is because of this apparent contradiction in government's policy and practice that one is bound to disagree with D. H. Williams when he said:

> And it was the people themselves who, misguidedly perhaps, created a demand for a more academic and a less practical system in which their children should be educated.[33]

Phelps-Stokes Commission Report of 1922 has the following remarks on adaptation:

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[31] Ikejiani, op. cit., p. 8.

[32] Waugh and Cronje, loc. cit.

[33] Williams, op. cit., pp. 19-20.

> Past experience has convinced some of the educated Natives that departure from the white man's methods have too frequently meant an inferior provision for the black people. They are naturally suspicious of adoptions as the entering wedge for educational segregation. Any movement to provide an inferior system of education for the black man is of course to be condemned. Study of recent movements in education should quickly convince the Africans and their friends that adaptation provides for all phases of education, from the elementary school to the specialized professions, that are required for the full development of the African people.[34]

It is in the light of the foregoing that the deliberations of the National Curriculum Conference which met in Lagos on September 8-12, 1969 should become very important to the review of any future education ordinance.

Nigerians from all walks of life were there and they spoke out as to the type of education that should be provided in Nigerian schools.[35]

FINANCING OF EDUCATION

The administration and financing of education in Northern Nigeria can be categorized into three parts as follows: (1) elementary school financed by the government and the local people based on Oldman's recommendations, (2) secondary schools and teachers' colleges financed by government grant, private contributions and fees in

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[34]David G. Scanlon, Traditions of African Education (Columbia University, N. Y.: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, 1964), p. 56.

[35]Federal Ministry of Education, Report of National Curriculum Conference 8th-12th September, 1969 (Lagos,

voluntary agency institutions set-up, and (3) government secondary schools and technical colleges heavily subsidized by government, though minimal fees, that is, fees paid on a sliding scale based on roughly assessed earning capacities of parents or guardians, are sometimes paid. No fees are charged in teachers' colleges run by the government. Instead students are paid pocket money and other allowances.[36]

The development of the administration of primary education from the "dual control" to the eventual take-over by the local education authorities has been reviewed in Chapter 2. However, the financing of primary education as recommended by Oldman and adopted by the Northern Regional Government will need to be carefully assessed. The total cost of primary education was calculated to be approximately £5 now £6 a head leaving the remainder to be found from local sources, that is, from fees or taxes or a combination of both.[37]

Much as this might be regarded as simpler computation as compared with the Phillipson's formula which was formerly applied in grant-aiding schools according to

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Nigeria: Nigeria Educational Research Council, 1970).

[36]Annual Report, 1954-55, op. cit., p. 8.

[37]Education in the Six Northern States, 1962-73, op. cit., p. 47.

Education Ordinance 1948, it has already been realized in many parts of Northern Nigeria that the £10 estimated per head was very much underestimated in many respects. Aside from this, the newly formed local education authorities are not all of the same financial ability. So that many of them have not been able to meet their financial commitments. In some areas, this unhealthy situation has led to the exodus of experienced teachers whose salaries could not be paid by their local education authorities. Expansion has been halted in many other areas for the same reason.

To remedy such deficiencies, not only is it imperative that the total cost of primary education be accurately reassessed, but it is also important that the policy of block grant (£6 per head) be reviewed so that a policy of grant commensurate with the wealth of the different local education authorities be applied. The American system of "Equalization Plan" could be applied with reasonable modifications. According to Morphet and Johns:

> To carry into effect the principle of equalization of schools' support, as commonly understood, it would be necessary (1) To establish schools or make other arrangements sufficient to furnish the children in every locality within the state with equal educational opportunities up to some prescribed minimum. (2) To raise the funds necessary for this purpose by local or state taxation adjusted in such manner as to bear upon the people in all localities at the same rate in relation to their taxing ability, and (3) To provide adequately for the supervision and control of all the schools by a state department of education. The simplest method of

> financing schools to achieve the aim of the principle would be through uniform state wide taxes on ability to pay.[38]

Lewis and Loveridge maintain that except in very sophisticated societies, equalization is difficult for it involves the possession of very precise knowledge regarding the wealth that can be tapped in every part of the society in addition to a precise idea of what is reasonable expenditure upon the desirable education of a child.[39] To agree readily with this opinion is to dismiss easily the applicability of this principle to other places with similar problems. The use of the phrase "very sophisticated societies" is, of course, very loose and lacks any scientific objectivity. In Northern Nigeria, a study as to what constitutes the cost of a minimum desirable program of education to be offered to every child was undertaken following the Oldman's report. The details of this had been discussed earlier on. Experience has shown that the £10 estimated was adequate in some parts of Northern Nigeria and not in others. The next step is to review the situation in the light of new developments. The problem of assessment of the wealth that can be tapped is not insurmountable in the Northern Nigerian situation. The

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[38]Edgar L. Morphet and Roe L. Johns, Financing the Public Schools (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1960), pp. 263-264.

