THE RELEVANCE OF EDUCATION

TO

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

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By

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TITLE: The Relevance of Education to National Development

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SCOPE AND CONTENTS: Although development analysts have
long stressed that education in the economically under-
developed countries (E.U.C.'s) must be relevant to the
environment and 'practical' in nature, there is a great
deal still to be done to determine better 'theory' of the
role of education in developing the E.U.C.'s. Values need
to be established, terms defined, the significant variables
located, and hypotheses and generalizations must be
suggested, tested and modified.

       With these limitations in mind, this thesis
includes a comparative analysis of the British and French
educational policies in three West African colonies. The
purpose of this analysis is to obtain some generalizations
regarding educational policy which is suitable at the pre-
sent time for West Africa. The thesis also contains an
appendix in which the author looks closely at the tradi-
tional social structures in Northern Nigeria. An attempt
is made to show the retarding effects of the failure to
introduce formal educational institutions in the North, as

they were in the South. The author concludes that there
would be no point in restoring the Federation (assuming
this were possible), once the civil war is finished, unless
the approach to education in the North could be immediately
revamped, that is, brought into line with the prescriptions
for educational policy set out in the body of the thesis.

PREFACE

The essence of comparative method lies in the
attempt to isolate variables and to point to invariant
relationships or necessary correlates.[1] Since investiga-
tors still lack sufficient data, and the techniques for
gathering same, to undertake comprehensive assessments of,
for example, the interrelations between education and
society, one must be content to deal with more circum-
scribed problems. Rather than tackling a very nebulous
question such as the 'educational dimension' of 'political
development'[2], choice of a less grand topic, such as the
relationship between a particular educational policy and
the creation of suggested conditions of political
development would be advisable.

By analyzing the differential effect[3], past and

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(1) C. A. Anderson, "Methodology of Comparative
Education", International Review of Education, 1962 (pp.
4-10).
(2) It is assumed that the process of political
development is both a variable and a never-ending one.
Therefore, the author considers it of little use to suggest
a new or to adopt one of the existing definitions of the
term. It is felt that each E.U.C. will develop in the
direction deemed desirable by its leaders. However, the
author will argue in Chapter III that there are certain
universal 'conditions' of political development which can
be usefully analyzed.
(3) That is, the effect of the educational policy
on the E.U.C.'s political, social and economic development.

current, on selected West African economically under-developed countries (E.U.C.'s)[4] of educational borrowing from two economically developed countries, the author will attempt to illustrate the type of educational policy likely to foster, and the type likely to disrupt, the E.U.C.'s development in the future.[5]

The least meaningful level at which investigation of education in West Africa could be conducted would be, for example, a comparative examination of education in Ghana and Guinea. At present it could only be descriptive, rather than analytic, since no factors would be held constant - for both the colonial educational systems, and the multiple social structures within the two states, differ.

Although much of comparative research is historical and descriptive, what are stressed are the questions: 'What things are?' 'How do they actually function?', rather than 'How did things come to be as they are?'[6] An historical

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(4) The description, E.U.C., is generally taken to mean pre-industrialization.
(5) It has been suggested by a number of analysts, notably by A. F. K. Organski, that 'national development' generally involves:
  i)   increasing economic productivity;
  ii) increasing geographic and social mobility; and,
  iii) increasing political efficiency in mobilizing the human and material resources of the nation for national goals.
A. F. K. Organski, The Stages of Political Development, 1965 (pp. 5-6).
(6) P. Foster, "Comparative Methodology and African Education", Comparative Education Review, October 1960 (p. 112).

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description is not comparison but it can provide the starting point for using comparison to identify patterns of relationship. For, comparative research assumes that study of one system is not sufficient for revealing all the relationships within the given range of subject matter. By convention the comparative method deals with relations among complex systems. It is one of the numerous imperfect substitutes for experimentation.[7]

Three variations of the comparative approach appear in the first two chapters. Each of these is an attempt to control one or two variables in a crude way so as to obtain some idea of the critical relationships existing between educational policy and the societal conditions in which it functions.

I   In the case of Ghana and the Ivory Coast: the two colonies had a similar culture and organization - Ewe peoples - but were exposed to two distinct types of transferred educational institutions.

II   In the case of Ghana and Nigeria: the two colonies had initially different cultures and organizations which were exposed to identical types of transferred educational institutions.

III   In the case of Northern and Southern Nigeria:

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(7) Anderson, _Op. cit._, (pp. 4-5).

involved here were two social groupings within a single country, but they were exposed to different educational policies from the same colonial power.

Chapters III, IV and V gather and elaborate upon many of the aspects of the education/conditions of development relationship both illustrated and implied in the above mentioned comparisons.

The sixth chapter is an analysis of educational assistance to Africa, on the part of a non-colonial power, the U.S.A. Many of the suggested solutions to the difficulties experienced by the Americans in their educational assistance program point to the desirability of encouraging the current trend toward multilateral rather than unilateral educational assistance programs.

Finally, in an Appendix the author suggests the need for a massive expansion of formal educational institutions in backward Northern Nigeria, keeping in mind the prescriptions for educational policy in West Africa set out in the body of the thesis.

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CHAPTER: I

COLONIAL EDUCATION POLICIES

The colonial powers began to make extensive contact
with the main populations of the African interior at the
turn of the century. Yet Africa remains despite consider-
able missionary activity and the more recent efforts of the
independent governments the most backward in overall
averages of education of any major area of the world.[8]

Colonial education has been criticized on both
quantitive and qualitative grounds. The colonial adminis-
trations were successful in creating an educated elite to
replace them when they left. But both France and Britain
failed to lay the foundations in their respective colonies
for the economic structure into which mass education could
be integrated.[9] Qualitatively, education in the colonies
denationalized the African student, socialized him into the
political culture of the 'imperial' power and failed to

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(8) The colonial powers failed to recognize that
expenditure on education is an investment. Their financial
policies were based on the assumption that education, like
other social services, produced no immediate cash income to
balance the recurrent expenditure from government sources,
that is, that it was a consumption good. Thus each colony
could only have as much education as it could afford to pay
for at any given time.

(9) D. C. Piper and T. Cole, Post Primary Education
and Political and Economic Development, (p. 189)

prepare him for his future role as a citizen of an independent modern state.

Colonial educational systems usually represented a simple transfer of the educational philosophy and structure of the metropolitan country to the colony. In no other sphere did institutional transfer occur with so little alteration and adaptation.[10] The British and French attempted to give the Africans that body of knowledge in both the humanities and the technical sphere which they believed was responsible for their own development.

Colonial education was directed toward goals set by the metropolitan countries.[11] In concentrating on producing only leaders in the E.U.C.'s, the colonial administrators conceived the needs of independence too narrowly. The base of the educational pyramid was far too small, with illiteracy rates unjustifiably large in view of the fifty or more years of colonial rule. Budgetary limitations were only a partial excuse. The funds allocated for the over-elaborate university grounds and buildings might better have been used to expand the educational system.

Since the majority of the early schools were established under missinnary auspices, they were created

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(10) J. Coleman, Education and Political Development, (p. 35).
(11) J. Wilson, Education and Changing West African Culture, (p. 90).

first among those African peoples most receptive to the
evangelistic work of the missions. As a result, the Moslem
areas in both French- and English-speaking Africa, because
they were relatively untouched by the work of the missions,
lagged far behind the coastal areas, especially in
educational achievement.

But even in non-Muslim areas there was initially
much African resistance to putting their children into
Western schools. It was not long, however, before a dis-
tinct change of attitude became apparent. For the French
and British educational systems taught, if only by implica-
tion, that education entitled one to distinctive treatment
within the society, that to have education was to be among
those who ruled. The lack of mass education only served to
reinforce the impression of the alliance between education
and power.(12)

A widening of the gap between African backgrounds
and the school was inevitable and resulted in a strong
alienation of schooled African children from traditional
ways of life. It had an additional disruptive effect on
traditional African societies in that the newly educated
were not all the sons of chiefs, for, the early resistance
to education gave a special advantage to the less privi-
leged, since they were the most easily attracted to the
European schools. Moreover, the selection of students for

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(12) Piper and Cole, _op. cit._, (p. 198).

intermediate and secondary schools was based upon scholarly achievement rather than on family background.[13].

Although the French and English are now criticized by some African leaders and educationists for the excessively 'literary' character of the education they offered to Africans, their policies can be defended by pointing to the E.U.C.'s refusals to accept any suggested divergence of the African educational systems from that of the metropolitan model. This attitude on the part of the African leaders resulted from the obvious fact that children who acquired literacy in a European language were generally given prestigious and well-paying government jobs on graduation.

There was a very definite link between colonial education and African nationalism.[14] In those territories where opportunities existed for higher education, that is, in French and British West Africa, a distinct professional class emerged which commanded great prestige in the African community and was confident of its right and capacity to exercise political power. Members of this group provided the leadership of nationalist movements and political parties and constituted the new political elite in the territories concerned. On the other hand, the limited

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(13)   Coleman, op. cit., (p. 65).
(14)   K. A. Busia, The Challenge of Africa, (p. 79).

degree of education in Ethiopia, Liberia and the Portuguese
territories, for example, has been an important factor in
retarding the social mobilization of the African mass,
thereby fostering political backwardness.[15]

With the spread of education in the colonial areas
after the Second World War, African political leaders found
an increasingly articulate indigenous group which supported
their demands for immediate independence. This expansion
of formal education helped pave the way for the great mass
of people to comprehend and react to the messages of
nationalism. In most villages there was a small group that
had received some education and could interpret the nation-
alist message. Often it was the village schoolteacher who
became the local leader of the nationalist movement. Even
today, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, former teachers
often dominate the legislative and executive branches of
government.[16]

British Colonial Education Policy:

Britain and France had two quite distinct
approaches to colonial operations. While the British
encouraged whatever indigenous administrative, judicial and
fiscal institutions which were available and maintained

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(15) G. Almond and J. Coleman, The Politics of the
Developing Area. (p. 281).
(16) L. G. Cowan, J. O'Connell and D. G. Scanlon,
Education and Nation-Building in Africa. (p. 15).

only indirect rule over her colonies, France's policy was
one of assimilation of the colonies' educated classes to
French culture. Neither approaches proved to be very
lasting.

Although the theory and practice of indirect rule,
or 'native administration', was aimed at building up the
political power of the chieftaincy, economic and social
development including education ran counter to this politi-
cal process. For the political authority of the chief
rested on two powerful tasks with which he was inherently en-
dowed, that is, priestly authority and allocation of the
local land. The spread of colonial education accomplished
almost overwhelmingly through Christian missions constitu-
ted a formidable challenge to the former authority. And,
the new economic development carried out by the colonial
powers threatened the latter task.[17]

In some British territories deliberate attempts
were made to establish schools or school places for those
likely to succeed to a chieftaincy. However, all kinds of
subterfuge was used by the ruling families to keep their
own children out of such schools and to substitute for them
the children of parents of low rank or slave status. The
rationale underlying this move was the realization that the

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(17) Wilson, op. cit., (p. 6).

Christian mission education was a menace to traditional tribal society and organization.

Thus, the 'right people', that is, the chiefs and tribal aristocracies, were not receiving the colonial education, for the educational system was designed to produce an educational elite that would form the core of an autonomous 'national' administration. The policy of indirect rule implied the development of an educational system in close contact with the evolution of the African political society.[18] It was obviously contradictory to construct at one level of government a modern administration based on educational achievement and at the same time try to preserve at another level the traditional rulers. It was not long before the new, non-aristocratic, educated group began to undermine indigenous authority. As a result, British colonial policy re education was radically altered in 1925 as outlined in the 'First Memorandum' of the Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical Africa. Education was no longer to be left more or less entirely to the missions. It was now to be the concern of the colonial government itself.[19]

The 1925 "Memorandum" also recommended: that

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(18) Coleman, op. cit., (p. 64).
(19) H. Peets, "The Role of Education in British Colonial Policy in Nigeria", H. N. Weiler, Education and Politics in Nigeria, (p. 108).

education be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various African peoples; that African languages as well as English should be used in education; and, that a complete educational system should include primary education, secondary education of various types, technical and vocational schools and institutions including university level training in medicine, agriculture, teacher and adult education.[20]

The teaching of Christianity in the mission schools had required some degree of general education and a relatively high degree of literary education. Thus, from the very beginning of Western education in Africa, primary, secondary and teacher education was of an extremely 'bookish' character. This tendency was intensified by a number of factors. First of all, expanding commerce and the growth of elementary government increased the demand for Africans competent to keep ledgers and to undertake a variety of clerical, storekeeping and minor administrative tasks which called for a literary education. Secondly, the government backing of mission education had the effect of perpetuating the curriculum in its bookish concentration because grants-in-aid were scaled mainly to examination results in reading, writing and arithmetic. Thirdly, the

(20) Coleman, op. cit., (p. 125).

rapid expansion of education had required the utilization
of large numbers of poorly trained and inexperienced tea-
chers who relied on little more than rote-learning of the
lessons they themselves had received. [21]

As African societies developed it became more and
more obvious that while education emphasizing the literary
skills had been necessary initially, something of greater
breadth was required if progress toward modern civic and
social responsibility was to be experienced. For, narrow-
ness in education did not encourage individual and group
initiative. Moreover, clerical and shopkeeping posts both
in government and commerce were limited and, thus, were
soon filled. The commercial sector began to complain about
the quality of the labor supply. As trade became more
developed and complicated the African education products
proved incapable of taking initiative or of showing
resourcefulness in their work.

It was for this reason that the 1925 'Memorandum'
particularly emphasized the need for an expansion and an
Africanization of the curriculum. It was hoped that this
would improve the usefulness of those graduating from the
colonial education system.

