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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In February, 1960, the then British Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan made his now famous 'wind of change' speech to the South African Parliament.[1] The purpose of the speech was to explain and justify Britain's action in granting political independence to its African colonies. Five years later, under the momentum of the wind of change which was blowing over Africa, the Gold Coast (now Ghana), Nigeria, Sierra Leone and the Gambia on the West Coast became independent countries.[2] The wind soon assumed gale force, and by 1967, had all but swept away the democratic institutions whose seeming existence had been the foundations of political independence. In January 1966, there was a revolt in Nigeria,[3] followed in February by the overthrow of the Nkrumah government in Ghana,[4] and in March 1967, the elected government of Sierra Leone was prevented from assuming office by a military and police junta.[5] Even though this turned out to be the shortest military government on record in West Africa, since there was a return to civilian rule one year later,[6] the country has continued to be plagued by rumours of attempted coups, declarations of a state of emergency, and the detention of people suspected of subversive activities.[7]

Various political observers, following the disturbances in the Congo soon after that country gained its independence from Belgium,[8] had commented on the dangers inherent in the pluralistic nature of

African societies with their emphasis on tribe. Huxley (1960) wrote that "if political parties base themselves on tribe, sooner or later a civil war becomes inevitable."[9] Schwarz (1965) also called attention to the dangerous polarization of the tribes in Nigeria;[10] Busia (1967) maintained that "the emphasis on kinship has a bearing on the problem of nation building in Africa ... One of the major problems in Africa today is to find answers to the questions, how is one to achieve an extension of the African family spirit as a whole? How can one shift the emphasis from kinship to state?"[11] These prophecies were fulfilled by the events which culminated in the tragic Nigerian civil war."[12]

Another group of writers has devoted considerable attention to the form of government likely to endure in the new states of Africa. The general consensus has been "that the probability of non-democratic political systems in the new nations is greater than the probability of democratic systems."[13] Williams (1961) questioned the suitability of the parliamentary system (for African states) and suggested that a one-party state, with its peculiar brand of democracy and a strong central figure, could well meet the situation in Africa. He cited Nkrumah's Ghana and Toure's Guinea in support of his contention. In his view, there existed in Ghana and Guinea a political but judicious anomaly - a one-party state without dictatorship, and parliamentary government without democracy.[14] Subsequent events in Ghana, and more recent happenings in Guinea[15] have, if anything, shown how mutually exclusive are the very ideas inherent in democracy and a one-party state. Brand (1963) expressed his doubts about the future of democracy in Africa in these words:

> The cards are stacked against a 'democratic' development in the industrially backward nations. Modern technologies and capitalist modes of production have been mercilessly imposed upon them by the expansion of the Western Metropolis. Their native social fabric has often been deliberately torn asunder.[16]

Carter and Herz (1965) saw the move towards a 'one party democracy' as being one of expediency and one arising from a strong desire to move into the twentieth century, both from the technological and industrial point of view.[17]

The Greeks invented the ideal of freedom and with it, democracy. The word is itself a combination of two Greek words, 'demos' meaning people, and 'kratia' meaning power. Thus a literal translation would be 'people power,' which has now, in the language of Abraham Lincoln, come to mean government of the people by the people for the people. Variations as to the kind of democracy said to exist hinge on how the people choose their representatives, how the chosen representatives interpret their mandate, the extent to which dissenters or minority groups are tolerated and have a chance, however remote, of one day being voted into power. It has been pointed out that only the Gambia and Sierra Leone chose Western democracy consciously as a form of government when they became independent states.[18] However, an examination of the situation in Sierra Leone will show that there is a discrepancy between the rhetoric of the constitution and political reality. In spite of this discrepancy, there exists in Sierra Leone, and other West African states, a group of people, generally educated in the West, dedicated to the ideals of democracy. These, like their counterparts the intelligentsia of old Russia, form pockets of resistance to totalitarian and autocratic regimes.

An analysis of the political development of these new states would suggest, as a plausible hypothesis, that political systems which have felt the impact of colonialism tend towards disintegration when the stabilizing influence of the imperial power is removed. The relevant historical data will be examined, where necessary, and the evolution of their constitutions reviewed. This review is necessary to bring to light some essential features of British colonial rule. On the West Coast of Africa the British, under the name Nigeria, brought together a vast conglomeration of tribes. In the Gold Coast the Fanti and the Akan with the Ga and Ewe were brought together, as were the Ashanti, the Dagomba and the Mamprusi. The Creoles, descendants of settlers in the coastal area of Sierra Leone and liberated slaves, formed part of a colony which also included the Mende, the Temne and the Yalunka. Except for its line of demarcation, the ethnic composition of the Gambia was, and still is, exactly the same as that of the other countries adjacent to it. The situation became all the most complicated when members of the same tribe found themselves on either side of new boundary lines. In this way, the Madingo were partitioned between the French and the British, between the present states of Sierra Leone and Guinea on one side, and the Kisi tribe likewise on the other side equally divided between the two states. Though the vast majority of the Mende are in Sierra Leone, some of their villages went to make up north-western Liberia, and while some of the Vai were left in Sierra Leone, the greater number were assigned to Liberia, as were the Gola. Thus the British (and other imperial powers) attempted to create colonies (now states) out of a multiplicity of peoples, differing in

languages, customs and cultural heritage. Not only were countries so created artificial entities, but the boundaries which separated them were arbitrarily drawn. As if such a state of affairs was not bad enough, the African emphasis on kinship and tribe was exploited and exacerbated by the practice of Indirect Rule. This system of government worked through Native Administrations, and has been defined by Perham (1934) as "the system by which the tutelary power recognizes existing African societies, and assists them to adapt themselves to the functions of local government."[19] It was first formulated and put into practice by Lord Lugard in Northern Nigeria, and with various adaptations, introduced into other British colonies. This naturally tended to emphasize and reinforce tribal differences. It was this which prompted Dean (1957) to write that