[39]Lewis and Loveridge, op. cit., pp. 85-86.

local authorities keep a register of all landed properties in townships and collect annual rents on them based on assessed valuation of the properties. Taxes are based on income wherever possible and in villages rates are applied. With all these potentials at the disposal of the local authorities, it should be possible to organize further assessments on a near accurate basis. The central government can come to the aid of any local authority that runs into difficulty by supplying qualified assessors. It might be judicious, therefore, for the government to investigate the feasibility and applicability of introducing the system of "Equalization Plan."

The gradual withdrawal of government from the management of schools and the eventual take over of all schools by representative local education authorities should enable the financing of educational programs to be properly coordinated and reasonably decentralized and localized.

Chapter 4

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this study was to establish the basis for formulation and implementation of education ordinances for Northern Nigeria and their effects on education and to determine the conditions that contribute to the making of a relevant and effective education ordinance.

The study consisted of an historical survey of the background of Nigerian education, a review of pertinent literature to Nigerian education ordinances, 1916-1966, which involved collection and organization of data, presentation of data and critical analysis of the data presented.

Material on the problem was obtained from a study of pertinent literature, from interviews and conferences with officials of the Ministries of Education in Northern Nigeria, with experts on African education in Nigerian and American Universities, official documents from the National Archives in Kaduna, Nigeria, Library of Congress, Washington, and from Nigerian government, Colonial Reports from the Colonial Office, London, Annual reports of the Departments of Education, Nigeria. Many of these furnished primary sources.

Part 1 of this chapter contains a summary of the findings, part 2 deals with the conclusions drawn from the findings, part 3 presents the suggestions for further study and part 4 is the recommendations for improvement.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The findings of major importance in this study were:

1. Attempts to meet the needs of Northern Nigeria and its people through adaptation or modification of Western-oriented educational practices have not generally been successful. In Southern Nigeria, where such modifications have been considerably fewer, the people have been more generally prepared to meet the qualifications for higher educational pursuits and favorable employment.

2. Enrollment of primary-age children in school for the entire period encompassed by this study, has been greatest in those areas of Northern Nigeria where missionary schools have been encouraged by government permission and grants-in-aid. The ordinances have promoted and encouraged mission schools, and at the same time, expanded government-controlled schools in the same areas. They have not provided for a corresponding expansion of schools in the remaining areas of Northern

Nigeria.

3. The ordinances have given a greater degree of local control of primary education by establishing a local education authority. However, two limitations exist that are not normally found in countries influencing Western-oriented education as practiced in Northern Nigeria. In the first instance, local authorities are restricted to primary education. Secondly, local control is vested in the local authority.

4. The ordinances establish a system of financing education which incorporates different features of payment for each level of education, as well as for various sponsors of schools. This disparity is further evidenced in the salaries and conditions of employment for teachers as between Ministry of Education employees, local authority employees, and voluntary agency employees.

CONCLUSIONS

From the review of literature and all available data, it is possible to conclude that: (1) the effects of the education ordinances have not only been positive but have been negative as well; (2) that the problem now confronting Northern Nigeria (the six Northern states of Nigeria) suggests that a thorough review of the

education ordinances may be undertaken in consonance with the educational philosophy and objectives of the people; (3) the local education authorities can be democratized and given overall control of educational programs in their areas of jurisdiction; and (4) the present curriculum may further be adapted to local conditions, with special emphasis on relevancy.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Investigation into the impact of education ordinances on each level of education--primary, secondary, technical, teacher training--in each of the twelve new states of Nigeria.

2. An intensive investigation into how much economic and other non-educational variables influence effective implementation of education ordinances.

3. The financing of education in Northern Nigeria will need to be such that the relative financial abilities of the different local education authorities will be recognized and taken into account. An investigation into whether or not a system of "Equalization Plan" is applicable.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION AND EDUCATION ORDINANCES

On the basis of this study the following recommendations are suggested for improvement of education and education ordinances in the six Northern states of Nigeria.