Although there was increased government supervision
and limited financial support of colonial education after

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(21) Wilson, op. cit., (pp. 23-28).

the 1925 Memorandum, comparatively slow progress was
accepted as the normal spped of development. The Africans
became more and more impatient with this approach. How-
ever, because of the depression and decrease in world
market prices for tropical commodities, the colonies could
not afford to increase the rate of expansion themselves.

Toward the end of the 1930's, criticism of British
educational policy in the colonies began to come not only
from the colonial administration and educated Africans but
also from educationists in Britain. The need for higher
education to produce African leaders was emphasized as well
as the need for considerably greater amounts of financial
assistance from Britain. The Colonial Development and
Welfare Act of 1940 included provision for the support of
educational development programs with higher education for
the first time being given high priority. In 1943, a
Commission was set up to work out plans for the development
of higher education in West Africa. As a result of their
suggestions, steps were taken toward the establishment of a
number of university colleges in West Africa immediately
after the end of World War II. [22]

Both the 1944 and 1948 Reports were essentially
concerned with the educational preparation of the colonial
peoples for self-government. The inevitable trend toward

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(22)   Peets, op. cit., (p. 110).

the autonomy of the colonial dependencies was by now fully realized as was the important role education had to play in this process.

The educated elements in the colonies had become largely hostile to the whole concept and practice of 'indirect rule'. The system provided a voice in political affairs for only a very few of the newly educated. Furthermore, such a government system was incapable of the large and speedy economic reform needed to provide satisfying occupations for the growing numbers of educated types. Again, as with regard 'indirect rule' so with regard education, it had not been expected that its application would have a result very different from what had been anticipated.[23] In both cases, colonial authorities failed to appreciate the degree to which political, social, economic and educational development is interrelated.

Nigeria's Colonial Education System:

The policy of 'indirect rule' was first applied to Northern Nigeria where the British had put down the well-organized, and authoritarian, power of the Moslem Empirates. The policy proved to be such an administrative success, workable by a minimum of British staff, that it became a model for application all over West Africa. However, it

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(23) Wilson, op. cit., (p. 17).

quickly displayed its limitations when applied to the
southeastern region of Nigeria. For the life of the people
of the Niger Delta centered, by and large, around extended
family groups in an area also greatly subdivided geographi-
cally by numerous bodies of water. Political power was in
the hands of the patriarchial heads. However, the British
were determined to maintain a uniform system of administra-
tion throughout the colony. Thus, they attempted to create
chiefs by government warrant so that the system of 'indi-
rect rule' could be applied. The result was chaotic in the
legal and administrative spheres. However, the South fared
a little better in the sphere of education. The Christian
missions were well received and succeeded in establishing a
large number of primary and a few post-primary schools in
what are now the Eastern and Western Regions of Nigeria.[24]

On the other hand, in the North, missionary
activities were forbidden by the British authorities. In
taking over this area, they had promised the emirs that
they would not let Christian missions interfere with their
predominantly Islamic societies. Except for the widespread
system of Koranic schools, the only educational institu-
tions established in the North prior to 1920 were a few
'native authority' schools. They were quite different to
the mission schools in that they catered to the limited

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(24) Peets, op. cit., (p. 107).

demands for staff of the various departments of the 'native administrations'. And, there were so few places, less than twenty per one thousand of the school-age population, that they were monopolized by the established aristocracy.[25]

After the 1925 'Memorandum', the broad lines of educational policy were laid down in London and were contained in the various 'Reports' of the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies. In Nigeria itself, educational policy and execution was in the hands of the Director of Education and his predominantly British staff. Apart from a few secondary schools in the South and some primary schools in the North, the government left the running of schools to private initiative, which it controlled through a system of grants-in-aid and inspection. Most of the assisted schools were run by the missions. But non-assisted schools were by far the most important in terms of enrollment. For example, in 1942, of 276,000 pupils in primary schools - 7000 were in government schools, 8000 in native authority schools, 82,000 in assisted schools and 179,000 in non-assisted schools.[26]

The Nigerian contribution to their own education was considerable. The funds for running even the Christian

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(25) K. W. J. Post, "Modern Education and Politics in Nigeria", H. N. Weiler, Education and Politics in Nigeria, (p. 144).
(26) Coleman, op. cit., (p. 126).

mission schools, apart from grants-in-aid, came from the
Nigerian members of the churches. Most of the secondary
schools in the early 1940's in Southern Nigeria were com-
munity institutions. In addition, some families in
Southern Nigeria have for generations sent sons and daugh-
ters abroad for higher education. Of the 178 Nigerian
students in universities in the United Kingdom in 1943,
only 40 were government scholars.[27]

The majority of schools were primary with only a
handful of secondary ones, all of the grammar school type.
By '43, 17.7% of school-age children attended school in
Southern Nigeria compared to 1.7% in Northern Nigeria.
Only one of the colony's 34 secondary schools was in the
Northern Region. In other words, at the end of the Second
World War, the Nigerian educational system was very poorly
and unevenly developed, especially as between the North and
the South.

Before the War, government expenditure on education
had ranged from 1% to 4.3% of the annual budget. After-
wards, the figure rose to more than 10%.[28] The impetus
for educational expansion came mainly from political chan-
ges in the form of the ever widening 'national' goals being
sought by the independence groups. Since there were no

(27) Ibid., (p. 127).
(28) Coleman, op. cit., (p. 127).

white settlers in Nigeria and relatively few British
officials, more and more Nigerians were needed to man the
various government services and to serve the needs of trade
and commerce.

Ghana's Colonial Education System:

British official interest in the colony's
educational arrangements began when Britain formally
annexed the Gold Coast in 1874. The mission schools were
initially oriented toward religious education but they did
not neglect secular instruction especially as Britain's
commercial and political interests in the area grew.[29]
However, repeated attempts to develop technical and agri-
cultural education failed to get off the ground largely
because of the colony's economic structure and the actual
opportunities open to Africans within it.

Traditional rulers in Ghana were mainly indifferent
to the educational work of both the missions and the gov-
ernment. Thus, when an educated group emerged, it was
drawn from other segments of society, and it was generally
hostile to the prerogatives of the traditional offices.[30]
Conflict soon developed between the non-upper-class educa-
ted group and the traditional leaders. Both groups
alternately opposed or sought the support of the colonial

(29) H. Kitchen, The Educated African, (p. 326).
(30) P. J. Foster, The Transfer of Educational
Institutions: The Ghanaian Case Study, (p. 501).

regime against the other.

However, the ultimate achievement of independence was the consequence of the emergence of a new nationalistic leadership composed mainly of school teachers and clerks. Extensive support for the nationalists came from the rapidly expanding urban populations, in particular the unemployed products of the colonial educational system. The importance of education as a decisive factor in the implementation of certain political goals, for example, indirect rule or self-government, and in the permanent process of interaction between political and social progress, can be seen in the case of both Nigeria and Ghana.[31]

French Colonial Education Policy:

Educational policies in the colonies varied widely except for the ultimate goal, that is, the creation of a political and professional elite of a very high intellectual quality that would become closely identified with the French cultural image. This French-African elite was then to attempt to adapt its African society to the French model.[32]

The authority of all colonial governors in matters of education was exclusive, and decisions taken were based more on the thinking of the governor than on guidance from

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(31) Peets, op. cit., (p. 112).
(32) Piper and Cole, op. cit., (p. 180).

metropolitan France. This was because colonial budgets were financed from local resources (until 1945) and the initiative in budget matters belonged to the governor.

Such resources as were available for education did not go as far in the French colonies as they did in the British. First of all, this was because of the relatively large number of high-wage, metropolitan French teachers employed. The use of French as the language of instruction, from the earliest grades, prohibited the use of partially-trained indigenous teachers in the primary schools. Secondly, mission schools did not play as large a role in the French African territories as they did, for example, in Nigeria and Ghana. This was because of the French anti-clerical policies in education after 1903 and because of the fact that the population was even more heavily Muslim in the French colonial areas than in the British. [33]

Education in the French language and culture obviously served the assimilationist policy best. Thus, throughout French Africa the curriculum followed closely that of the metropolitan school system. No effort was made to teach African history or language, since they were not included in the French curriculum.

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(33) F. Harbison and C. A. Myers, Manpower and Education, (p. 237).

In theory, subsidiary to this goal of creating a French-speaking African elite which would be the governing class was the expansion of mass education. In practice, however, mass education was no more possible in French-speaking Africa than it was in English-speaking Africa. The social structure of colonial society, the limited financial resources and poor population concentration prevented the spread in both areas of even primary instruction.

There were French citizens trained in France who filled the positions at all levels of responsibility and who supplied the technical cadres as well. In general, the colonial administration employed natives only in the lowly positions of clerks and overseers in agriculture, husbandry, forestry, etc. In private business firms as well, the majority of those in executive positions were of French origin.[34]

In a curiously distorted way, French colonial education policies were based on a notion common to modern manpower and educational planning. That is, that the educational system should be intimately related to the 'needs of the economy'. Consequently, vocational and agricultural training received major emphasis in the village schools which sprang up in the interwar period, while education in the liberal professions was discouraged. The problem, of

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(34) Coleman, _op. cit._, (p. 79).

course, was that 'needs of the economy' did not include Africans prepared for high-level positions. Except for the governing elite, Africans were to be trained only as 'auxiliaries' to the Europeans, that is, as artisans, clerks, etc. (35)

As a result, one of the major differences between the French and British colonial education system was the degree to which the French were able to maintain considerable control over the quantitative output of the schools. The British policy, on the other hand, placed few restrictions on the expansion of all types of schools. Thus, the former French colonies have not had to face the problem of large numbers of unemployed school-leavers to as great an extent as have the former British colonies. Whereas the French-speaking areas were left with a highly-polished top layer and a low level of general literacy at independence, the English-speaking regions had considerably higher literacy percentages but lower quality in the top layer. (36) Much of the relative lack of radical, popular or nationalistic political activity in French West Africa, as contrasted with parts of the Gold Coast and Nigeria, resulted from, it is suggested, not so much the differences in the policies of the colonial powers, as from the much smaller

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(35) Harbison and Myers, op. cit., (p. 238).
(36) G. Hunter, The New Societies in Tropical Africa, (p. 245).

degree to which 'social mobilization' had occurred in French West Africa before 1945.

World War II brought a change in French colonial policy. The 'loi' of April 30, 1946 provided for the formulation, financing and application of development plans for the colonies, including a new educational policy. However, attempts to develop the colonies merely by means of financial aid from France revealed the need for training African cadres. The program of the 'Fonds d'investissement pour le Développlement economique et social des Territories d'Outre-Mer' (FIDES) for 1947 defined its educational goals as being: "to double within five years and triple within ten, the number of pupils in elementary schools; and, to double within ten years the number of students in secondary and technical schools and colleges".[37]

Therefore, it has only been since 1947 that an educational policy which encouraged larger school enrollments and which gave Africans access to secondary, technical and higher education has been pursued in French-speaking Africa. Out of a total population in the African French-speaking territories of some thirty million, school enrollment increased from 433,000 in 1938 to 654,000 in 1950, 370,000 of whom were in public schools. However, considering the extent of the manpower scarcity in the former

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(37) Coleman, op. cit. (p. 81).

French colonies, its impact made a very small dent in market demand.[38]

In the early 1950's, when French Africa might have turned itself energetically to producing trained Africans, the problem was bypassed. The unavoidable means for creating high-level manpower, a much broader secondary school base, was ignored. Consequently, secondary school enrollments rose less in French-speaking West Africa during the crucial pre-independence years of the mid-'50's than in many other African areas. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the major reason for the French planners' restraint on educational expansion, particularly at the secondary school level, was a lack of urgency about preparing for independence. There was a failure to foresee that in the near future Africans would be needed on a massive scale to perform jobs traditionally done by Frenchmen in Africa.[39]

Thus, French West Africa came to independence considerably less well endowed with trained human resources than did their English-speaking neighbors. In the British West African territories, there was never any question that independence would sooner or later become reality. In French West Africa, on the contrary, the question of the

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(38) Ibid., (p. 82).
(39) Harbison and Myers, op. cit., (p. 245).

ultimate relationship with France, once the apprenticeship period was over, had never been discussed.

The spread of nationalism in the French-speaking areas was not really a mass movement. Its emergence depended to a considerable degree on the fact that the political leaders in the eight territories of French West Africa and in the four territories of French Equatorial Africa had a common educational background, at least at the secondary school level. Consequently, they had a common cultural background and political notions. École William Ponty, ostensibly only a teacher training college for the colonial elites, proved to be also the training ground for nationalist leaders. With 'assistance' from some Europeans by their reaction against easy assimilation of the African educated elites, the latter could not help but become a political force in the French colonies.

The uniformity of the assimilationist educational policy of the French left a deep imprint on post-independence French Africa. The reaction of French-speaking Africans has been a much greater assertion of 'negritude' than has been the case in the English-speaking areas. The former group has laid great stress on those aspects of their cultural background which differentiate Africans from Europeans.[40]

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(40) Piper and Cole, op. cit., (p. 184).

The Ivory Coast's Colonial Education System:

The full 'pacification' of the Ivory Coast,
including 'submission' to French education, was not com-
pleted until 1915. French assimilationist theory notwith-
standing, few Ivoirians became French citizens. Until 1946
most of them were administered as subjects.