> democracy is unlikely to work well in the New Africa because the conditions under which it thrives will not exist. It is true that the system of tribal chiefs-in-council prevailing in much of old Africa had its democratic aspects. But the political units of the new Africa will not be composed of small groups of tribesmen who know and understand each other; they will be relatively large states comprising many peoples of different customs, traditions and languages.[20]

The policy of Indirect Rule has been partly responsible for the phenomenon described as tribalism. The normal denotation of the word implies membership of a group, distinguished from other ethnic groups by such things as language, custom and culture. However, in modern Africa, it now has an unhappy connotation and is seen as giving rise to nepotism, favouritism, and corruption. Tribalism is not to be confused with nationalism and has been defined as "a socio-cultural

antagonism to political and economic domination by the pre-dominant national group (be it racial or linguistic-cultural) in a given African society."[21]

Recent analyses of the political situation in West Africa has brought to light another factor leading to political instability and civil unrest. Forster (1960) noted that in Ghana, "partly as a consequence of more centralized secular structures and the decline of regionalism as an effective social issue, the schools have become increasingly a focus for ethnic rivalry and conflict."[22] Abernethy (1969) examined the causes and consequences of rapid educational expansion in Southern Nigeria and concluded that

> the educational developments of the 1950's and early 1960's in Southern Nigeria, had on balance, a disintegrative effect on the country as a whole. Their most important consequence was to widen the already substantial educational disparity between North and South, thus intensifying the potential conflict between the two areas ... But apart from the North-South cleavage, even if we take the South alone as the unit of our analysis, the disintegrative effects of educational expansion seem to outweigh the integrative ones.[23]

Fischer (1970) after subjecting pertinent data from a number of countries in Africa to statistical analysis discovered that "the combination of factors most conducive to political instability is a rapid increase in the proportion of the population receiving primary education and a slow change in GDP per capita." He concluded that "with higher levels of educational systems development, societal value and identity cleavages have intensified rather than reduced."[24]

These are rather disquieting conclusions in view of the sizeable portions of their budgets now being spent on education by the

new states of Africa, and their commitment to educational expansion. A second hypothesis is now proposed. The hypothesis that the expansion of educational facilities in a developing country is disruptive of national unity when there is disparity between achievement, expectation and employment opportunity will be examined against the background of educational expansion and development plans.

Both individually and collectively, development plans drawn up by independent African states have recognized that there was some connection between education and a democratic way of life. One of the first acts of an all-African government in the Gold Coast was to draw up the Accelerated Development Plan for Education, in 1951. The plan provided for the expansion of education at all levels, but its most outstanding feature was the introduction of free primary education. In a forward to the plan, the Minister of Education stated:

> One of the most urgent needs of a progressive, democratic country such as ours is a measure of education (as much as we have the means to provide) for every child of school going age. . . . I am confident that whatever sacrifices may prove necessary will be willingly made for the great purpose of lifting our country to the highest standards of the democratic way of life.[25]

The Minister of Education for Western Nigeria published his proposals for an Education Policy in 1952. As in the Gold Coast (Ghana) the declared policy was to expand the educational system and introduce free primary education in 1955. The Eastern Region followed with a Policy for Education in 1953, and plans for universal primary education were drawn up in 1956 for implementation in 1957.[26] Sierra Leone had a Development Plan for Education drawn up in 1964, and, while it did not specify the introduction of universal free primary education, was

likewise committed to an expansion of educational facilities at all levels, more so at the primary level.[27] Thus by 1955, the Western Region of Nigeria was spending 47 percent of its budget on education, while by 1957 the Eastern Region was spending about 33 percent.[28] By the time Gold Coast became independent and assumed the name Ghana in 1957, the number of children in primary schools was twice the figure for 1951, the year in which the Accelerated Development Plan was formulated.[29] In 1963, the primary school enrollment in Sierra Leone was three times what it was in 1953,[30] and education as a whole accounted for 14.5 percent of the country's budget.[31] The total expenditure on education had risen to 17.8 percent in 1968.[32] In spite of the increased expenditure on education over the whole area, it is estimated that only about 30-35 percent of those who complete the primary school course go on to the next stage, the secondary school.[33] Those who cannot go on become dissatisfied and are a threat to political stability, particularly in a situation where the content of education in the primary schools make very little contribution to the process of socialization.

Yet while education in West Africa may not have had the promotion of national unity as an underlying aim, it has given to some such an awareness of democratic ideals that they react forcefully when there is a threat to what they believe to be a democratic form of government. The very move towards totalitarianism often generates opposition from the intelligentsia. Thus one can safely say that there will always, in West Africa, be reports of coups and attempted coups until a state of equilibrium is reached, when the

opposing forces realize that they can only survive if they learn to live together. It is the contention that education of the right kind at the right time will help to bring about this state of equilibrium with the least possible trauma.

Both Plato and Aristotle recognized and acknowledged the importance of education in producing good citizens - citizens responsive to the needs of the state and obedient to its laws. Aristotle summed up the position in these words

> But of all things which I have mentioned that which contributes to the permanence of constitutions is the adaptation of education to the form of government, and yet in our own day this is universally neglected. The best laws, though sanctioned by every citizen in the state, will be of no avail unless the young are trained by habit and education in the spirit of the constitution, if the laws are democratic, democratically, oligarchially, if the laws are oligarchial.[34]

The new states of West Africa have neglected to make the necessary adaptation and are now paying the price for such an omission. By and large, (with one exception later to be described), the educational planners were more concerned with the quantity rather than the quality of education. The contributions of Piaget,[35] Dewey,[36] Heston[37] and others to educational thought and practice serve to reinforce the view that education can be used to further national unity and integration.

Indeed, the idea that schools can consciously be used in the socialization and integrative process ought not to have gone unheeded in West Africa. Social values and political behavior have long been taught in the 'bush' schools of the secret societies. These societies "were instituted to enforce and maintain tribal traditions, customs and beliefs that were in danger of changing or becoming obsolete."[38]

They, therefore, were responsible for preserving for posterity the folklore, myths and history and the conceptions of art and culture and learning the wisdom the tribes possessed. The children learned by active participation and were put through a regimen calculated to instill loyalty, self-reliance and respect for the norms of the tribe. Just as in indigenous societies the 'bush schools' were used (and still are) to socialize children into the tribe, so ought the schools of the new states of Africa to be actively used in socializing the children into the nation and state.