1. That arrangements be made to ascertain the wishes of the people in each of the six Northern states of Nigeria on the type of education they want for their children, possibly from the reports of the National Curriculum Conference held in Lagos on September 8-12, 1969.

2. Local control of schools should be democratized so that local education authorities (school boards) will be appointed or elected and given the powers of precept.

3. Representative local education authorities (school boards) should take control of all forms of education in their areas of jurisdiction (excluding universities), including government schools.

4. That a thorough study of a system of "Equalization Plan" be undertaken as soon as possible in order to ascertain how best it can be applied to each of the six Northern states of Nigeria in order to redress the present imbalance and remove existing difficulties brought

about by the block grant-in-aid system.

5. The ministries of education should confine their activities to effective inspection and supervision to help maintain reasonable standards in schools and to handle the equitable grants-in-aid award to schools making sure that the grants are put to proper use.

6. That an intensive review of the education ordinance be undertaken to incorporate all the points made above to reflect the aspirations of the people and to project the sovereignty of Nigeria.

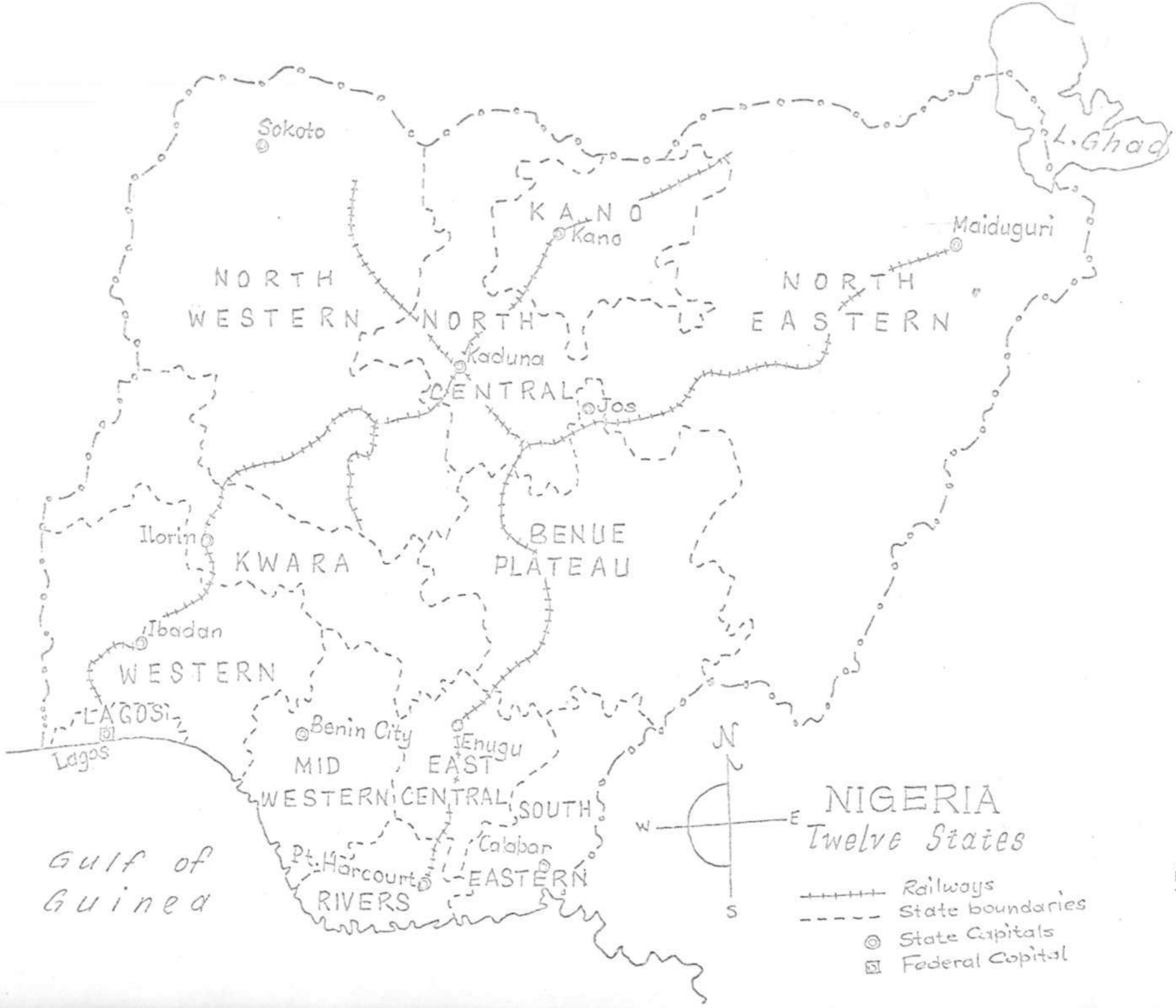

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NORTH EASTERN
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Jos
Ilorin
KWARA
BENUE PLATEAU
Ibadan
WESTERN
LAGOS
Lagos
Benin City
Enugu
MID WESTERN
EAST CENTRAL
SOUTH EASTERN
Calabar
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Twelve States
Railways
State boundaries
State Capitals
Federal Capital