After 1903 an attempt was made to unify education
for all of French West Africa. Village schools taught
basic skills, above them, regional schools selected the
best pupils for a three-year course leading to a certifi-
cate of agricultural or manual proficiency. Elementary
education conducted in French throughout was more practical
than its equivalent in France. There were no secondary
schools in the country but about two hundred African chil-
dren attended each of the two higher primary schools. A
few were then selected to proceed to teacher training at
the Ecole William Ponty in Senegal or to one of the other
post-primary institutions on the west coast.

"Ponty served as the catalyst of political
consciousness for a whole generation of Ivory Coasters."[41]
Many of those Africans who later became leading political
figures had their first contact with such currents of
thought as French Marxism in the classes of young, liberal-

(41) Kitchen, op. cit., (p. 456).

minded French teachers at Ponty during the 1930's. This
generation, most of them in their late 20's after World War
II, supplied the entire political leadership of the Ivory
Coast in the period of post-war nationalism.

After 1946, African political parties gained
increasing power within each French colony. Except for
some incidents in the Ivory Coast and Guinea, they did so
peacefully. Their steady and quiet construction of local
power bases was not accompanied by demands for indepen-
dence, for this was still a nasty word to French
administrators.[42]

Another significant factor activating the French
African nationalists was the presence of Europeans in the
labor market. For, no Frenchman, provided he could meet
some nominal entry requirements, could be prohibited from
coming to West Africa. Naturally this fact blocked African
advancement to a wide range of jobs and thereby hindered
the development of African skills and responsibility. For
example, by 1962 in the Ivory Coast there were approxi-
mately only 750 out of 4300 managerial, professional or
technical jobs held by Ivoirians, in other words, less than
twenty per cent of the higher-level jobs in the country.[43]

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(42) Harbison and Myers, op. cit., (p. 246).
(43) Ibid., (p. 247).

CHAPTER: II

POST-INDEPENDENCE EDUCATIONAL POLICIES

A general criticism often heard regarding the colonial powers is that they failed to accord education the high priority it deserved. Too few people were educated for the many tasks that now require literate Africans. For example, it is estimated that one hundred million adults in Africa cannot read or write. And, in the majority of African countries, sixty percent of the children of primary age are still not attending school.[44]

One of the most serious gaps in both French- and English-speaking African education was the teacher shortage, both in terms of quantity and quality. In part, this was a result of the lack of facilities for the preparation of teachers. However, even the existing facilities were not fully utilized, since many of their products very quickly left the teaching profession because of inadequate remuneration. It is estimated that, between 1951-1962, over 4800 teachers left for other positions in Ghana alone.[45]

By the early 1960's, with the rash of 'independence' achievements, it was recognized that first priority had to

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(44)   Busia, op. cit., (p. 85).
(45)   Piper and Cole, op. cit., (p. 190).

be given to secondary education. A bottleneck had
developed in that the universities were operating at only a
fraction of their potential enrollment because of the scar-
city of secondary school graduates. In addition, thousands
of the children finishing primary school had to be refused
admission to secondary schools. [46]

Although it is relatively easy to locate the
failings of the educational structure left behind by the
colonial powers, their accomplishments in the field of edu-
cation were considerable. By the time the British adminis-
tration left Nigeria in 1960, some two and one-half million
Nigerian children were in 17,000 primary schools; 90,000
were in 550 secondary and vocational schools; and, 22,000
teachers were being trained in 300 teacher-training cen-
ters. The University in Ibidan had 1250 students enrolled
and another 1025 were in the three branches of the Nigerian
College of Arts, Science and Technology. Although compar-
able figures for a French-speaking country would have been
somewhat lower, French expenditures on education after 1956
amounted annually to a very substantial part of the French
contribution to the budgets of each of the African
colonies. [47]

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(46) Cowan, O'Connell and Scanlon, op. cit., (p.

(47) Piper and Cole, op. cit., (p. 190).

But more important than the numbers educated by the colonial system was the fact that it played a major role in bringing about the political independence of most of sub-Saharan Africa. By providing for those in secondary school and higher, an introduction to the liberal political philosophy of the West, the colonial administrators were themselves the instigators of the nationalist movements in Africa. The nationalist appeal became very simply the egalitarian assertion of the rights and competences of all Africans, not just of those who had been chosen to be educated. Leadership was provided by the latter groups who were prepared to identify with their people in opposition to their European sponsors.

But, in addition to the education factor, nationalist success rested very heavily on African solidarity. The post-independence period was thus faced with the problem of maintaining this solidarity in order to stabilize gains already made and in order to concentrate on development of the continent. Now that they are independent, the African people have great expectations for social and economic improvement, especially in educational development. Political leaders are under great pressure to expand education as quickly as possible. There is the feeling that expanded education is necessary not only for economic development, but also because it is a symbol of modernity which will wipe out the stigma of African

backwardness and gain for the African people full accep-
tance by the modern world. Many Africans believe that the
initial, sometimes lengthy, periods of unemployment and
political instability resulting from the expansion of edu-
cation are justifiable. They realize that in time, the
social systems of the E.U.C.'s have the potentiality of
being dominated by a very mobile middle-class group and
thus of becoming stabilized and more truly egalitarian in
character. For, it seems to many analysts that the great
contribution of education to development is in the eventual
creation of a leadership group which owes its position to
its competence, training and usefulness, rather than to any
ascribed quality.[48]

The attainment of independence and the transfer of
power finally provided the opportunity for Africans to have
a say regarding the nature of their educational systems. A
number of policy changes were made immediately after the
departure of the colonial authorities. Many other changes
are likely to follow as African educators and planners
become more knowledgable with regard to the problems facing
them.[49]

Re Expansion:

Educational facilities have been greatly increased

(48) Coleman, op. cit., (p. 17).
(49) Coleman, op. cit., (p. 38).

in all independent African E.U.C.'s. Fifteen to twenty per
cent of most budgets are now allocated to educational
development. Limited financial resources, however, and the
shortage of qualified teachers make it necessary for the
planners to be selective in their allocation of funds. Up
to now, African leaders seem to have given priority for
political reasons to the development of elementary educa-
tion, even though it is recognized that the shortages in
secondary education are more critical. For, secondary edu-
cation produces not only administrative and technical
personnel, but also African teachers and instructors. The
immediate expansion of secondary school education depends
to a considerable degree on the number of teachers devel-
oped countries can place at the disposal of the new
states.(50)

Re Devaluation of Education:

This is devaluation in the sense of education no
longer being the principle channel for upward mobility to
political elite status. It is obvious that with the great
expansion in the education system, possession of a diploma
or a degree no longer admits one directly into the ruling
class. There is an increasing variety of routes to power
with education becoming more and more an important but

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(50) Ibid., (p. 89).

indirect factor. For example, as the rate of economic growth quickens, the business world will become one of the significant routes.[51]

Re 'Practicality' of Content:

The effort to reshape educational systems to fit African societies has a 'practical' bias as its most distinguishing feature. New African educational schemes are full of provisions for manual work, notably in the form of agriculture for all students and specialized technical education for as many as can be afforded. There are a number of important reasons for this trend: authorities are alarmed over the ever-increasing number of unemployable graduates with literary or often legal training; nationalist leaders are concerned over the high cost, and political undesirability, of filling manpower shortages in the technical fields with foreigners; development planners see the urgent need for a greater meshing of the curriculum with the manpower needs of the developing economies; and, students perceive that a more technical and practical education offers them better career prospects.[52]

Re Indigenization of Content:

The pressure for 'indigenization' of the content of education is in some respects nothing more than an

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(51) Ibid., (p. 39).
(52) Coleman, op. cit., (p. 43).

assertion of nationalism. The introduction of local or national content into the curriculum helps to develop a sense of national identity. It also furthers the students' understanding of their own environment, rather than that of a distant and vastly different land, such as England or France. (53)

The intensity of the demands for rapid Africaniza-tion seems to vary inversely with the level of education attained by the time the country gained independence. States such as Ghana and Senegal, with more solid and longer educational development than many of the others, have been able to proceed more deliberately. (54)

In general, however, post-independence political elites have shown surprising restraint on the issue of indigenization of the school curriculum. Admittedly, there are a number of important reasons for the restraint shown. Most of the former French colonies, for example, retain almost total adherence to the French school curriculum, because they recognize that it is a good system. It is modern, and it commands world respect, which is an extremely important factor in the eyes of African national-ists. But one of the major factors is that many of the new states continue to be heavily dependent upon the developed

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(53) Ibid., (p. 45).
(54) Ibid., (p. 71).

areas for teachers. In many of the French-speaking E.U.C.'s, a majority of the secondary school teachers are French nationals provided by France under various forms of technical assistance.[55]

Re Political Socialization:

African leaders view education as a critical political factor in establishing and maintaining national unity, both within the individual states and in 'pan'-African relations. Thus, English or French has generally been chosen as the national language, rather than the state's major tribal tongue.[56]

Moreover, secularization of both the structure and the content of education, as illustrated by the state's assumption of primary responsibility for the school system, has been a widespread trend. This is not to say that many African schools are agencies for manifest political socialization. Only in a very few cases, notable Guinea, have explicit steps been taken to politicize the school curriculum. Again, one should note that where there continues to be a dependence for teaching staff upon the former imperial power, overt ideological indoctrination would obviously be very difficult, usually impossible, to achieve.

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(55) Coleman, op. cit., (p. 47).
(56) Ibid., (p. 87).

Re Resistance to Change:

Some African intellectuals are fighting any sug-
gested divergences from the colonial education patterns.
This is mainly because they equate such changes with a low-
ering of the educational standards. It is likely, however,
that their opposition will become progressively weaker as
the following three factors take a firmer hold:

>   (i)   the emergence of a new occupational structure
>   in which practical and technical education
>   will provide the most visible means for higher
>   status and upward mobility;
>   (ii)   changes in the curriculum of European institu-
>   tions of higher learning, which have long
>   served as models for many of the E.U.C.'s;
>   (iii)   the multilateralization of external educa-
>   tional assistance as a result of the trend
>   away from single-dependency to multiple-
>   dependency relationships with many countries
>   who have radically different educational tra-
>   ditions (the major new contributors are the
>   United States and the Soviet Union, i.e.,
>   countries in which technical and practical
>   education predominate).(57)

The particular 'mix' of varying institutions and
policies that will prove most successful in the African
E.U.C.'s must be worked out separately for each state.
What is fairly certain, however, is that the current unbal-
anced legal, humanistic and literary form must go if
African development is to flourish.

Nigerian Education: Since the Independence Period

Between 1952 and 1960, as more and more political

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(57) Coleman, op. cit., (p. 44).

power came into the hands of Nigerians, primary education
became available to a greater proportion of the population
and some reforms of the school curricula were carried out;
for example, the primary school syllabus in all subjects is
now keyed to the Nigerian environment and nearly all text-
books are specially written for use in West Africa.[58]

By 1958, the number of children in primary school
had risen to 2,840,000 from less than one million in 1952.
Universal primary education existed in the south. And,
southern regional expenditures on education were by now
close to 50% of the budget. In Northern Nigeria, the pace
of development of primary education has been much slower.
Only 9% of the northern children were in primary schools by
'58, as compared to well over 90% in the south. Out of the
two million children of secondary school age in the North,
about four thousand were enrolled in secondary schools.
Students of northern origin at University College, Ibaden,
numbered 57 out of 1000 students. However, the principle
of free universal primary education has been accepted by
northern political leaders; and, they are currently devot-
ing approximately 25% of the regional budget to
education.[59]

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(58) Kitchen, op. cit., (p. 372).
(59) L. J. Lewis, "Prospects of Educational Policy
in Nigeria", H. N. Weiler, Education and Politics in
Nigeria, (p. 250).

The disparity between the educational opportunity in the North compared to the South has probably been rightly termed an important determinant of the present unstable character of the Nigerian political system. However, the social and political effects of the expansion of education in the North are likely to be extremely significant during the next few decades. Not only will the class system have to be modified, but also it is likely that the autocratic Northern People's Congress will be eventually challenged by protest parties comprised of literate and politically-aware youths who, like their fellows in the South, remain unemployed or underemployed. [60]

It is possible that, as younger men rise to the top in politics in both northern and southern regions to replace the first generation of nationalist leaders, there will be a greater bond of common interest among them than existed among their predecessors. They will no longer be the products of two so diverse educational systems. And, they will now be facing many of the same major problems, notably maintenance of a balance between educational and economic development. (See Appendix for elaboration of this point.)

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[60] Post, op. cit., (p. 145).

Ghanaian Education: Since Independence

Ghana has a very good reputation for a high level
of educational attainment. The credit for progress in edu-
cational development should properly be given to both the
present government and its colonial predecessor. Under the
British rule, a ten-year plan for educational development
was introduced in 1946. Beginning in 1951, at the start of
the transition to independence, African political leaders
shared power and responsibility and made substantial con-
tributions to the formulation of the 'Accelerated
Development Plan' for education.

Between 1951-1959, Ghana spent more than 17 million
pounds on education, that is, almost 15% of its total devel-
opment expenditure during this period. From 1950-1959,
enrollment in all educational institutions increased from
281,000 to 663,500 - by 1962 it totaled 893,750.[61]

In addition to an expanded program of primary
education, an elaborate arrangement of literacy classes
attempt to serve the adult population. And, a country-wide
adult education plan sponsored by the University of Ghana
continues the educational opportunities for school teachers
and clerks. At yet another level, a 'Builders' Brigade'
recruits its members from the unemployed school-leavers

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(61) Kitchen, op. cit., (p. 330).

who, while reluctant to return to farming, have no trade
with which to earn a living in the towns.[62]

The large numbers of extremely young and untrained
teachers who were absorbed by the Ghanaian school system
shortly after independence had neither the skill nor know-
ledge to carry out the adaptation of content and method
desired by some Ghanaian nationalists. Thus, Nkrumah did
not attempt to increase the importance of African languages
in the educational system once in power. In most cases, he
established schools in which the medium of instruction,
from the first day the children attended, was English.