It could, of course, be maintained that the arguments adduced so far could be used to support the position that education could also help to further the ends of a non-liberal state. This is indeed true, and an attempt was certainly made by the Nkrumah regime in Ghana to use the schools for this purpose. His success was limited, not for want of trying, but because there were teachers, particularly in the secondary schools (and parents) committed to the democratic way of life, who themselves withstood the onslaught of ideas flowing from the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute,[39] and so helped to counteract the influence of the Young Pioneers Movement.[40]

While there is much adherence to the ideals of democracy and the desire for a democratic way of life, schools in West Africa do very little to prepare children, as citizens, to play their part in furthering those ideals. Governments and educationists seem to have lost sight of the fact that how children learn and use what they learn is just as important (if not more so) as what they learn. History, Geography, Civics and other subjects which go to make up the social

studies are taught, but the approach is purely academic and descriptive, as could be seen from an examination of the trial syllabus, initiated in 1969,[41] for primary schools in Sierra Leone. A further examination of new syllabuses and major syllabus changes recently put out by the West African Examinations Council, which conducts school leaving examinations in the Gambia, Sierra Leone, Ghana and Nigeria, will reveal the same state of affairs.[42] These reflect attempts at curricula reform, but show no evidence of reform in presentation and handling of subject matter.

It is quite relevant that the children in the primary school should learn about community helpers and what they do; equally relevant that the child should also be helped to inculcate qualities which a helper should have to serve the community well. Above all, it is perhaps more relevant that the child should be put in a position to find out the possible consequences for other members of the community if a community helper, like a post-man or police-man, is dishonest. In the context of West Africa today, with post-coups revelations of corruption and bribery in the reports of commissions appointed to investigate civil servants and politicians, it is very necessary that this should be done.[43] Children at various stages are taught about the geographical and physical conditions necessary for the production of staple foods like rice and yam. They are never led to speculate on the likely results when, for one reason or another, the food producing areas do not produce enough to meet the needs of the community. (This need not all be speculation because some of the children do have experience of the likely consequences, and they need now to be led

to generalizations from their particular experience.) In short, no attempt is made to emphasize inter-tribal and inter-cultural relationships or give the children the opportunity to learn how such relationships do work in practice: that finally while we are part of our local community, we are also part of a larger community - the state.

If in the primary stage of their education the children are led to understand the relationship of the individual to the tribe or the local community, and that of the tribe to the state, the foundation would then be well and truly laid for teaching at the next stage the conflicts and problems which are bound to arise in a pluralistic society. Unfortunately, at present, the teaching of the social studies, or the individual subjects which can be described as being a part of social studies, reflect the same unimaginative and didactic approach at the secondary level as that which obtains in the primary school. Since most secondary schools hope that all their pupils will eventually take one or other of the school leaving examinations set by the West African Examinations Council, the teaching in such schools is geared towards the syllabuses of the Council. In the rubric introducing the detailed syllabuses it is stated that "the ability of candidates to express themselves clearly and to present their work neatly and accurately will be taken into account in assessing marks in all subjects."[44] No where is it stated that evidence of the ability to think cogently and critically will be taken into account when assessing marks. Thus for each of the West African territories, in a subject like Government, pupils are expected to know about the various constitutions under which the countries have been governed, but no where is the word 'democracy' mentioned once.[45]

To remedy the obvious deficiencies and to enable the schools to take a more active and positive part in the socializing of children for living in a democratic society, a social studies programme is proposed. Such a programme, it is hoped, would not only teach the children what they need to know, but also arouse positive feelings and attitudes towards the state and equip them to think reflectively and critically on matters affecting the common weal. They would be encouraged not to devalue tribal associations, but rather to rate membership of the state and nationality more highly. The children whose social education proceeds along these lines would then be in a position to understand and appreciate fully the democratic ideals to which the West African governments are apparently committed. In understanding these ideals, the children as citizens would, it is hoped, endeavour to safeguard, defend and put into practice what they have learned.

No programme designed to invigorate and revolutionize in the field of education, however well thought out, is likely to succeed if it is left in the hands of people who neither understand nor sympathise with its aims. It follows, therefore, that every attempt should be made to get serving teachers to acquire the attitudes and techniques necessary for successful implementation. Colleges and departments responsible for teacher education should also re-asses and re-structure their course to ensure that they turn out teachers who will be able and confident enough to handle an experimental programme in social studies.

It is by no means suggested or implied that the political

problems of West Africa are likely to be solved by social studies education. Rather the position is taken that the school's potential as a medium for political socialization or training for citizenship has generally gone unheeded in the new states of (British) West Africa. Ghana, however, was an exception and the constitutional changes which were made between 1960 and 1964 were accompanied by attempts to use the schools to propagate Nkrumah's concept of socialism. Therefore the accounts of Ghana's move to a one-party-state and Sierra Leone's rejection of a similar political settlement are used primarily for purposes of drawing conclusions relevant to the study of education.

Footnotes for Chapter I

1. For full text of speech, see the Times (London) 4 February, 1960, p. 15.

2. Gold Coast (Ghana) became independent on the 6th of March 1957; Nigeria, 1st October 1960; Sierra Leone, 23rd April 1961; Gambia, 18th February 1965.

3. January 15, 1966 - five years after independence.

4. February 24, 1966.

5. March 23, 1967.

6. Countercoup by noncommissioned officers of the army on April 18, 1968 ousted the military junta which had indicated by its action that it had no intention of abdicating. A return to civilian government was effected on April 28, 1968 when the leader of the majority party was appointed Prime Minister.

7. State of emergency declared September 14, 1970. For account of arrests and riots, see West Africa (London) No. 2784, October 17, 1970, p. 1230.