Figure 3

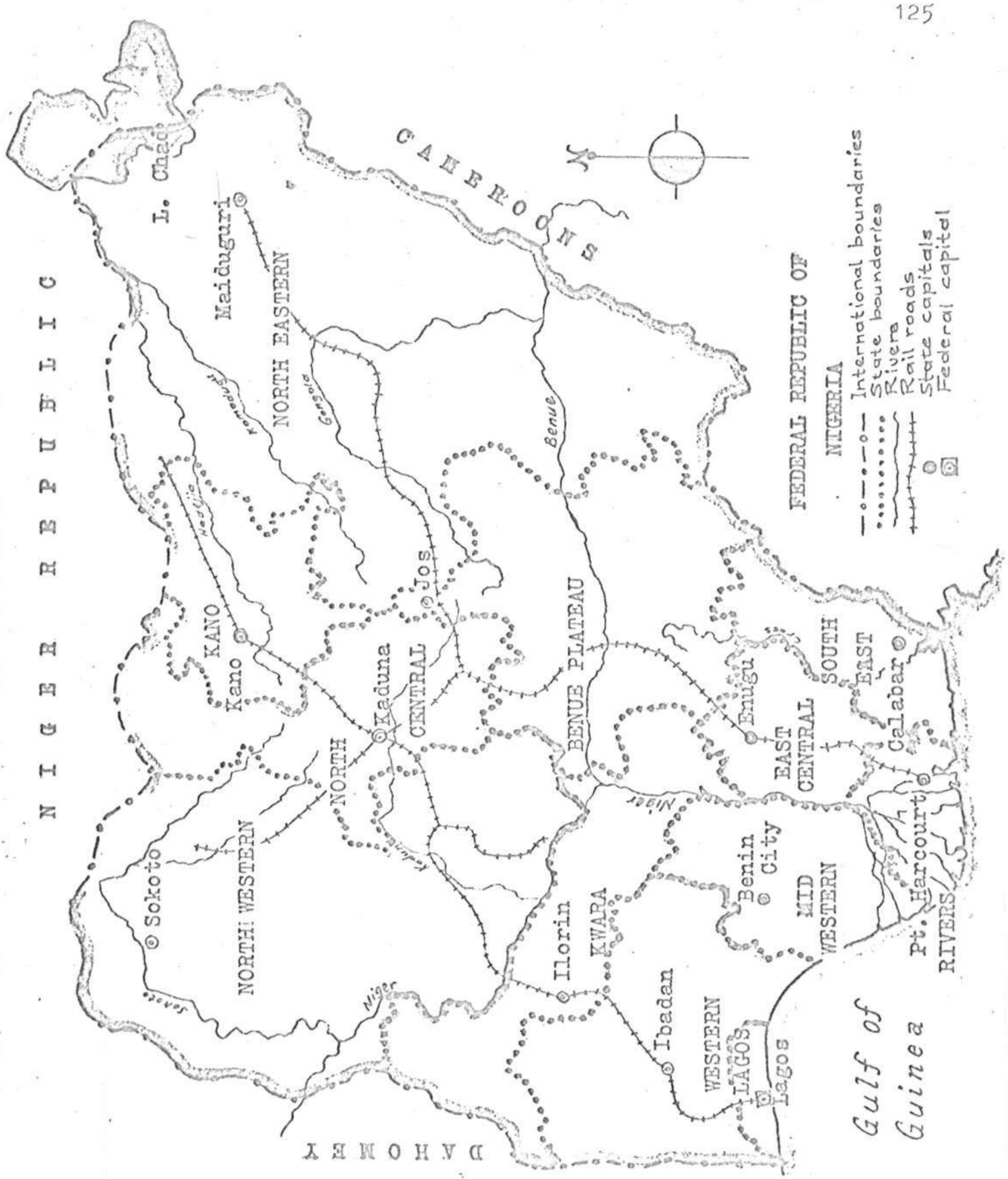

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA
International boundaries
State boundaries
Rivers
Rail roads
State capitals
Federal capital
N
L. Chad
Maiduguri
CAMEROONS
NORTH EASTERN
Benue
Kaduna
Jos
KANO
Kano
NORTH CENTRAL
BENUE PLATEAU
Enugu
EAST CENTRAL
SOUTH EAST
Calabar
Pt. Harcourt
RIVERS
Niger
Benin City
MID WESTERN
Ilorin
KWARA
Ibadan
WESTERN
LAGOS
Lagos
Sokoto
NORTH WESTERN
Gulf of Guinea
DAHOMEY
NIGERIA REPUBLIC

Figure 4

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APPENDIX

June 11, 1970

Mr. Irvin Pallach
Law Library
Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Dear Mr. Pallach:

Mr. Albert F. Ogunsolo, A.I.D. participant in Technical Assistance from Nigeria, is working toward the Ph.D. at Ohio University under Dr. Luther L. Hasely, assisted by Dr. Lowell Howard. Responsibility for his training was assigned by A.I.D. to me in the U.S. Office of Education.

Mr. Ogunsolo will be in your library on July 6 and 7 doing some research on his dissertation and Dr. Hasely suggested that you may be willing to assist him while there, helping him to get acquainted with facilities and materials and perhaps making a few suggestions concerning his work. From time to time he will return for more concentrated study as problems arise,

We will appreciate any time and assistance you may be able to provide. Enclosed is copy of our data sheet on Mr. Ogunsolo for your information.

Sincerely yours,

A. D. Neale
Program Specialist for Africa
Technical Assistance Training Section
Institute of International Studies

cc: Dr. Haseley
Mr. Ogunsolo

ADNeale:ll 6/11/70

cc: Official/Reading

June 11, 1970

Dr. Cole Brembeck
Director, Institute of
International Studies in Education
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan 48823

Dear Dr. Brembeck:

I talked with your secretary today about Mr. Albert F. Ogunsolo, Nigerian participant in the A.I.D. Technical Assistance Program, who is studying toward the Ph.D. at Ohio University, Our Office is responsible for his training.