In addition to the limitations of the teaching
staffs and the lack of African-oriented texts, there were
political reasons for Nkrumah's actions. Tribal strife in
Ghana is legion. Each group has its own vernacular. The
disagreements over which one, or more, should be chosen for
national use would have been extremely emotional, likely
violent.

Ivoirian Education: Since Independence

Prior to World War II, as mentioned earlier, the
Ivory Coast was one of the least developed education-wise
of any of the African colonies. But once the War was over,
she began to make up for lost time. Two valuable export
commodities, coffee and cocoa, were largely responsible for

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(62) C. Legum, Africa: A Handbook to the Continent,
(p. 202).

the financing of the rapid post-War development program.
In addition, France's 'FIDES' agency spent almost five mil-
lion dollars in the Ivory Coast between 1947-1957, mostly
on the construction of secondary schools. Whereas in 1947,
only 3.8% of the children of school age were in school, by
1957 this figure had jumped to 25.5%. The development of
post-primary and secondary education was even more strik-
ing: from three institutions with 192 students in 1947, to
20 institutions with nearly five thousand students in
1957.[63]

In general, the educational structure in the
French-speaking states in Africa is better balanced than
those of most English-speaking states. In part, this is
because the former focused more on secondary education
after '57 than did the latter. Thus, in recent years the
ratio of secondary to primary enrollments has been by
African standards relatively high in the Ivory Coast, that
is, 6%. Even more significant has been the rate of absorp-
tion of primary school graduates into secondary schools,
that is, 40-70% in the past few years. In eastern Nigeria,
by comparison, more than 200,000 students graduated from
primary schools in 1963, with only 16,000 secondary school
places open to them. Because of its relatively great

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(63) Kitchen, op. cit., (p. 458).

post-primary absorptive capacity, the Ivory Coast has not yet had to face a serious problem of unemployed primary school leavers.[64]

By the end of the decade, however, it is expected that the problem will be far more pressing. As a result, the government has stipulated that children will no longer be allowed to leave school unless they have a job to go to. Those who do not have one will be assigned to vocational centers where they will be taught a trade that is considered useful for the country.[65]

Pressure to build more and more primary schools is widespread and extremely intense throughout the country. Education is the most intensely desired public good in the state. Parents and children alike still view a primary school certificate as the only and automatic doorway to the modern world. For political leaders, primary education is the most tangible form of political patronage open to them. It is a major means by which to 'legitimize' their assumption of power; and, it is a basic instrument for implementing national orientations. One effective institutional means to promote these objectives is to send students to boarding schools in regions other than their own in order to promote contact between children from the various ethnic groupings in the country.

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(64)   Harbison and Myers, op. cit., (p. 281).
(65)   Kitchen, op. cit., (p. 466).

But, obviously, a change in attitude is also badly needed. Villagers must come to recognize that primary school education does not mean what it used to, that it will not continue to ensure a clerical or other prestigious job for all graduates. Political leaders must begin to take a more responsible approach to the allocation of educational resources.

The Development Plan for 1958-1962, formulated soon after the formation of the first African government, did not question the structure of the educational system left behind by the French. However, it now emphasized quantitative achievements, especially in the sphere of school construction; and, it proposed to increase the percentage of school-age children in school by 15% during the four-year period. The record, as of the fall of 1960, was even more spectacular than the plan had anticipated. This was due in part to autonomous community action. In some sections of the country, long-standing rivalries between villages were channeled into competition in school building. As for the maintenance of the French system of education, there are a number of practical reasons why it was retained. In the first place, maintenance of close ties with France makes fundamental changes difficult. At the secondary school level, this is because of the presence of so many French teachers; and, at the primary school level, it is because of the use of French teaching manuals.

Secondly, so long as the French provide the funds and the teachers, it is not realistic to expect fundamental changes in the university situation in the Ivory Coast.[66]

Nevertheless, many political leaders believe that the tenseness of relations between themselves and the educated groups and university students, which is a practically universal phenomenon in Africa, cannot be tolerated for much longer. And, they attribute much of the misunderstanding to the fact that the educational system is insufficiently adapted to African needs, notably to the problems of national construction.[67] But another and perhaps more significant explanation of the alienation of the intellectuals is the fact that, since secondary education developed only after 1946, by 1956, when the first Africa-educated graduates were emerging, the ruling groups had already been constituted and the integration of the new graduates into government service created serious problems. Even those recent graduates given responsible assignments were reluctant to accept guidance from political leaders whose education was often inferior to their own.[68]

While many Ghanaian students, for example, are in opposition because they view the government as anti-intellectual and overly radical, Ivoirian students tend to take

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(66) Harbison and Myers, op. cit., (p. 265).
(67) Kitchen, op. cit., (pp. 4-10).
(68) Coleman, op. cit., (p. 86).

a similar position because they view their government as anti-intellectual and overly conservative.[69] The fact that the criticisms of the intellectuals in Ghana use a terminology of the 'right' and those in the Ivory Coast one of the 'left' is irrelevant. The complaints are the same, the verbiage is simply determined by the nature of the respective nationalist parties.

The intellectuals in both countries, and in many other African states, accuse the political leaders of lack of planning and foresight and of non-utilization of the most competent personnel. Ultimately, they are arguing about being excluded from power by political leaders whose claim to office rests largely on the organizational work they did during the pre- and early post-independence period. The frustration of these educated groups which have plenty of social status but no political power creates continued social tension in many African E.U.C.'s. It is suggested by some analysts that so long as the educated classes facillate between opposition (mainly in Ghana and the Ivory Coast) and political apathy (mainly in Nigeria) and refuse integration into the nationalist movement, the gap between the two camps will grow, and African

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(69) Kitchen, op. cit., (p. 470).

development will suffer.[70]

(70) I. M. Wallerstein, The Emergence of Two West African Nations: Ghana and the Ivory Coast, (p. 251).

CHAPTER: III

THE CONDITIONS OF EDUCATION AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Despite the lack of a precise definition of the term 'political development', there is a considerable degree of consensus regarding some of the conditions of political development. In general, it is known that political development depends upon changes: in the economic system, in the social structure, in the administrative capacity and in the political culture, that is, the particular set of attitudes and expectations, of a society. More specifically, the following seven conditions are usually stressed by Western analysts as being the major determinants of political development:

(1) a legal-formal constitution which provides for such things as the rule of law, regular elections, separation of power (and the many other topics dealt with by the comparative government people)

(ii) a highly differentiated political structure in terms of specific political roles and institutions, centralization of the polity, and, specific political goals and orientations. [71]

(iii) a level of economic development capable of satisfying the material needs of the members of the political system (as suggested in writings by Milliken, Lipset and Coleman)

(iv) centralized administrative capacity, efficient and effective enough to maintain law and order, and to perform governmental output functions rationally and neutrally (as suggested in

(71) Piper and Cole, op. cit., (p. 31).

writings by Weber, Brzezinski and Pauker)
(v) a social system which facilitates popular participation in governmental and political processes at all levels; and, which bridges regional, religious, linguistic, tribal or other cleavages (as suggested in writings by Deutsch, Weiner and Amond)
(vi) the weakening of traditional elites and rulers and the establishment of some sort of ideological and often institutional accountability of the rulers to the ruled[72]
(vii) a political culture (that is, the fundamental attitudinal and personality characteristics of the members of the political system) such that both the privileges and the responsibilities of the political process are realized.[73]

Apart from its use as an instrument for manifest political socialization, education's relationship to the polity is, generally, only indirect. The resultant multiple causality makes the abstraction and analysis of education, as a variable, extremely difficult. However, several relationships between educational policy and the conditions of political development do suggest themselves:

(i) Education can directly transmit the cultural heritage, the political symbols, values and attitudes of a society from generation to generation, thereby participating with the family in the socialization process of succeeding generations.[74]
(ii) Education can train citizens by making students aware that they belong to a nation. Its teaching must cross the boundaries of smaller groups, the family, tribe, village, etc. It must produce among the youth attitudes and

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(72) Ibid.
(73) R. A. Packenham, "Political Development Doctrines in the American Foreign Aid Program", World Politics, January 1966, (pp. 194-196).
(74) Piper and Cole, op. cit., (p. 27).

dispositions that will support the larger society in which they live.(75)

(iii) Education can channel and differentially place candidates in those positions in society that are allocated on the basis of achievement. For example, the educational system can prepare the bureaucratic, managerial, technical and professional cadres required for modernization.

(iv) Education can train producers. This economic problem is now systematically dealt with by assessing the manpower requirements of economic growth.(76)

(v) Education can stir people: to take initiative, to introduce new activities, and, regular improvement in old ones, to release the energy needed to speed up society's development.(77)

(vi) Education can prepare individuals in a rigid social order for physical, social and mental mobility, that is, the readiness to accept change and to demonstrate purposive action when confronted by new experiences.(78)

(vii) Educational activities can be important agents in the breakthrough to modernity of various groups and their integration into wider social and political frameworks. For education brings a progressive reduction in the gap between the usually urban ruling elites and the less modernized rural peoples. Literacy plus attitudes congruent with modernization are crucial for effective political 'penetration' by government. It must be introduced simultaneously with primary schooling so as to avoid a gap in understanding between the youth exposed to new trends and the parent generation's continued traditional orientations.(79)

(viii) Education can greatly contribute to the creation of an egalitarian society dominated by achievement and universalist norms.(80)

There are also negative aspects of the education/

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(75) Coleman, op. cit., (p. 23).
(76) Ibid., (p. 76).
(77) E. J. Hughes, Education in World Perspective, (p. 148).
(78) Ibid.
(79) Piper and Cole, op. cit., (p. 36).
(80) Coleman, op. cit., (p. 17).

conditions of political development relationship. For, educational activities and institutions can contribute to political instability and the blocking of further development by the following means:

   (i)   by creating frustrated elite aspirants as a result of the progressive devaluation of education;(81)

   (ii) by creating groups whose demands for various political rights and economic benefits are not matched by their productiveness or by their responsiveness to national developmental problems; (one good example of this is the anemic potential of the unemployed primary school-leavers)(82)

   (iii) by aggravating the conflicts and tensions within and among elites and among different ethnic, regional and parochial groups - as a result of their differing kinds and amounts of education;(83)

   (iv) by perpetuating the elite-mass gap through the creation of an elitist mentality in those who are educated, that is, the uncritical equation of education with special rights and legitimacy or even superiority.(84)

Because of the variety of possible results which can emerge from a given educational policy, educational strategies need to be very carefully selected for each E.U.C., depending upon its stage of national development. Little research has been done as yet, however, to set standards or to lay down guidelines for educational strategies which are suitable for developing countries. That is, strategies which are adaptable to the social structures of

(81)   Coleman, op. cit., (p. 523).
(82)   Piper and Cole, op. cit., (p. 46).
(83)   Coleman, op. cit., (p. 523).
(84)   Almond and Coleman, op. cit., (p. 283).

the E.U.C.'s and to the requirements of development.

The need for such standards and guidelines is great, for the specific task of education in the E.U.C.'s is different from its role in the industrialized nations. In the latter, progress in the economy and in society has preceded progress in education; whereas in the E.U.C.'s, educational systems must be geared to a future objective, to a society and an economy as yet unknown. It would appear to be a little naive of the 'Eastern' or the 'Western bloc' to assume that they can offer to Africa the techniques they use themselves, particularly in education, and to expect them to be effective in the extremely different circumstances. It would appear to be equally naive of the African E.U.C.'s to believe that they can borrow from the West only in the field of education and avoid the accompanying influence in the political and social spheres.

Educational policies are needed which will provide both the generalized standards of scientific knowledge and the unique training for life in a particular community and culture. Thus, it is necessary to place the problem of education in the broader context of the type of society that it is intended to create, while keeping in mind that no single educational prescription will serve for all time. It must be dynamic in order to contribute to and keep step with the constantly evolving and intimately related variables, political (plus economic and social) development.

CHAPTER: IV

EDUCATION AND THE ECONOMIC ASPECTS

OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Current studies of the economics of education do
not support the widely-held generalization that education
is 'the' solution to all development problems. Rather, it
is suggested, one must test what economic value education
has for a particular country at a particular stage of
development.[85]

Inputs devoted to education, which produces its
economic yield only over a long time in the future, must be
withdrawn from the production of immediately consumable
items. The period of production of human capital is longer
than that of most physical plant and equipment, suggesting
the need for even more careful long-range planning of human
investment, than of physical assets. But once produced,
human capital continues to yield services over a consider-
able number of years. Education has relation to producti-
vity and economic growth in that it increases the
individual's capacity to produce. In the Africa of today,

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(85)   T. Balogh and P. P. Streeten, "Do Investment
Models Apply to Developing Nations?", J. W. Hanson and C.
S. Brembeck, Education and the Development of Nations, (p.
137).

the economic system is assuming an increasing complexity requiring education and community development of a wide and imaginative kind. Schemes involving international finance carry with them the winning and maintenance of international trust which in turn implies political and social understanding and behavior of some sophistication on the part of both those in political authority and the body of citizens in general.(86)

Although some returns from investment in education may be expected at all stages of economic development, investment in educational facilities may produce quite low returns at certain earlier stages of economic growth. For example, at some phases of the development process, investment in social overhead, that is, in community development or related projects, and, in development of agriculture and productivity in farming and small industry may have greater priority than large-scale educational projects. But, once such projects, emphasizing overhead development, are initiated, they must in turn be supported by providing additional educational opportunities, especially among the rural population.(87)

On the other hand, a rapid and extensive educational program may produce a serious short-run misallocation

(86)   Wilson, op. cit., (p. 122).
(87)   Coleman, op. cit., (p. 563).

of resources. For example, it can be argued that large outlays on the formation of high-level manpower at a low level of economic performance may be a misplacement of funds devoted to education and to capital formation in general. Although in North America we largely view education as a 'consumptive good' to be widely distributed without being too concerned as to the rationale for its provision or distribution, few E.U.C.'s can afford this approach at present.[88]

Whereas the appearance of excess capacity in certain fields of non-human investment may have relatively unimportant political consequences, excess capacity in the realm of human capital formation is of great concern, especially if it can be expected that this excess capacity may be of some duration. No doubt in the long run the excess capacity will disappear, but this requires two interrelated developments:

(i)   the creation of additional non-human capital providing employment opportunities for the school-leavers;

(ii)   a change in outlook and, probably also, in values of the agricultural population.[89]

This is why the particular targets and priorities for educational outlays must be geared to a general economic development program. Thus, the suggestion that the

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(88)   Anderson, *op. cit.*, (p. 19).
(89)   Coleman, *op. cit.*, (p. 457).

developed countries could easily afford to pay for every
single item of education that the E.U.C.'s might need
including: educational materials, books, libraries, equip-
ment for training and research institutions, specialized
teachers and professors, overlooks the very important fac-
tor of utilization of the resultant educational product.[90]
It is doubtful that the developed states could as easily
cover this cost.