8. Congo (Leopoldville) became independent June 30, 1960.

9. Huxley, H.,"Africa's First Loyalty"in New York Times Magazine, September 18, 1960, p. 110.

10. Schwarz, Frederick A.O., Jr., Nigeria: The Tribes, the Nation or the Race - the Politics of Independence. (Cambridge, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1965).

11. Busia, K.A., Africa In Search of Democracy. (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967), p. 20.

12. The civil war, which followed the secession of the Eastern Region of Nigeria from the Federation as the state of Biafra, lasted from May 1967 until January 12, 1970, when the secessionists were finally defeated.

13. de Schweinitz, K., Jr.,"Prospect for the New Nations"in Dissent X, 1963, p. 183.

14. Williams, B.A.,"The Prospects for Democracy in Africa"in Phylon, 22; 174-179, 1961.

15. Guinea 'invaded' November 22, 1970. See detailed account in West Africa (London) No. 2791 December 5, 1970, p. 1419.

16. Brand, H.,"Prospect for the New Nations"in Dissent 10, 1963, p. 183.

17. Carter, G.M., and Herz, J.H., Government and Politics in the Twentieth Century. (New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1963), p. 127.

18. Howe, R.W., The African Revolution. (London, New African Library, 1969), p. 132.

19. Perham, M., Colonial Sequence 1939-1949. (London, Methnen and Co. Ltd., 1967), pp. 92-93.

20. Dean, V.M., ed. "Can Democracy Survive in Africa?"in Africa Report, Vol. 2, No. 5, 1957, p. 8.

21. Onipede, D.F.,"African Nationalism: A Critical Portrait"in Dissent III, 1956, p. 281.

22. Foster, P., Education and Social Change in Ghana. (University of Chicago Press, 1965), p. 212.

23. Abernethy, D.B., The Political Dilemma of Popular Education: An African Case. (Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 1969), p. 277.

24. Fischer, L.F., The Impact of Political Socialization on National Integration in Africa. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Northwestern University, 1970), p. 262 & 284.

25. Accelerated Development Plan for Education. (Accra, Gold Coast, 1951), p. 1.

26. Abernethy, op. cit., p. 127-128.

27. Sleight, G.F., The Development Programme in Education for Sierra Leone 1964-1970. (Freetown,Government Printer, 1964).

28. Abernethy, op. cit., p. 128-129.

29. McWilliam, H.O.A., The Development of Education in Ghana. (London, Longmans Green, 1959), p. 84.

30. Sleight, op. cit., p. 1.

31. Ibid., p. 48.

32. Commission on Higher Education in Sierra Leone Report. (Carney, Chairman), 1970, p. 1.

33. Sleight, op. cit., p. 2; see also Foster, op. cit., p. 193. The percentage of primary school leavers who can be admitted to secondary schools in Ghana is much lower, as a result of the rapid expansion of primary education after 1951.

34. Aristotle, Politics, Jowett's translation, 1310a, 12-17.

35. Piaget, J., and Inhelder, B., The Growth of Logical Thinking, translated by Anne Parsons and Stanley Milgram. (New York, Basic Books, 1958); Piaget et al., Judgement and Reasoning in the Child, translated by Marjorie Warden. (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965); Piaget et. al., The Moral Judgement of the Child, translated by Marjorie Gabain. (New York, Free Press, 1966).

36. Dewey, J., Ethical Principles Underlying Education. (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1909); How We Think. (Boston, Heath, 1933); Democracy and Education. (New York, Macmillan, 1963); Experience and Education. (New York, Collier Books, 1967); The Child and the Curriculum; The School and Society. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1969).

37. Easton, D., and Hess, R.D., "The Role of the Elementary School in Political Socialization" in The School Review, Vol. 70, No. 3, 1962, pp. 257-265; Easton and Hess, The Child's Political World in Midwest Journal of Political Science, No. 6, 1962, pp. 229-246; Easton and Dennis J., Children in the Political System. (New York, McGraw Hill, 1969).

38. Butt-Thompson, F.W., West African Secret Societies. (London, H.F. and G. Witherby, 1929)., p. 16.

39. Founded by Nkrumah in 1961 "for the education of all in the ideals, principles and objectives of our great Party." The Party, Convention People's Party Journal, No. 3, March 1961, p. 2.

40. Founded by Nkrumah in 1960 to train the youth of Ghana in their civic responsibilities. The Party, Convention People's Party Journal, Vol. i, No. 2, October 1960, p. 30.

41. New Trial Syllabus 1969. (Curriculum Planning Committee, Ministry of Education, Freetown, Sierra Leone).

42. The West African Examinations Council Advance Notification of New Syllabuses, Major Syllabus Changes and Prescribed Texts. (WAEC 69/28, Accra, 1969).

43. The following reports reveal the extent of the problem. Report of the Commission to enquire into the Kwame Nkrumah Properties. (Accra, Ministry of Information, 1966); Sierra Leone Dove-Edwin Commission of Inquiry into the conduct of the 1967 General Elections in Sierra Leone Report. (Freetown, Government Printer, 1967); Sierra Leone Percy Davies Commission of Inquiry into the Activities of the Freetown City Council Report. (Freetown Government Printer, 1967). See also West Africa. (London) No. 2603, April 22, 1967, p. 539.

44. The West African Examinations Council Regulations and Syllabuses 1970. (Accra, 1969), p. 25.

45. Ibid., p. 109-111.

CHAPTER II

THE CONCEPT OF DEMOCRACY

Ever since Aristotle used the number of those engaged in the work of governing as a basis for classifying the constitutions of states,[1] various interpretations have been given to the concept of democracy or government by the people. Such interpretations are based on the extent to which citizens, as a whole, are involved in the work of government - how the citizens choose their representatives, how the representatives once chosen interpret their mandate, the extent to which dissenters or minority groups are tolerated and stand a chance of being voted into power some day. Thus, forms of government as widely disparate as those of Britain and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics could be described by their protagonists as democratic.[2] This is not surprising since Aristotle himself recognized five variants of democracy.[3] Depending on the degree of citizen involvement allowed in the related processes of government, the terms "liberal" and "non-liberal" are used to describe the Western concept of democracy and that of the Communist world.[4] Furthermore, these two variants differ as to the extent to which, in the interest of the state, the lives of citizens are regulated. In a liberal democracy large spheres of individual and group life are generally unaffected by direct government action, while in a non-liberal or totalitarian regime, virtually every aspect of life in the society is regulated by government.