Dr. Luther L. Hasely suggested that Mr. Ogunsolo spend a few days at the Institute at MSU to confer with you and others such as Dr. J. W. Hanson to get some relevant literature on Africa, to study on his own in the library and to be exposed to activities that might offer experiences related to his work in Nigeria. Will it be all right with you for him to come on July 8 and leave on the 14th? He can stay at Kellogg Center and will not be a financial burden to anyone.

Enclosed is copy of our data sheet for information. We will greatly appreciate your helping Mr. Ogunsolo.

Sincerely yours,

A. D. Neale
Program Specialist for Africa
Technical Assistance Training Section
Institute of International Studies

ADNeale:ll 6/11/70
cc: Offical/Reading

P.S. Have reserved the room at Kellogg for July 8-13 @ $10.50 per day, and at "Y" in Columbus at $4.50 for July 6 & 7.
Nothing is at Cleveland so we increased the time at MSU where the pickings are outstanding. TR will come in plenty of time. And I'll send you the itinerary too.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY EAST LANSING · MICHIGAN 48823

OFFICE OF THE DEAN OF INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS

June 23, 1970

Mr. A. D. Neale
Program Specialist for Africa
Technical Assistance Training Section
Institute of International Studies
Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Office of Education
Washington, D.C. 20202

Dear Mr. Neale:

Your letter of June 11 to Dr. Brembeck has been referred to this office.

Dr. John W. Hanson and Dr. Victor Low of the African Studies Center and Dr. Eugene De Benko, the International Librarian at the main library and an Associate Professor with the African Studies Center, have agreed to meet with Mr. Ogunsolo during his visit to Michigan State University July 8-14. His reservations at Kellogg Center have been confirmed.

Please ask Mr. Ogunsolo to contact this office upun arrival at Kellogg Center. For his information, I am also including the telephone numbers of the professors he will be meeting.