As long as a large portion of the national output
of the African E.U.C.'s is produced in the agricultural
sector, ways and means must be found to attract a more
highly skilled labor force to agriculture. A change in the
outlook and values of the rural populations must be
attempted, so as to make them realize that education and
farming can be compatible. But, at the same time, it is
clear that a crude type of subsistence farming will not be
attractive to more highly educated persons. A more modern,
scientific and economically beneficial type of farming must
evolve. Thus, it needs to be emphasized again that invest-
ment in social overhead capital which draws the rural
family into a wider circle of social interaction and which
brings to it more information and knowledge of farming, as
well as familiarization with various aspects of social and
political behavior, must be given top priority.

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(90) Hughes, op. cit., (p. 154).

Similarly, the gradual development of small
industry on modern technological and organizational lines
is dependent on the breakdown of pre-industrial attitudes
as well as upon the supply of skilled personnel. Again,
this change depends not only upon the availability of bet-
ter educated persons, but also on the increased investment
in various forms of social overhead capital, particularly
in small and medium-sized towns, market centers and similar
places.

The political consequences of such a program, of
slow, deliberate development of the major resources avail-
able in the E.U.C.'s, are likely to be more favorable than
the insistance on large-scale primary education or on a
crash program producing a large reservoir of high-level
manpower. It is the only program which may gradually pro-
duce increased political participation by the ordinary
members of the rank and file and which draws an ever-
increasing number of the members of the E.U.C.'s into the
circle of politically aware citizens. It is a program
which would encounter fewer political impediments than any
alternative program of development.[91] This factor is one
of great significance when one realizes that economic
advance becomes very sluggish in an environment of

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(91) Coleman, *op. cit.*, (p. 564).

political instability.[92]

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(92)   Organski, _op. cit._, (p. 20)

CHAPTER: V

PLANS FOR EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Education becomes a relevant factor in development only when it is properly integrated with all other major development factors. It must be education of the right kind in the proper balance and suited to the stage of development in the particular E.U.C. If viable strategies do not guide the investment in education, people will be trained for vocations they cannot enter and with knowledge they cannot apply.[93] Each African country, therefore, needs to work out a plan for the education and development of its human resources. This plan should be based on the character and traditions of its people, the stage of the country's development, and the opportunities and resources available for its advancement. It should define the country's political, social and economic goals.

Suddenly, within the past few years, education has become directional. Terms such as 'curriculum mix', 'educational costing' and manpower programming' are now common usage. The following points illustrate why the trend to educational planning in the E.U.C.'s is essential for their

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(93) F. Harbison, "Strategies for Investing in People", Hanson and Brembeck, op. cit., (p. 148).

national development:

(i) Because of the inherent conservative force in the educational systems which have been transplanted from the ex-colonial powers, there is a need for the dynamism provided by new African educational goals.

(ii) Because of the time span involved in turning out high-level manpower, an 'educational plan' is needed to ensure sufficient concentration on the strategic fields of employment and to prevent a waste of resources on specialized training which the E.U.C. cannot use as yet.

(iii) The E.U.C. must carefully calculate the allocation of scarce resources, both in the form of money and of highly-trained minds. Educational expenditure must take its place within a total national economic budget. This can be accomplished more easily if educational expenditures are set out in a long-term plan.

(iv) The E.U.C. is most likely to have continued success in attracting outside capital and assistance (both technical and financial) if it can be seen by the outside agencies that the resources provided are being fitted into a comprehensive educational development scheme which will, in the shortest time possible, enable the E.U.C. to carry on the enterprises by itself.

(v) An educational plan is useful because of the purposes and goals which are sought, many of which are national purposes and can only be achieved when all have a clear understanding of what they mean in operational terms. The achievement of such an understanding requires co-operative endeavor which can best come about through stimulation of interest at the grass roots level.

(vi) A national education plan reduces to a minimum the type of waste which comes through the inefficiency of many regional bodies tackling the same problems.(94)

A long-term plan should study how and to what extent traditional educational patterns contributed to the

(94) J. W. Hanson, "Developing a Federal Plan for Education", O. Ikejiani, Nigerian Education, (pp. 58-59).

failure of social and economic progress in the past. The
study should investigate whether or not the attitudes which
are hostile to economic progress have been the result of the
structure of education and what modifications of that
structure are needed to accelerate development. The devel-
opment planners must decide what educational 'mix', that
is, curriculum content, timing and spacing of educational
inputs will best support the interrelated political condi-
tions of economic development of a particular E.U.C., while
keeping in mind the possible political disadvantages of
increased investment in education.

Choosing a Suitable Educational 'Mix':

Some development people minimize the significance
of the curriculum, especially at the primary school level.
They argue, first of all, that any good primary school edu-
cation will be dysfunctional merely by widening a child's
horizon and by creating expectations which primitive farm-
ing cannot fulfill. Secondly, they suggest that the
vocational aspirations of children, the occupations which
they enter, are almost exclusively determined by factors
lying outside the schools. The crucial variable is the
structure of incentives within the economic system. With-
out a positive environment, no amount of, for example,
vocational instruction can be effective, since the skills

acquired will not be utilized.[95] Nonetheless, most
development planners favor subjects which promote rational
methods of thought, such as mathematics and the natural
sciences, and those which break up accepted attitudes, such
as sociology and other social studies. In addition, such
practical subjects as crafts and certain advanced agricul-
tural skills, which enable people to increase their
capacity to earn a living, are favorite choices.

Because national development is not a homogenous
process, it is not possible to decide definitively which
educational 'mix' contributes most positively to the pro-
cess. Development needs are not necessarily the same in
different institutional spheres, such as the educational,
economic or political. Indeed, they may be and frequently
are at variance with one another. Rapid educational expan-
sion does not necessarily give rise to either economic
growth or political development. Economic growth has
occurred after educational development, but in many
instances it has been politically destabilizing. Another
example of this problem is the fact that the purely econo-
mic need for universal education, in order to single out
the most capable of the population, is great. The demand
for a competent labor force cannot be effectively met by

(95) T. Balogh, "A Proposal to Relate Education
Directly to Production", Hanson and Brembeck, op. cit.,
(p. 172).

relying on a small hereditary elite. The most efficient device we have yet discovered for surveying the inherent qualities of an entire population and for drawing the best qualified into responsible positions is a compulsory system of universal education.[96] However, the negative political effects of such an educational development would largely wipe out the economic benefits.

Similarly, a social science component in the educational 'mix' is needed in order to transmit knowledge of the workings and justification for the country's political, economic and social institutions. However, its empirical orientations threaten short-term stability.

The essential problem for these developing countries is that they have many revolutions occurring, simultaneously, which in the West were spread out over several centuries. In West Africa, the introduction of a market economy has been followed within about half a century by the achievement of national independence. In addition, the social revolution is making its force felt almost immediately. The West usually had firm ground in either the economy or the polity from which to grapple with change in the other sphere. The E.U.C.'s, however, have institution

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(96) M. Millikan, "Education for Innovation", Restless Nations: A Study of World Tensions and Development, (p. 144).

building occurring in all spheres at once. New means must be found for coping with these problems, since Western (Eastern) experience can offer few guidelines.[97]

Although the problem of coordinating educational, economic and political development is a serious one, it is the economic questions that are increasingly taking the forefront in Africa. Independence, as the French are fond of pointing out, is not real without economic strength. Industrialization and 'socialism' are the prescriptions most widely accepted by African leaders. Although there is great uncertainty as to what the term 'socialism' means in the African context, there does seem to be a fairly wide-spread consensus that democratic institutions have little relevance for the African situation at the present time. The reasons usually given are that democratic institutions seem to flourish best; where authority is stable, where the state is homogenous and integrated, and where the economy is healthy and wealth differentials minimized. Unfortunately, most African E.U.C.'s have few, if any, of these qualifications.

Undoubtedly, new political and economic institutions will gradually evolve in African societies. Institutions which are perhaps not too different from those found

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(97) Wallerstein, op. cit., (p. 277).

elsewhere, but which are distinct in their adaptation to their environment. In the same way, genuinely African, though not exclusively African, educational systems will eventually emerge, hopefully retaining all that is best in the African cultural heritage plus the relevant educational experiences of other countries, that is, those factors that have proved to be exportable. It seems obvious that the successful adaptation of existing educational systems can be made best by Africans themselves. Non-indigenous planners and specialists need to be consulted, but the ultimate decisions and most practical modifications should emanate from suitably trained Africans.

Financing Education:

The educational plan that any country draws up must be framed in accordance with the estimated revenue over a period of years. In one country, for instance, it may be reasonable to plan for primary education for the whole school-age population, and secondary education for one-fifth of the total, within a period of ten years. In another E.U.C., however, it may be practicable to plan for only one-half this figure over the same period. A decision of this type is a very tricky procedure in Africa. First of all, the statistics of population, especially by age groups, are as yet necessarily very approximate. Secondly, it is terribly difficult to estimate how many children will

be sent to school in the succeeding year.(98) Finally, the
national revenue is derived to a much greater extent than
in economically developed countries from import and export
duties and from mineral royalties. Thus, national revenue,
including the percentage going to education, is liable to
fluctuate considerably from year to year depending upon the
state of the country's trade.(99)

The methods of financing education are often as
important as total outlays. A considerable share of the
costs of primary education, for example, should be borne by
local communities and villages, either through taxation or
through contributions of labor for building schools. This
is a means not only of spreading costs, but also of encour-
aging local interest in education. Since they supply the
demand for skilled labor, large business firms should help
finance the cost of technical training at the craft and at
some subprofessional levels. The major burden of expense
for education, however, must fall on the general budgets of
regional and central governments. They in turn may look
for external assistance to supplement the country's inter-
nal effort. In order to win support, though, an educational

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(98) Parents may keep children at home to help in
farming, or they may not be able to afford the cost of
school supplies.
(99) R. J. Mason, British Education in Africa, (p. 83).

project must further the borrower's total development
rather than simply be an expansion of the E.U.C.'s
educational system.[100]

Manpower Programming:

As pointed out at the beginning of this chapter,
one way in which the E.U.C.'s can economize on the too-
scarce resources available for education is to incorporate
some form of manpower programming in a country's education
plan. Requirements for manpower of relatively low skill
can be met by informal training and upgrading. The demand
for these skills creates its own supply. For high-level
administrative, technical and professional skills and for
the more demanding clerical and manual jobs, however, this
is not the case. Such occupations demand a general educa-
tion base that is usually acquired in secondary school or
college or professional training on a university level.

It is not only the industrial, technological and
commercial sectors of the economy that need skilled man-
power. But also, the central role of the government in
planning, expediting and implementing economic development
requires that its ministries be staffed by equally well-
qualified individuals. The agricultural revolution which
must accompany industrial development has demands of its

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(100) G. Tobias, "Prerequisites for International
Loans", Hanson and Brembeck, op. cit., (p. 416).

own. Finally, research institutes and the school system need top-quality personnel.[101]

Unfortunately, a program designed to enhance high-level manpower traning in an E.U.C. is likely to perpetuate and possibly even strengthen the social inequalities and with them the political inequalities presently existent. An educational planner must be careful not to sacrifice the generalization of education on a lower scale for concentration of educational outlays on high-level training. This will only widen the gap which exists between those who possess education, wealth and power and those who do not. In addition, the manpower programming component of the educational plan must be made to mesh with the state's inspected economic development. For if the planned targets are not met and positions are not created into which the newly trained high-level manpower can actually step, problems of competition for high-level positions will likely ensue and may even result in an export of high-level talented manpower from the E.U.C. This situation, moreover, establishes within the country a climate of excessive competition for jobs requiring high-level training. As a result, ascriptive orientations in the recruitment process again come to the fore. And, the close

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(101) J. W. Hanson, "The Nations's Educational Purpose", O. Ikejiani, op. cit., (p. 24).

correlation between wealth, educational achievement and political power is maintained.[102]

Another problem raised by the practice of manpower planning is that of its inherent leaning toward technological education. Admittedly, the right proportion of different vocational studies is needed in the E.U.C.; however, these must be included within a wide general education. To take from the Western educational system just those elements designed to produce, for example, engineers or geophysicists while ignoring the humanities and social sciences which mold men and citizens is a great mistake. For, what is desired in Africa is the growth of new nations and new societies, not merely the construction of new economies. It would be simplistic for one to assume that merely by means of manpower programming and by massive expenditure on technological education, any African country could turn itself in a few decades into the reality of a developed modern society. The real growth must have time to spread its roots deeply and widely throughout the community, aided by an educational system capable of preparing the population for their roles as both citizen and producer in a modernizing state.