Characteristics of Liberal Democracy

In the same way as the form of democratic government approved by Aristotle was that based on equality and freedom, so it is today. A democratic state operates on the twin principles of the right of the individual to equality of status and freedom of thought. It follows, therefore, that all adult citizens are equally entitled to have a say in the election of members of the government, and equally be eligible to stand for election. Likewise, in so far as freedom of thought is involved, it implies that the citizens can voice their thoughts without fear or favour, and can employ the mass media of communication, the press, radio and television, to put their thoughts and ideas over to others. People organize around ideas and policies, and these organizations compete for the support of the majority, particularly at election time, so as to win the right to form the government. On the other side of the coin, since it is normally impossible for all to hold the same views, it is recognized that people with views different from that of the majority have a right to exist, to hold their views and to propagate them. The existence of people with minority views demand that the general climate of opinion be such that people with different views can co-exist without violence. Perhaps the most important characteristic of democracy is the recognition that organizations or political parties with views different from that of the government should also be afforded the opportunity to displace the government, by peaceful means, through scheduled elections.

If such are the characteristics of a liberal democratic state, they would appear to rest on certain assumptions concerning human nature. It is assumed that people would be willing to accept

responsibility for the machinery of government; that they would accept one another as being politically equal, in the true spirit of fellowship; that, while enjoying the benefits of life in a democratic state, they would also assume the responsibilities which go to ensure that others enjoy the same benefits.

Judged by these assumptions, a truely democratic state is seen to be more of an ideal than a reality.[5] Nevertheless, the elusive character of the democratic ideal has not prevented states from either drawing up constitutions embodying such an ideal or striving to live up to it. In fact, the very concept of democracy is often criticized on the grounds that it sets a goal far beyond the attainment of human nature. Rousseau (1762) wrote of democracy: "Taking the term in its strict sense, there never has existed, and never will exist, any true democracy...If there were a nation of gods, it would be governed democratically. So perfect a government is unsuited to men."[6]

A democratic state may be an ideal, but a democratic constitution or instrument of government is a reality. To narrow the gap between the ideal and the reality should involve a vigorous attempt to foster a community of feeling among those who live their lives under a democratic constitution. It becomes imperative that the school, established by society to enhance, preserve and transmit its cultural heritage, should be actively involved in promoting a feeling of community or nationality.

Non-Liberal Democracy - The Ghana Variant

When Ghana became an independent state in 1957, it had to deal with a problem common to countries which had been controlled and administered by an imperial power. These countries have variously been

described as 'underdeveloped,' 'emergent' and 'developing.' Whatever the term used to describe the new states, it generally means that compared with other states, described as developed, they have a low standard of living as reflected by the per capita income, a low level of industrialization and technological knowledge as shown by the estimated fuel consumption per head, poor health facilities manifested in a high rate of infant mortality, and mass illiteracy as shown by the low rate of increase in school enrollment.[7]

The political leaders of Ghana therefore had to seek ways and means by which the newly independent country could overcome all or most of the disadvantages inherent in its economic, industrial and social disabilities. In other words, this meant they had to give priority to the task of making Ghana a modern state. In the quest for 'modernity,' they saw a similarity between the problems facing Ghana and those which faced Russia after the Revolution of 1917. From this they concluded (or rather Kwame Nkrumah, the Prime Minister did) that they had to use methods similar to those which had contributed greatly to the rapid industrialization and modernization of Russia. This was not surprising since Nkrumah had been particularly impressed by the philosophy of Marx and Lenin.[8]

He was at this time Prime Minister of Ghana, by virtue of the fact that he was leader of the country's major political party, the Convention People's Party. This party had been formed after Nkrumah, in 1949, led a break-away from the United Gold Coast Convention, a party of which he was secretary, and whose leader, Dr. J.B. Danquah, could be described as an intellectual.[9] Soon after its formation, under the dynamic leadership of its founder, the new party

gained country-wide support and was soon identified with the country's immediate demand for self-government and independence. The National Assembly of 1957 had 72 members belonging to the C.P.P., while 32 belonged to the opposition, the United Party.[10] The opposition party drew its membership from intellectuals, chiefs and ethnic groups, distrustful of the Convention People's Party and its leader.

Consequently, after the attainment of independence, a series of actions were initiated which was to result in Ghana becoming a non-liberal democracy, somewhat different from the Communist variant but inspired by it.

Ghana started its independence with what is generally described as a Westminster-type Constitution, so called because it is modelled on that of the British Parliament sitting at the Palace of Westminster. According to De Smith (1961):

> the Westminster model can be said to mean a constitutional system in which the head of state is not the effective head of government; in which the effective head of government is a Prime Minister presiding over a Cabinet composed of Ministers over whose appointment and removal he has at least a substantial measure of control; in which the effective executive branch of government is parliamentary, in as much as Ministers must be members of the legislature; and in which Ministers are collectively and individually responsible to a freely elected and representative legislature.[11]

According to the provisions of the first Constitution of Ghana,[12] executive power was vested in the Queen, represented in Ghana by a Governor-General empowered to act on her behalf. Legislative power was vested in parliament, made up of the Queen and a national assembly, elected by universal suffrage. To amend certain provisions of the Constitution regarded as fundamental to the maintenance of good government (and therefore described as entrenched) a two-thirds majority of

all Members of Parliament was necessary. The Civil Service was under the control of the Public Service Commission, and the Governor-General and Judical Service Commission appointed Members of the Judiciary.