Dr. Eugene DeBenko 355-2366
International Library
Associate Professor, African Studies Center

Dr. John W. Hanson
Professor, Secondary Educ. & Curriculum 355-5522
Professor, African Studies Center 353-1700

Dr. Victor Low
Acting Chairman, African Studies Center 353-1700
Visiting Asst. Professor, History

Cordially,

Caroline A. Yang

(Mrs.) Caroline A. Yang
Educational Exchange Specialist
355-2350

Info to you
517

July 30, 1970

Mr. Albert F. Ogunsola
Mill Street Apt. F3
Ohio University
Athens, Ohio 45701

Dear Mr. Ogunsola:

After your departure from our office, Dr. Hanson discovered some materials which were not out for you to examine. They are all in relation to Nigeria, and may well be of interest to you. Enclosed please find a listing of the books in question. If there should be anything on the list you would like to see, please mark the list and return it to me. You may have the books on loan until the first week of September if you should so desire.

Dr. Hanson has left the country for the remainder of the summer, but he did wish to send his personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Kathleen Jackson
Secretary to John W. Hanson

Enclosure

DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Office of Education
Washington, D.C. 20202

Study and Observation Program

FOR

Mr. Albert F. Ogunsola

Deputy Director
Institute of Education
Ahmadu Bello University
Zaria, North-Central State
Nigeria

Mr. Charles W. McIntosh, Chief
Technical Assistance Training Branch
Division of International Exchange and Training
Institute of International Studies
U.S. Office of Education

Program Officer: A. D. Neale
Telephone: 202-963-5379

INTRODUCTION

The Agency for International Development through its Mission in Nigeria has implemented a project entitled Education Planning and Advisory Services. A part of this project consists of the training of individuals in educational administration. In this particular activity the target is to train a person who will be able to strengthen curriculum development and administration of teacher education in Northern Nigeria through the Institute of Education, Ahmadu Bello University.

Mr. Albert F. Ogunsola was selected for this study. His training center is Ohio University, Athens, Ohio, where he will have an academic and research program, especially designed to meet his needs as Deputy Director of the Institute of Education. While at the University he will complete requirements for and earn a doctorate in educational administration.

PLACEMENT and DATE	SPONSOR	PURPOSE OF VISIT	TRAVEL and REPORTING INSTRUCTIONS
Columbus, Ohio July 6-7, 1970	Mr. Irvin Pollach Law Library Ohio State University Columbus, Ohio	Confer with officials and become acquainted with the library for use in research on dissertation.	July 6 lv Athens via Lake Shore Bus. Reservations made YMCA, 40 W. Long St., Columbus for July 6 and 7. Tel. 614-224-1131.
East Lansing, Michigan July 8-13	Dr. Cole Brembeck Director, Institute of International Studies in Education, MSU Tel. 517-355-5522	To confer with officials, study, collect materials, and take part in activities that will offer experiences related to his thesis as well as his work in Nigeria.	July 8, 9:37 a.m. lv Columbus via Allegheny flt. 580, ar Detroit 9:22, lv Detroit via North Central flt. 911 at 11:55 a.m., ar Lansing at 12:23. Take taxi to Kellogg Center tel. 517-332-6571. Reserved single room at $10.50, 7/8-13/70. July 14, 12:09 p.m. lv Lansing via North Central flt. 372, ar Detroit 12:35. Lv Detroit 2:30 p.m. via Allegheny 528, ar Columbus 4:55 p.m. Lake Shore Bus to Athens.
Athens, Ohio July 15-Aug 4, 1970	Dr. Luther Haseley Nigerian Coordinator Ohio University	Continue work on program at the University.	
Madison, Wisconsin Aug. 5-Sept. 2	Dr. J. R. Donoghue Professor University of Wisconsin	Attend course in University Management and Organization	
Washington, D.C. September 3-11, 1970	A. D. Neale Program Officer OOE, Room 3053, 7th & D St. SW	Confer with officials in U.S. Office of Education, continue research on dissertation.	Sept 3, 1970 lv Madison 10:35 a.m. via NW 334, Ar Washington Nat. 3:18 p.m. Sept 11, 9:55 a.m. Lv Washington Nat via UAL 485 Ar Columbus 11:00 a.m. Single room reserved Dodge House, 20 E Street NW for Sept. 1-10, 1970.