There is nothing inherently authoritarian in the act of education planning itself. Its purpose is simply to

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(102) Coleman, op. cit., (p. 559).

assist all those responsible for educational investments by
increasing their understanding of the consequences of
alternative patterns of resource allocation. 'Consensus'
planning rather than the communistic 'command' planning is
favored by most of the African E.U.C.'s. A compromise
position can be found between manpower programming and
allowance for the exercise of complete individual choice.
Public policy can establish many non-mandatory incentives
and disincentives which will result in the kinds of student
flows that will come closer to economizing than would a
completely laissez-faire approach. Although supporting the
type of graduates who are in short supply through scholar-
ships and fellowships seems a very natural procedure, it is
surprising how often this is not done. On the other hand,
tuition charges equivalent to full costs would appear to be
an equitable way to discourage course selection which is
mainly consumption-oriented. Because the demand for educa-
tion almost always far exceeds the supply, definite limits
must be in effect to ration the amount of education that a
society can afford.

Regarding the practical application of the plan,
the educational planners must review the existing school
system to see whether or not it is as efficient as it
should be. In many E.U.C.'s, for instance, there are
schools giving incomplete or inefficient courses, and there

are many pupils who do not complete the courses they have
entered. Furthermore, the planners should review the util-
ization of the high-level manpower already available. For,
the absence of middle-level manpower usually results in
highly-trained people wasting their time doing things that
could be done by others with less skill or training. Until
the flow of secondary school graduates becomes more abun-
dant, however, this problem will not be completely
solved.[103]

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(103) Harbison and Myers, op. cit., (p. 266).

CHAPTER: VI

THE EDUCATIONAL COMPONENT OF AMERICAN AID

The declared purpose of American foreign aid is to
contribute to the creation of a "community of free nations
cooperating on matters of mutual concern, basing their
political systems on consent and progressing on economic
welfare and social justice".[104] Within this general aid
framework, the U.S.A. has an official policy giving primacy
to educational development in the E.U.C.'s. The 'Act for
International Development' of 1961 made this policy
explicit:

> ...programs of development of education and human
> resources through such means as technical coopera-
> tion shall be emphasized and the furnishing of cap-
> ital facilities for purposes other than the
> development of educational and human resources
> shall be given a lower priority until the requisite
> knowledge and skills have been developed.[105]

Again, in 1966, there were indications of the
A.I.D. administrator's belief in the causal relationship
between education and political and economic development
when President Johnson presented their request to Congress
for an expansion of the American international education
effort:

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(104) Packenham, op. cit., (p. 195).
(105) Coleman, op. cit., (p. 4).

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...because programs to advance education are basic
building blocks to lasting peace...they represent a
long-term commitment in the U.S.A.'s national
interest.(106)

During the 1950's, capital and technical
assistance(107) had been the only types of American aid
sent to the E.U.C.'s. However, by the end of the decade it
became obvious that additional factors were needed to
achieve steady economic and political growth. The human
being was finally recognized as a factor of production and
a critical link in the development process. Thus, educa-
tional assistance became an acceptable old component. It
was now argued, for example, that only in a society where
the need for achievement was strongly felt did development
occur. It was decided, therefore, that the U.S.A.'s tech-
nical training should be presented in such a way as to
stimulate constructive inquiry on the part of the recipi-
ent. This was to apply both to in-service or on-the-job
training and to formal education within the universities.

Between 1959-1962, the U.S.A. increased the size of

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(106)   President L. B. Johnson, "The Proposed
International Education Act", School and Society, (p. 186).
    (107)   Re Technical Assistance: when an E.U.C.
lacks the skills necessary to use capital productively,
importing such skills becomes necessary. This was the
basic idea which originally lay behind technical assistance.
It means supplying professional people to the E.U.C. and
accepting the nationals of that country for training in the
economically developed nation. It may also include the
supplying of small items of capital equipment, usually of
an educational character.

the educational component of technical assistance to the
E.U.C.'s from 17.5% to 31.9%. One out of every five U.S.A.
dollars in technical aid is now channelled into assisting
education. And, E.U.C. officials have been encouraged by
U.S.A. advisers to devote larger and larger proportions of
their national budgets to education.[108]

At the same time, A.I.D. administrators have
learned that it is wise to underplay the political and
emphasize the economic considerations when offering support
for an E.U.C.'s educational system. It is natural that of
all the components of American foreign policy, educational
assistance is among the most suspect by the E.U.C.'s. For,
it presents the opportunity to mold men's minds, to spread
ideologies. Distinguishing between 'education' and 'propa-
ganda' is a difficult task, for both the State Department
and the recipient, because the two are integrally mixed,
separation is never complete.

Thus, most aid recipients would rather not have
technical assistance deal with subjects that have political
overtones. They are suspicious of the motives of the
American government. Consequently, they generally request
only that assistance which has direct relevance to economic
development, with the view that political development will

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(108) Coleman, op. cit., (p. 522).

be an automatic or inevitable by-product of the latter.
Unfortunately, this is not the case. Certainly, they are
interrelated, nonetheless, political growth must be just as
consciously sought and implemented as economic or social
growth.[109]

A.I.D.'s reaction has been to incorporate in its
educational assistance package not only those things which
are known to enhance economic and social development, but
also the limited ways and means discovered thus far to pre-
pare the conditions for political development.[110] For
example, the American universities now have an increasingly
significant impact on the development of political institu-
tions and behavior in the host countries by means of the
American government's technical assistance programs. Dis-
tribution of the findings of the social and behavioral
sciences, for instance, can help students in the E.U.C.'s:

   (i)   to know the workings of their country's
        political, economic and cultural institutions;
  (ii)   to understand their social environment and
        their role in it;
 (iii)   to gain an appreciation of the dynamics of
        human psychology and of historical change;
  (iv)   to learn the rights and responsibilities of
        freedom;
   (v)   to develop analytical skills;
  (vi)   to develop confidence in their ability to
        influence government by legitimate means;

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(109) Piper and Cole, op. cit., (p. 122).
(110) Few empirical studies have been done of the
impact of aid on the economies, on the social systems, and
especially on the politics of the E.U.C.'s.

(vii)   to increase their familiarization with the
        factors of development;
(viii) to increase their alertness to the problems
        facing their nation in its relations with the
        rest of Africa and the world.(111)

Admittedly, there are a number of difficulties
involved in communicating the relevance of the social sci-
ences to the E.U.C.'s. In the first place, there is the
culture-bound character of many of the findings of the
'applied' social sciences in the U.S.A. Secondly, the
American studies often have a definite bias toward the
maintenance of stability, rather than toward understanding
and guiding change. While the above two drawbacks can be
overcome without too much difficulty, a more serious obsta-
cle is presented by the politically destabilizing effect of
the social sciences. Their empirical orientations clash
with the authoritarianism exhibited by many of the ruling
elites in the E.U.C.'s. The presence of social scientists
tends to erode public and private commitment to traditional
values merely by means of a systematic questioning and
objective analysis of these values. Furthermore, many pol-
itical elites distrust the probing by social scientists
into power relationships and popular attitudes.

As in the case of every other regionally-relevant
field of study, the applicability of the stock of

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(111) J. W. Hanson, "The Nation's Educational
Purpose", O. Ikejiani, Nigerian Education, (p. 28).

generalizations of the social sciences will have to be tested in the African environment. Once this research and observation can be carried out by properly trained Africans, it is likely that such studies will cause less friction than at present. Furthermore, the relevance and utility of the social sciences should then become more widely and positively accepted.[112]

About 20% of the U.S.A.'s A.I.D. - financed technicians throughout the world are working in the field of education, and 516 of the 1251 A.I.D.-financed educators in 1965 were concentrated in Africa. These educators are mainly from U.S. universities and colleges with which A.I.D. contracts to provide technical assistance for the E.U.C.'s.[113] Whereas once the emphasis was on thousands of foreign students travelling to the U. S. A., attention is now shifting to the work of American professors who take up residence in foreign institutions around the world. It should be emphasized that it is as professors, not as advisors, that these people are now being called to serve. Because he is practicing the profession for which his credentials and experience best qualify him, the professor runs less risk of being seen as an alien force.

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(112) E. W. Weidner, "The Professor Abroad: Twenty Years of Change", The Annals, American Academy of Political and Social Science, (pp. 64-68).

(113) D. Randell, "U.S. Aid in Africa", Current History, (p. 25).

Initially, the roles performed by professors abroad were of the following nature: teaching, research, technical cooperation and administration. Each role brought its distinctive problems, failures and successes. Teaching roles proved difficult because of the great differences in university systems from country to country; and, because of the different environmental conditions that had to be dealt with by the regional sciences. Research roles were difficult because many countries became increasingly resistant to research by foreigners, especially if host nationals did not have a substantial part in it. The traditional approach to technical cooperation in the past has become outmoded or, at least, inapplicable in a growing number of countries. Finally, administrative assignments were successful only in proportion to the efforts of the host institutions, or agency, to seek permanent replacements from local personnel. The strengthening of the educational elite of the E.U.C.'s is one major justification of programs of educational exchange at the professorial level. Gradually, administrative roles will decline in number, since host-university administrative positions will be filled by fully-trained nationals. And, technical assistance projects will decline in numbers and importance to be gradually replaced by technical co-operation undertakings with greater stress on mutual approaches to mutual problems. Hopefully, each

party will benefit more or less equally by the
experience.[114]

Another change resulting from the gradual emergence
of stronger educational institutions in the African
E.U.C.'s is the shift in emphasis from undergraduate to
graduate training in the U.S.A. for African students. From
A.I.D.'s point of view, the one consideration favoring
American over indigenous undergraduate education is the
greater malleability of the younger student in personality
and basic attitudes. Thus, the chances of his returning
home stripped of a traditional outlook regarding political,
economic and social institutions, and also returning with
more favorable views of Americans and their types of insti-
tutions, are greater than they are for the older, more
mature graduate student. For the latter individual has
already undergone a socialization process during his under-
graduate training at home in an institution with more
traditional leanings. Unfortunately, the chances of the
younger student becoming alienated from his home society
and dependent on American facilities and consumer benefits
that will not be available to him at home often wipe out
the previously mentioned benefit of undergraduate training
in the U.S.A. The consensus seems to be among development

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(114) K. W. Thompson, "American Education and the
Developing Areas", The Annals, American Academy of Politi-
cal and Social Science, (pp. 17-26).

analysts, that the advantages of an indigenous undergraduate education far outweigh those of foreign training.[115]

Generally, it costs less to establish and man an educational institution in an E.U.C. than to ship the same number of students to foreign universities and maintain them there. In addition, it enables the student to study with those who will later furnish the country's leadership needs. Ties of mutual respect and national self-consciousness form around a common educational experience. A greater awareness of the nation's problems and its human resources develop in its own classrooms. The curriculum is more likely to be relevant to the indigenous environment, and the benefits resulting from the expansion of the educational system are more likely to extend into local communities to meet pressing social development needs there than would be the case if undergraduate training was received in a foreign country.[116]

On the other hand, in order for study abroad to advance national development, a chain of many links has to be completed. Sufficiently able persons have to be enrolled in training institutions overseas. They have to learn something that is potentially transferable to use in their home country. They then must return to the E.U.C. and

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(115)   Piper and Cole, op. cit., (p. 73).
(116)   Thompson, op. cit., (p. 22).

after returning be motivated to put their training to use
in areas where it will make a contribution to national
growth. Sufficient evidence is available to make it clear
that obstacles existing in the E.U.C. to the utilization of
knowledge and skill, learned abroad, greatly limit the
effectiveness of much foreign study. With regard to gradu-
ate study, however, few if any new African universities are
prepared for full-fledged programs. Faculty development
must precede the launching of across-the-board graduate
training even though the pressures for rapid creation of
graduate schools in Africa will undoubtedly increase.

The Peace Corps is America's distinctive aid symbol
in Africa. As of April 15, 1966, there were 4029 P.C. vol-
unteers in Africa. More than 80% of all P.C.V.'s in Africa
are teaching. Many difficulties have been discovered in
teaching in a non-Western society. First of all, it is
found that much greater demands are placed on the teacher
in an E.U.C. For example, a teacher must often teach a
class of 60-70 students. Secondly, foreign teachers find
it difficult to teach properly when they lack such essen-
tials as sufficient texts or writing materials. Thirdly,
in teaching non-Western children, the teacher is only occa-
sionally able to refer back to what the kids have learned
at home. Nevertheless, studies indicate that volunteer
teachers are meeting a real need. It is no accident that
nearly 50% of all P.C.V. teachers are located in sub-Sahara

Africa, where the average illiteracy rate in 1962 was between 80-85% and where only three out of every one hundred children can look forward to receiving a secondary school education.