Under the provisions of the Constituent Assembly and Plebiscite Act, 1960, a referendum was held in March of that year, and public approval was given to the proposal that Ghana adopt a republican constitution.[13] The Republican Constitution was enacted on June 29, 1960, and became effective two days later, on July 1, when Ghana became a republic within the Commonwealth. Nkrumah became the first President and Head of State. The people became the ultimate source of power for the Constitution, and the right to alter or repeal certain sections was reserved likewise for the people. The President as Head of State was given special powers, whenever he considered it to be in the national interest to do so, to give directions by legislative instrument. He was, amongst other things, empowered to assent to or refuse to assent to any Bill passed by the National Assembly, to appoint the Chief Justice and Judges of the Superior Courts as well as to dismiss the Chief Justice, to appoint, promote, transfer, dismiss and to have disciplinary control of members of the Public Services.[14]

In the view of Nkrumah, the Convention People's Party was coterminous with and identical to the political state of Ghana, and vice versa. This view he expressed by saying the Convention People's Party was Ghana, and Ghana was the Convention People's Party. He also described the Party as being democratic in structure and socialist in philosophy. The principle of its organization was based on 'democratic centralism,' according to which everyone was free to express his

views, but once a decision was taken by a majority, it was expected that such a decision would be loyally executed by all party members.[15] Thus the democracy which was to exist in the Republic of Ghana did not envisage the organization of groups or parties with opposing views, nor was the possibility of another government entertained.

In view of the complete identification of Party and State expressed by the Head, it was not surprising that the Constitution of the Party included the following objectives:

(i) To consolidate the National Revolution by maintaining the complete unity of the nation under a unitary form of government and to safeguard the Independence, Sovereignty and territorial integrity of the State of Ghana from internal and external aggression.

(ii) To use its political power to bring about as speedily as possible the Economic and Social Reconstruction of the country so as to provide a higher standard of life for all the people, especially those who depend directly on their own exertions by hand or by brain for the means of life.

(iii) To create a Welfare State based upon Socialist Pattern of Society adapted to suit Ghanaian conditions, in which all citizens, regardless of class, tribe, colour or creed, shall have equal opportunity and where there shall be no exploitation of man by man, tribe by tribe, or class by class; and shall strive to safeguard popular democracy based upon universal adult suffrage.

(iv) The Party shall achieve the Economic and Social foundation of the Welfare State by stages through means of successive Five-Year Plans.

(v) The Party realizes that the kind of African Socialism it envisages cannot be reached at one jump, for Socialism is a form of social arrangement based upon a high degree of industrialization and agricultural productivity.[16]

The next major step in the move towards creating the C.P.P. economic Utopia, projected in the Party's objectives, came in September 1962. The National Assembly of Ghana, now overwhelmingly C.P.P. in membership (since the ranks of the Opposition had been depleted by detention, defection and exile), approved a motion to make the country a People's Democracy with a single party system, and Nkrumah as Life President.[17] Subsequently a referendum was held in January 1964, to ask for two important amendments to the Constitution. The first amendment was to make Ghana a one party state and to withdraw recognition from any opposition party; the second was to extend the powers of the President to dismiss not only the Chief Justice, but also Judges of the High Court and the Supreme Court.[18] The result of all this was to make Ghana, which seven years earlier had been the first British West African country to become independent, the first of such territories to abandon the Westminster model of democracy, a liberal variant, in favour of a People's Democracy or non-liberal variant.

The reasons for this ultimate move, implied or expressed in the Constitution of the Party, could be seen to rest on doubtful premises. First of all, the Marxist and Leninist theories for social and economic improvement were formulated for a society in which the basic political structure was quite different from that of Ghana.

In Russia, for example, there was the problem of abject poverty created by the fact that the peasants, bereft of political power, did not own the land, but that other classes wielding political power did. The Russian Revolution of 1917 was indeed a class revolution. The reasons for economic backwardness in Ghana, and other developing nations, are the lack of technological skill, poor knowledge of modern methods of industry, as well as the lack of capital. No class or group of Ghanaians could be said to have been responsible for such a state of affairs.

Granted that all must unite and direct their energies to the task of nation-building and economic development, one monolithic party, taking in all groups but yet allowing for no disagreement, contains the seeds of its own destruction. Human nature being what it is, men are motivated by different aims and generally tend to think differently. Thus, the one party state, intolerant of opposition within its ranks, has a measure of instability built into it, for men cannot all be forced to think alike by mere edict of a political party. This was amply demonstrated by the fact that the first Republic of Ghana needed such extraordinary measures as those contained in the Prevention Detention Act, 1958, the Emergency Powers and the Public Order Acts of 1961, and the State Secrets Act of 1962 to sustain its existence.[19] From time to time there were purges within the Party, arrest and detention of dissenters, and, most important, several attempts on the life of the President.[20]

The Party was both totalitarian and authoritarian. It was above all institutions in the state, since it was described as being

the state, and the flag of the Party had ousted the flag of Ghana as the flag of state.[21] Control was firmly in the hands of the Party Executive and all party members had to abide by its decisions in the interest of 'democratic centralism.' There was no possibility of any other person assuming the position of leadership during the life time of Nkrumah. The 1960 Republican Constitution had named him President and Head of State, and he was later, at one and the same time, general secretary and life chairman of the Party.[22]

Lulled into a false sense of security by the apparent acquiescence of the silent majority, Nkrumah felt free to take Draconian measures to attain his political and economic objectives. Two short years after Ghana became a one-party state, the Government was over-thrown by an army coup d'etat on February 24, 1966.[23]

One of the factors which facilitated the move towards a totalitarian regime - and also its eventual collapse - was the change in the quality of the Party leadership by the end of 1961.[24] Detention and exile had taken a heavy toll of those leaders who opposed the erosion of public liberty and freedom. The Party, thus bereft of experienced and somewhat better educated leaders, had degenerated into "a commoners' movement led by the elementary school leavers."[25] These leaders, anxious to assert their authority, at the same time fearful of the consequences of failing to tow the party line, did not hesitate to lend their support to any and every measure proposed by their leader. While one may not agree with the following statement in its entirety, one cannot help but be impressed by its recognition of the fact that respect for the ideals of democracy is no mere accident but a result of education.

> More relevant than charisma is the fact that most of the new politicians have no commitment to democracy, having neither experienced democracy, and know neither its philosophy nor its history. Fifteen years ago, when politics was confined to a few people, the leading politicians were mostly highly educated men who had been through British or French Universities, had travelled in Europe, and knew something of the history and philosophy of democracy. Such men are now relatively rare in West African politics. The new politicians come mainly from primary schools, have little acquaintance with European history, and have never been outside the country until elected to office.[26]

The Constitution of Sierra Leone

Sierra Leone, like Ghana, inherited a Westminster-type Constitution when it became independent on April 27, 1961.[27] There is a single chamber parliament, made up of the Queen and 78 members, elected by the people as their representatives. Parliament is described as the House of Representatives. Executive authority is vested in the Queen, who is represented in Sierra Leone by a Governor-General. The effective head of government is the Prime Minister who presides over a Cabinet of Ministers, collectively responsible to Parliament.

The normal life of Parliament is five years subject to dissolution, and sessions must be held at least once a year. Chapter II of the Constitution of Sierra Leone guarantees the protection of the fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual. These include life, liberty, security of the person, property, protection of the law, freedom of conscience, expression, assembly and association.

The Judical Service Commission advises on the appointment of Judges, while the Chief Justice is appointed by the Governor-General on the advice of the Prime Minister. One of the important functions of the Supreme Court, as laid down by the Constitution, is to rule on the validity of elections to the House of Representatives.[28] The

importance of this provision cannot be over-emphasized in a country where the vast majority of voters are illiterate, and may be subject to undue pressures and influence from unscrupulous politicians.

Following the military coup in March 1967, the Constitution was suspended, and executive and legislative powers were exercised by the National Reformation Council. The NRC was self superseded by the National Interim Council on April 19, 1968. Civilian Rule was restored on April 26, 1960, when a Prime Minister was appointed and Parliament and the Constitution once again became effective.[29]

Shils (1962) enumerated the components necessary for the existence of political democracy, which he defines as "the regime of civilian rule through representative institutions and public liberties."[30] The legislative body is the focal point of such a regime, and has the power to enact or reject measures brought to it by the executive. In short, by constant vigilance, debate and enquiry, the legislature is designed to control and regulate the power of the executive. Likewise, the electorate, through its power to vote, must be free to pass judgement on the performance of members of the legislative and executive branches of government. At other times, members of the public make their views known through free organs of public opinion. The possibility of a change of government through a parliamentary vote of non-confidence or the loss of an election acts as a deterrent to tyrannical moves by the Government. An independent judiciary, alert to safeguard the rights of the citizens, is also an important component of political democracy. All these components are provided for in the Constitution of Sierra Leone.

The State of Sierra Leone

In addition to the components of political democracy, Shils (1962) also lists certain conditions necessary for the continued existence and functioning of its supporting institutions.[31] The ruling elite must be stable, coherent, and effective. The government must be confident in its ability to govern and its writ or authority to do so must be seen to run throughout most of the state. The political leaders themselves must be attached to representative institutions and, in spite of party differences, be able to present and maintain a certain measure of solidarity. The relationship between a party bureaucracy outside parliament and its members in parliament must be such that party members appear to have a degree of independence and initiative, and not be mere echoes of party policy. In this way, parliament is seen and acknowledged to be the centre of government.

For liberal democracy not to degenerate into an oligarchy, there must exist in parliament an opposition, capable of taking over the reins of government should the occasion arise. Such an occasion will arise if the opposition becomes the majority as a result of change through an election. Consequently, members of the opposition should be dedicated to replacing the government through peaceful means and guard against temptations to plot and do so through violent means. The majority party in parliament should afford the opposition, particularly in cases where the latter is rather small, ample opportunity to voice its opinions before decisions are taken. In this way, mutual respect is developed and encouraged and helps towards a stable government.

Since government does not depend only on members of parliament, but also on a large number of people outside parliament to give effect to its deliberations, the quality of such people can affect the stability of a state. Where they are well-trained and loyal to the government of the day, the civil servants do in fact facilitate the work of politicians in power. The relationship on either side should be free of undue servility and arrogance. The welfare of the state depends on a harmonious relationship between the two groups. An important branch of the civil service is the Judiciary, and it must be able to act independently, alive to its responsibilities and mindful of its reputation. Both the police force and the army, backed by a competent and sensitive domestic intelligence system, should be loyal to the constitutional government, ready to safeguard its integrity while at the same time deal honestly, firmly and fairly with citizens.

The vast majority of citizens not directly involved in government, but nevertheless having an interest in good government, should be able to come together freely and discuss matters arising out of government policy. As individuals, citizens must have the right of free association. Where groups are concentrated in institutions, such institutions should also be free and confident enough to propagate their views. Freedom of the press is essential to the survival of a democratic state. Universities, professional bodies and other groups also play an important part, for they can be agencies for providing the public with informed views on diverse matters, since they too have an interest in the welfare of the state.

The last, but by no means least, precondition for the existence of a democratic state is continuity of the civil order. In other words, the state should not move from one crisis to another, or be plagued by a series of crises, necessitating interference with parliamentary control and the rule of law. Continuity is essential if the society is really to become 'a political society' in which 'polity' and 'society' are coterminous. However, this happy state, like true democracy, is more in the nature of an ideal. To bring polity and society nearer together so as to get a better political society, "the institutions of political democracy must rest on a widely dispersed civility," based on the following:[32]

(i) A sense of nationality or identification with the entire community and its related institutions;

(ii) A degree of political awareness which would heighten political participation, thus enabling citizens to identify and assess candidates and issues involved at election time, to arrive at a reasonable judgement and to vote accordingly;

(iii) As a corollary of participation in the franchise, an acceptance and recognition of the legitimacy of the existing political order;

(iv) An awareness of their rights as well as their obligation and responsibility to ensure that spheres of individual and group life are generally unaffected by government action;

(v) An acceptance of limits on self-aggrandizing tendencies, attendant upon a sense of commitment to the prevailing political culture, its values, ideals, institutions and practices.

If Sierra Leone has all the components for political democracy embodied in its Constitution, the State of Sierra Leone is far from being a democratic society, according to the preconditions laid down by Shils (1962).