The probability that the new concepts introduced in the schools will "take" increases with the degree of reinforcement and legitimation received from the family and community. Therefore, for a P.C.V. to be effective, social change throughout the community as well as among the youth is required. For example, P.C. teachers can help to weaken development-retarding attitudes toward manual labor. The teacher who lives modestly and does not hesitate to indulge in manual labor, despite his education and profession, is a living embodiment of the Western 'work' ethic. [117]

The recurrent cost problem, once money has been found for construction of new educational facilities, will be a major one for the new states. External assistance may be forthcoming: for the establishment of some facilities, for the initial staff, for training new staff, for acquiring books and developing new teaching materials and generally for launching expanded programs. However, it does not seem likely that external aid can be relied on to meet annual costs for maintenance and staff for years to

(117) A. Deutschman, "Volunteers (Peace Corps) in the Field: Teaching", The Annals, American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, (pp. 73-81).

come. For example, once Africans acquire technical and other special training, the problem arises of paying them a sufficient amount to keep them at home. Doctors, engineers, etc. can usually find far more remunerative positions by working in an economically developed country. This is an embarassing aspect of the international manpower problem, it brings one back to the interlocking facts of economic/ educational growth. In an effort to alleviate this problem, the governments of the African E.U.C.'s and the U.S.A. cooperate in efforts to make educational scholarships conditional on specific commitments for the recipients to return to their home country for at least a minimum period of service.[118]

New Approaches to Educational Assistance:

From the standpoint of the world's donor nations, what is called for now is something more than allocation of a larger fraction of development assistance budgets to the educational sphere. What is needed, it is suggested, is a massive effort to focus the best and most imaginative minds of the developed and E.U.C. worlds co-operatively on the problem of redesigning the existing educational systems to be more in tune with national development needs. As recently as 1960, it was being argued in both the U.S.A.

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(118) A. Rivkin, The African Presence in World Affairs, (p. 115).

and Britain that there was no need to train professionally young American and British graduates volunteering to teach in Africa.[119] This decision, it is suggested, overlooks the fact that the main contribution that the West can make to African education at this point is none other than professional quality.

We cannot solve the problems facing agriculture, health, transportation or industry in the E.U.C.'s by exporting our present technology, our second-hand machines and our second-rate people. Similarly, we cannot give valid help to African education by exporting our standard educational methods or poorly-trained teachers. Indeed, the developed donor countries need to give much more serious and more imaginative thought to the design of new techniques for education in the underdeveloped states than they need to in their own countries.

The E.U.C.'s must be provided with more and better technical help to evolve educational plans, but the latter should reflect primarily the Africans' determination of needs and priorities, not the preconceptions of visiting advisors. Indigenous educational planners must be trained to use foreign aid effectively. They need to know: how to benefit most from existing opportunities for sending

(119) J. Wilson, Education and Changing West African Culture, (p. 89).

students abroad; what different types of aid are available;
and what the criteria of aid-giving agencies are. In
E.U.C.'s already obtaining external aid from a number of
sources, planners need to coordinate these aid efforts and
insure that they are integrated into the overall national
development program.(120)

One reason for the inadequacy of both bilateral and
multilateral foreign aid in the past has been the lack of
knowledge of the situation that the assistance was meant to
correct. This knowledge can be acquired only through a
program of specialized education in the donor country. A
training program which would teach about other cultures,
their languages, their resources and their problems with a
greater thoroughness than have been the case to date. In
1966, the U.S.A., in an attempt to eradicate this problem,
established an Exchange Peace Corps, that is, foreign vol-
unteers come to the U.S.A. to teach their own languages and
lecture on the nature of their cultures, in American col-
leges. At the same time, a career corps of Americans
engaged in assistance to the E.U.C.'s was established.(121)

Donor nations make a further contribution by
developing new teaching methods and new gadgetry that will
make it possible for the E.U.C.'s to achieve their educa-

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(120) G. Benveniste, "Priorities in Research",
Hanson and Brembeck, op. cit., (p. 98).
(121) School and Society, April 2, 1966, (p. 187).

tional objectives with inputs of resources which they can afford. The kinds of innovation needed will become clearer if one takes a look at the real resources which an educational system requires. The most important of these and the scarcest are teachers, who are themselves products of the educational system. In economic terms, education is an industry which requires, as one of its major inputs, a substantial fraction of its own output. This circular relationship imposes limits on the feasible rate of growth of education by conventional methods.

Thus, innovation which significantly shortens the time it takes to bring a student to a given educational level will be very helpful. There is some evidence that the learning process in certain fields will soon be greatly accelerated. Furthermore, anything which can increase the number of students with whom a teacher can effectively deal at any one time reduces the cost of education in terms of teacher hours per student. Once the effectiveness of educational television, for example, has been more firmly established, it will then be necessary to make a very careful computation of the trade-off in economy, between teacher hours, and expensive equipment. Another hopeful direction to explore is the development of inexpensive teaching aids which can increase the teaching effectiveness and productivity of a relatively inexperienced and/or poorly educated teacher. Other major and costly inputs in

education are buildings, laboratories, equipment and books. Much more effective innovation in the design of inexpensive items of this kind is needed if the educational problems of the E.U.C.'s are to be made economically soluble.[122]

In terms of absolute size, the over-all American educational assistance figure, including private activities, is undoubtedly larger than that of any other nation. But, relative to national resources and to foreign commitments and obligations, the U.S.A.'s public activity in this field is smaller than that of France and possibly even of the United Kingdom.[123] However, if the 1966 'International Education Act' is an indicator of future American policy in the field, as is believed by many observers, there will likely be a significant increase in the yearly American aid allottment to education in the years ahead. In addition, an ever-broadening base of mutual interest in education has recently become apparent. Interest is evident in not just the world's major aid donors, but also in many lesser states and in many international organizations and trust funds. Hopefully, this will lead to a mutually beneficial and expanded exchange of ideas, educators and students across national boundaries.

(122) Millikan, op. cit., (pp. 137-146).
(123) P. H. Coombs, The Fourth Dimension of Foreign Policy: Educational and Cultural Affairs, (p. 95).

<u>International Educational Assistance</u>:

It is highly likely that during the next few years one will see a gradual replacement of bilateral programs with multilateral ones and the channelling of educational assistance more and more through international agencies. U.N.E.S.C.O., for example, has two particularly strategic assets: first of all, the expertise and international leadership position it has developed, especially in educational planning and development; and, secondly, the great confidence it enjoys among the E.U.C.'s. These countries understandably prefer to get advice on the politically delicate matter of shaping their educational future from an international agency which they consider to be objective, rather than from an individual nation with its own self-interest to consider. Thus, U.N.E.S.C.O. has recently been overwhelmed with requests for educational planning assistance from its E.U.C. members. As a result, U.N.E.S.C.O. has become a much more operational agency than it was originally designed to be.(124)

Each economically developed country is continually considering whether or not, in the light of present day change, its education remains relevant. The same holds true in the African E.U.C.'s. They are concerned that their education reflect whatever was worthwhile in the past

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(124) Coombs, <u>op. cit.,</u> (p. 75).

in addition to serving the political, social and economic
ends which are future goals. Even more, perhaps, in Africa
than in such developed states as Britain, France and the
U.S.A., a frequent review of existing conditions is diffi-
cult to carry out because change is occurring so rapidly.

As has been suggested in this Chapter, the
economically developed parts of the world can do a great
deal to assist educational development in the E.U.C.'s.
Those who are knowledgable in the social sciences in parti-
cular can contribute by helping to gather and analyze more
comprehensive information as to the potential role of edu-
cation in developing the E.U.C.'s. We realize that it is
no longer good enough simply to say that education in the
E.U.C.'s must be 'suited to their needs' or be 'practical'.
However, we have yet to replace these catch words with
careful analysis and synthesis of our accumulated experi-
ence or with experimentation inspired by reasonable
hypotheses and generalizations. Considering the concern of
the social sciences with the development question and the
relevance of education for all forms of development, it is
to be hoped that more social scientists throughout the
world will be very shortly tackling this complex but
urgent project.

APPENDIX

THE RELEVANCE OF EDUCATION TO DEVELOPMENT

IN NORTHERN NIGERIA

Although detailed studies of the structural forms
in Northern Nigeria's traditional society are of great
importance, the level of generality at which this section
will be carried out is appropriate to the purpose in this
particular thesis. Rather than attempting to draw together
a mass of heterogeneous ethnographic information in order
to examine what is meant by the 'political culture' in
Northern Nigeria, the following paragraphs will isolate
those details of the culture which appear relevant to an
analysis of the current role of education in the
development of that region.

In the Northern Region of Nigeria today, the
dominant cultural group is the Hausa-Fulani, even though
the two groups involved have certain racial differences.
The Fulani, originally a cattle people, emerged in the
region of Senegal, but spread throughout the savannah area
of West Africa and were welcomed by the Hausas, who allowed
the Fulani's cattle to graze on their land. Gradually the
Fulani split into two groups, some settling in towns,
becoming learned in the Islamic culture, intermarrying with

the Hausa and acting as political advisors.

The Hausa civilization at this time was character-
ized by a strong sense of cultural and linguistic identity
without any political unity. There never existed anything
which could be termed a Hausa empire. The basis for their
cultural and linguistic unity was the highly developed com-
mercial sense of the Hausa, who were expert traders. In
the early nineteenth century, the Fulani led a movement of
Islamic religious revival, a 'Jihad', which established
them as a ruling aristocracy in the north of present-day
Nigeria. The Jihad resulted in a structure of power based
on an entirely new principle of authority which was essen-
tially a form of feudalism. The new rulers had no
traditional tribal claim to loyalty. Their authority was
based on the force they could command, on the prestige of
Islam, and on the oaths sworn by subordinates. Each local
'emir' (cf. English Lord) controlled large bodies of cav-
alry, the leaders of which were of aristocratic birth and
thus were given official positions and functions within the
new state, either at the capital as retainers or as chiefs
of subordinate towns and villages.

The local emirs were grouped together in two
pyramids. The Western group came under the direction of
the suzerain emir of Gwandu. The Eastern group was
directed by the sultan of Sokoto. However, the unity of

the empire was very loose and almost all the day-to-day affairs of each emirate were in the absolute control of the local emir.[1] Rule was hereditary, though the emir's successor was not necessarily his eldest son, but could be chosen in a variety of ways from a single royal dynasty.[2]

The Fulani managed to maintain their ruling position through the colonial period and into independence. They avoided any serious Hausa-Fulani racial conflict by admitting the Hausa to their ruling circles, by intermarrying with them, and by leading the Hausa in the direction of a purer form of Islam.

Beginning in 1900, British forces were engaged in a series of campaigns against the Fulani emirs and, by 1906, all resistance had been overcome. The British commander Lugard was careful to emphasize, after his victory, that his object was merely to establish a British title to sovereignty. He made it clear that there would be no interference with Islamic law and that the existing Moslem courts would continue, as would the emir's administration.[3]

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[1] P. J. Foster, _Education and Social Change in Ghana_, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965, London, (pp. 9-102).
[2] F. A. O. Schwarz, Jr., _Nigeria: The Tribes, the Nation, or the Race_, MIT Press, 1965, Cambridge, (p. 30).
[3] Foster, _op. cit._, (p. 137).

The Role of Education in the Pre-Independence Period:

The Fulani rulers soon realized that the imposition of colonial rule was to their advantage. Now that they were sanctioned in office by the British, they could scarcely be overthrown by popular revolt. Furthermore, the continued control of the Fulani rulers meant that they could strictly regulate the Christian missionaries and thus prevent the development of a Northern-educated elite.

However, the Fulani had few worries regarding the matter of education, for the British authorities went to great efforts to ensure that the schools which were set up would not disrupt the existing social system. With few exceptions, all those who received even the rudiments of Western education (religion and Arabic were the prominent courses) were absorbed by the 'native administrations'.[4] Furthermore, a substantial number of those who were educated, especially at the secondary level, were sons of titled families or of high-ranking officials. Thus, their future career and status were determined for them. For those graduates of non-aristocratic birth, there was, as mentioned above, no scarcity of career openings in the 'native administrations'. In addition, strong social and political

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(4) Thus, there was never any problem of a large group of unemployed school-leavers emerging such as played an important role in the nationalist movement in the South.

forces persuaded them to accept the status quo.(5) But, in
addition, there was a comparative lack of freedom of the
press, of speech, and of association in the North. More-
over, teachers who elsewhere in Nigeria and in surrounding
African colonies became radical nationalist leaders were,
in the Northern Region, limited in the extent to which they
could participate in politics, because practically all
Northern schools were controlled by the native
administrations.(6)

Every effort was made by the British to adapt the
Northern educational system to the environment. This was
done mainly because of Lugard's belief that Christian ideas
and Western literary education, as in the South, would work
against the successful development of his system of 'indi-
rect rule', resting as it did on the continued power of
traditional authority.(7) To a degree, his analysis was
correct. The two areas of the Northern Region where the
emirs had allowed missionaries to open schools were Nupe
and Zaria. These two exceptions were important in the
awakening of racial consciousness and nationalism in the
Northern Region, because a few of the early leaders of

(5) J. S. Coleman, Nigeria: Background to Nation-
alism, University of California Press, 1958, Berkeley, (p.
356). The Hausa regard obedience to their chief and loy-
alty to their superiors as doctrines of Islam. Ibid.,
(p. 352).
(6) Ibid., (pp. 355-357).
(7) Ibid., (p. 136).

organized nationalist activity in the North were Northerners who had received their early education in the mission schools of Nupe and Zaria.[8]

On the other hand, Lugard's attempt to adapt Western-type schools, that is, formal educational institutions, to the traditional social structures in Northern Nigeria was quite meaningless. Western education is dysfunctional for traditional social structures and systems of status differentiation, largely irrespective of what the schools teach. This is because formal education constitutes a new dimension of social structure. To appreciate this fact, one must distinguish between the terms 'education' and 'schools'. In pre-colonial times in Northern Nigeria, as in the case of most African traditional societies, education was conducted largely by means of informal agencies and, generally speaking, was undifferentiated in its basic content except by sex.[9] The major function of the informal pattern of indigenous education was the transmission of an essentially common culture and the maintenance of social cohesion. Thus, education performed a homogenizing function. But, where formal educational institutions begin to appear, they create a criterion of social differentiation which was non-existent or minimal in

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(8) Ibid.
(9) J. E. Flint, Nigeria and Ghana, Prentice-Hall, 1966, New Jersey, (pp. 6-7).

traditional society.[10] They necessarily become a significant dimension of social status in a number of emergent social structures.

It is impossible to wholly disentangle the effects of Western educational institutions 'per se' from other consequences of European overrule and contact in Northern Nigeria. There was, however, a gradual awakening of the Northern people to the desirability of education, though before the end of World War II there was little open criticism of the existing indigenous variety. For, as noted previously, the nature of the Islamic religion as institutionalized in NorthernNigeria, unaffected by the disorganizing influence of individualistic Christian ideals[11] or of an English-oriented literary educational system,[12] and, strengthened by an ultraconservative political structure, would not allow dissent to be uttered by the Northern masses.

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(10) Coleman, op. cit., (pp. 32-33). In societies with a more greatly developed educational system, educational institutions have a dual function, that is, they are both homogenizing and differentiating agencies.

(11) Indigenous education focused attention on the group. The African child was regarded simply as a member of the group with birth fixing for life the social status of practically all individuals. In contrast, the European educational ideal placed primary stress upon the individual as an autonomous personality. Ibid., (p. 115).

(12) Concepts such as the 'rights of man', 'self-government' and 'democracy' are more likely to emerge in the context of academic schooling than in institutions designed to 'fit' the African environment. Flint, op. cit., (p. 297).

Yet, beneath the surface, there were signs of an emerging desire on the part of Northern youth for wider educational opportunities.[13] The emergent conceptions of social status based on education and occupation resulted partially from the Northerners' observation of the small groups of colonial officials and educated Southerners who had come to work and live in the North. But, in addition, as nationalist activity began to gather momentum in the South after World War II, Northern leaders and the educated elements were drawn more and more into the midst of 'Nigerian' political life. They were abruptly shocked by their region's educational and material backwardness compared to other areas. And, they were quick to realize that in a self-governing Nigeria the North, because of its educational backwardness, would be dominated by educated Southern nationalists.[14]

The Role of Education in Building a Nation:

We have already seen the tremendous significance of the British decision to pursue different educational policies in Northern and Southern Nigeria. Isolation of the Northern Region from the disruptive influences that were transforming the South left it backward, fearful and resentful, and left the South scornful of the North. The

(13)   Coleman, op. cit., (p. 139).
(14)   Ibid., (p. 140).

resulting tension has distorted and troubled Nigerian
politics and made integration of the two areas infinitely
more difficult.[15]

In the immediate post-independence period, the new
leaders faced the task of trying to create a new 'Nigerian'
sense of the word 'nation' to replace the old pattern of
'national' groupings[16] based on traditional culture and
language areas.

Unfortunately, the trend toward tribal and regional-
religious political parties, which began prior to indepen-
dence, continued in the post-colonial period. This was an
inevitable consequence of the greater participation by the
people in the country's affairs. Politicians quickly per-
ceived that tribal, regional and religious loyalties were
the 'issues' with the greatest mass appeal. Because the
parties were essentially representative of total regional
interests, or at least of the total interests of the domi-
nant cultural group in each region, there were no important
ideological differences between the Nigerian parties. Each
contained within itself, in varying degrees, representation

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(15) Schwartz, op. cit., (p. 29).
(16) Nigeria was, at that time (and still is),
dominated by three main cultural groupings: Hausa-Fulani;
Ibo; and Yoruba, which correspond closely to the main
geographical zones and to the regional structure of the
late federation. These three groups later expressed them-
selves in the three main political parties of Nigeria.

of many divergent interests and ideological beliefs. Thus,
Nigerian political issues did not polarize around policies
to be followed in the social or economic field. All par-
ties, for example, were 'for' national development,
especially economic, and all encouraged foreign 'capitalist'
investment.[17]

However, without first obtaining a greater degree
of national unity, that is, something more than just the
political unit created by the constitution-makers, efforts
at national development[18] were continually thwarted. The
stumbling block was always the conservatism of the Northern
leaders. Seventy-five to ninety-five per cent of the total
Northern membership in the House of Representatives was
from the 'native authorities'. The majority of them were
either central officials or district heads, thus emphasiz-
ing the extent to which the Fulani[19] had been

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(17) Foster, op. cit., (p. 20).
(18) The three aspects of national development
emphasized were: increasing economic productivity, increas-
ing geographic and social mobility, and increasing the pol-
itical efficiency in mobilizing the human and material
resources of the nation for national goals.
(19) Islam is more directly associated with
politics in Nigeria than is Christianity, because the
former religion is a more pervasive one than the latter.
It is a total religion without the Christian concept of
separation of secular and religious concerns. Schwartz,
op. cit., (p. 48). But, despite the all-embracing nature
of Islam plus the great age of its laws, conservatism is
not a necessary consequence of the Moslem religion. A num-
ber of Moslem countries, including Egypt, Algeria and
Pakistan, regularly carry out radical policies within an
Islamic environment.

institutionalized in the new federal government.[20]

The majority party in the North was the Northern People's Congress (N.P.C.). At its inaugural conference, N.P.C. leaders were careful to say that they would not usurp the authority of 'our natural rulers'.[21] Deference to tradition, plus hints of reform, were the dominant notes. In August of 1950, the more radical members of the N.P.C. formed the Northern Elements Progressive Union (N.E.P.U.). Whereas the N.P.C. was initially stimulated by the fear of Southern domination and of 'domestic levellers', the N.E.P.U. was primarily concerned with the reform of Northern institutions.[22] A dominant theme of the N.E.P.U. has also been that of a united Nigeria as distinguished from the strong regional separatism of the N.P.C. The difference between the parties was further reflected in the backgrounds of their leadership and candidates. The N.P.C. was led by the Sardauna of Sokota, and the candidates were largely aristocrats or their loyal retainers. On the other hand, petty traders, shopkeepers, independent artisans and craftsmen were heavily represented among the N.E.P.U. leaders and candidates.[23]

At present, the Hausa-Fulani may be said to

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(20) Coleman, op. cit., (p. 379).
(21) Schwartz, op. cit., (p. 75).
(22) Coleman, op. cit., (p. 365).
(23) Schwartz, op. cit., (pp. 76-77).

represent a single cultural pattern and system of authority
in the North, expressed through the N.P.C. The Southern
part of the Northern region, however, contains many smaller
cultural groups which have only been partially influenced
by Islam, and others which are actively hostile to Islam.
In general, the Northern Region south of the Benue River is
not Hausa-Fulani or Moslem in culture, but has more histor-
ical connections with the Southern Region. Thus, it can be
speculated that the whole area from Bussa to the Tiv coun-
try is fertile ground for attempts to break the hold of the
N.P.C.[24] Despite the N.P.C.'s stated objective of 'tra-
ditionalism' plus 'moderate and progressive reform', they
are held back by the reactionary emirs who fear the loss of
their powers and prestige. The N.E.P.U., on the other
hand, has no such braking device. In addition, they are
committed to unity, which is the first major goal of the
rest of the country's leaders in their drive for national
development.

Each succeeding African generation, since the first
cultural contact with the West, has had a slightly differ-
ent perspective.[25] This is especially true regarding
political matters. For example, the nationalist leaders at

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(24) Foster, op. cit., (pp. 9-10). Prediction is
a risky and often unrewarding procedure. However, an
attempt may result in some partial insights.
(25) Coleman, op. cit., (p. 411).

the time of independence would settle for nothing less than
a democratic system of government. And, imitation being
the sincerest form of flattery, the British authorities
failed to suggest that the Africans should perhaps 'lower
their sights' a little until national development had got
underway. Now, however, it seems likely that if certain
members of the elite in Nigeria decide that democracy is
inconsistent with national unity, their desire for national
unity is likely to triumph over their desire for
democracy. (26)

Nigeria's first attempt at democracy failed, it is
suggested, because the political parties, especially those
of the North, did not assist the unifying task by becoming
more 'national' in outlook. As a result, the federal
government was not able to proceed with the trend toward
unification started by the British, that is, the destruc-
tion of the old agricultural, social and economic systems.

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(26) The replacement of Nigerian politicians by
the rule of the army in the first coup was met with enthu-
siastic popular response, especially in the South. It
seems clear that if democracy is restored in the near
future, it will not be as a result of popular pressures.
For the absence of sharp ideological differences between
the parties helped to create a cynical atmosphere in which
corruption became a major problem. Deep bitterness against
the corrupt political practices was especially strong among
the present generation of university students and among
intellectuals not directly involved in political life.
This bitterness gradually created a negative attitude
toward democratic institutions, which were blamed for the
prevalence of corruption. As a result, a more autocratic
regime is desired by many. Foster, op. cit. (p. 22).

And the major reason why the parties did not concentrate on national issues was because the overwhelming majority of the Nigerian people in each Region, but especially in the North, was not sufficiently advanced to respond to issues other than those of Region, tribe and religion. The primary basis of a political democracy is a literate and informed electorate capable of making the decisions which the political system requires of it. If intelligent decisions are to be reached and if the population is to be able to register its judgements effectively, literacy is a minimum requirement. For the great mass of the Nigerian people, the choice between tribe and nation was not even relevant. The tribe, or subtribe, was relevant; the nation, if known, was secondary.

Because of the extremely low level of development in the Northern Region, there was no strong transregional or transtribal class, or even a nationwide interest group[27] which could lend support to the federal government in its efforts to do the following: establish central political rule over the whole country; maintain this rule in the face of ethnic divisions and separatist movements; create some

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(27) The persistence of traditional patterns of affiliation cross-cut objective strata based upon occupation, education and income, thus militating against the emergence of clearly defined interest groups in Northern Nigeria.

pattern of national economic unification; extend political
authority to the villages through the creation of a
national bureaucracy and political parties; and to expand
the meaning of nationhood to engage the efforts and loyalty
of the mass of the citizenry. [28]

It is suggested that the principal role of formal
education in the early stages of national development does
not lie in the creation of human skills in the economic
sense of the word. Its role is rather that of emphasizing
the sense of nationhood in all the people. This can not be
done by destroying tribal, clan and family loyalties and
responsibilities, but rather by transforming them into loy-
alties and responsibilities to an ever-widening social
group and by teaching each to respect the traditions and
the contributions of all the others. Literate persons tend
to be less parochial in their attitudes, less prejudiced
against strangers and more able to weigh the views of
strangers on their merits than can illiterate persons. [29]

But, in addition to the desirability of expanding
literacy in Nigeria, there is a need for inter-regional
national high schools and regional universities to give
expression to the growth of better feelings among all

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(28) These are the steps suggested by A. F. K.
Organski in _The Stages of Political Development_, Knopf,
1965, New York, for the process of unification of a
primitive society.
(29) Schwartz, _op. cit._, (p. 164).

regions and all tribes. Selective secondary schools[30]
with boarding facilities enable recruitment to rest on a
wide ethnic basis. The experience of living and learning
together can be instrumental in reducing ethnic loyalties
or at least distrust, because of 'ignorance of the other
fellow'. The common educational experience of many of the
independence leaders from different tribal backgrounds
greatly helped in the political battle for independence.[31]
Similarly, the political, economic and social struggle for
national development can be assisted by a common educa-
tional experience for both the Nigerian leaders and the
electorate.

It is not known at this time whether or not Nigeria
will hold together. The major reason for doing so would
seem to be an economic one. Ironically, it is the Northern
Region, the area which made the federation so difficult to

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(30) Critics of merit selection point out that it
might tend to favour certain areas; for example, selective
devices which place a high premium on literacy skills are
likely to favour the urbanized segments of the Southern
population. Flint, op. cit., (p. 211). However, greater
access to inter-regional secondary and higher education can
be combined with high standards for a minority through an
internal differentiation of the educational system and
through development of a number of institutions of variable
quality. Thus, there would be high levels of achievement
in certain Nigerian schools with less rigorous standards in
the others, thereby enabling maximum access to education
for a variety of groups with a variety of degrees of
preparation.
(31) Ikejiani, O. ed., Nigerian Education,
Longmans, 1964, Nigeria, (p. 27).

maintain, which stands to lose the most if a breakup occurs.
Final secession of the Eastern Region would leave the North
poor, landlocked and at the mercy of the coastal peoples
across whose land their goods must pass to get to the sea.
And once the dams proposed in the 1962-68 development plan
are built, the North will have the country's major source
of electric power,[32] but few industrial plants of its own
to use it. Most industrialization thus far has been cen-
tered around Lagos, which is in the southern part of the
country.

Even if the Federation is restored, however, and
the search for unity resumed, little more will be accom-
plished, in the long run, than the last time unless the
educational policy for the Northern Region is radically
altered. While the percentage of the regional budget spent
on education was formerly twenty-five per cent, and fifty
per cent, in the North and South respectively, the North's
expenditure should now be made to exceed fifty per cent and
placed within a comprehensive educational plan which in
turn would compliment the current national development pro-
gram. Returns to educational investment are seldom direct
and immediate. There are no guarantees, for example, that
all the products of an expanded educational system will
automatically find employment. However, in the long run,

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(32) Schwartz, op. cit., (pp. 24-28).

formal education does produce graduates with the knowledge and skills, the ambitions and aspirations, to challenge both traditional authority and the traditional ways of doing things, thereby creating a cultural environment in which innovation can take place. It is suggested that this is the important consideration to keep in mind when analysing the relevance of education to development in Northern Nigeria.

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