Sure enough, the practice and acceptance of opposition exist in Sierra Leone. Indeed, it would be political suicide for any leader to advocate or suggest a system which would not provide for the existence of an opposition. Soon after Nkrumah's visit to Sierra Leone, the Prime Minister, at the beginning of 1966, announced plans to introduce a one party system of government "in the interest of political stability and solidarity of this country."[33] Reactions were immediate and vociferous, both within and without his party. When he announced the setting up of a committee to see how the one-party state was to be achieved, a group of citizens immediately filed suit against the government for setting up a committee to violate their constitutional rights.[34] The Student Union of Fourah Bay College passed a resolution calling on the Government to reconsider its intention of introducing such a system of government. "If, however, the government was convinced that the one party system was the wish of the people," the resolution continued, "it should allow electors to express their support in a referendum."[35] Similar resolutions were passed by professional bodies and students' unions all over Sierra Leone. Such was the outcry that the Prime Minister announced to Parliament on February 8, 1967 that "the proposal for a democratic one party system of government had been dropped and that

the committee studying its implications had been abolished."[36] About the same time, news was given of an attempted coup. A few days later, in a broadcast to the nation, the Prime Minister stated, "We shall adhere to the present system of a multi-party state and the question of a one-party democratic system will not be raised again."[37]

Unfortunately, his efforts to introduce such a system in Sierra Leone had undermined his credibility, just at a time when general elections were pending. The opposition mounted a vigorous campaign, and it soon became obvious, from the point of view of the government, that the outcome was far from certain. The majority party (at the time), the Sierra Leone People's Party and their supporters resorted to tactics which were later to be condemned by the Dove-Edwin Commission.[38] And so was set in motion the whole chain of events which was to result in the people of Sierra Leone being thwarted in their efforts to change their government through the ballot-box. According to the Force Commander of the day, the election results were far from decided when the Governor-General appointed a Prime Minister, and proceeded to administer the oath of office to him and his Ministers. So the ceremony was stopped, the Governor-General put under house arrest, and the Prime Minister, leader of the All People's Congress, and some of his supporters were detained. Sierra Leone had experienced its first military takeover on March 21, 1967. Two days later, on March 23, the Force Commander was himself ousted from power, arrested and detained on the grounds that he intended to impose on the people of Sierra Leone the former Prime Minister, whose party, the Sierra Leone People's Party had been

defeated at the polls. Thus came into being the National Reformation Council, an alliance of army and police officers, and the Constitution of Sierra Leone was suspended.[39] Unfortunately, or perhaps fortunately for Sierra Leone, the new Head of the military government soon made it clear that he was enjoying his position of authority and had no intention of abdicating in favour of a civilian government. Perhaps because the name of the capital city, Freetown, is a constant reminder of the reasons why the colony was founded, the people of Sierra Leone, as a whole, were very restive under military rule. Tension mounted to serious proportions, and, to save the situation, a group of non-commissioned officers overthrew the National Reformation Council on April 18, 1968.[40] Its successor, the National Interim Council, kept faith with the people of Sierra Leone. A few days later the Constitution and Parliament were restored with the appointment, as Prime Minister, of the leader of the All People's Congress, which in the Dove-Edwin Report was shown to have won the 1967 general elections. The participants, politicians, army and police officers, as well as civil servants involved in the organization and execution of the first two coups have been brought to trial on charges of treason and allied offences. A few were acquitted, some sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, and those found guilty of treason condemned to death. All the sentences have been appealed.[41]

There can be no doubt that the judiciary of Sierra Leone is free from political pressure. Citizens do not hesitate to take recourse to the courts to safeguard their constitutional rights. By and large, the press is also free, except in moments of martial law and during a state of emergency. On the whole, the Civil Service is loyal and reasonably efficient.

But all is far from being well in the State of Sierra Leone. Proposals have recently been made that the country should become a republic within the Commonwealth. Almost all sections of the community are agreed that this should be done. However, the majority party, the All People's Congress, has adopted the policy that a President with executive powers should be Head of State in the new republic. The spectre of a one-party state has never really been laid to rest, and consequently people have reacted violently to the idea of power being concentrated in the hands of one man. There have been resignations from the Cabinet, civil disorder and violence, arrests and detention of political leaders, under a State of Emergency declared on September 14, 1970.[42] Much of the criticism has been directed against the Prime Minister on the grounds that he was now exhibiting tendencies which he had roundly condemned in his opposition days. He has since declared in public that he has no intention to impose on the people of Sierra Leone a form of government they do not want.[43]

However, by far the most serious deficiency of the State of Sierra Leone, and one which would for a long time sustain and widen the gap between 'polity' and 'society,' is the lack of a sense of nationality or firm attachment to the total community. It is true that when there is a general threat to the Constitution, either from Prime Ministers or from any other source, people of all tribes generally come together, though for different reasons. This happened also at the time of independence, in spite of the fact that the very issue caused deep cleavages along tribal lines. These cleavages manifest themselves at election time, be it local or general, for the political parties tend to be organized along tribal lines. The

two main political parties are made up primarily of members of the two largest (and sometimes hostile) tribal groups, with other tribes allying themselves with either depending on the issues at stake. The Creoles, numerically small but still of some significance, tend on the whole to favour one party as against the other. Thus the Dove-Edwin Commission of Inquiry into the conduct of the 1967 general elections concluded that the results showed sectional alignment throughout the country; that the Sierra Leone People's Party was confined to the Southern Province, Kailahun and Kenema Districts and part of the Kono District in the Eastern Province; that the All People's Congress was confined largely to the Northern Province and the Western area.[44] This meant that, generally, the Mende and their allies voted one way and the Temne and the Creoles voted the other way.

There is nothing intrinsically wrong with an affinity for one's tribe. There is something seriously wrong when such affinity supersedes loyalty to the larger community - the State. Tribe look upon tribe with suspicion, and any and every attempt to govern in the interest of the whole country is regarded as being designed to bring one tribe under the control of another. Then there is the fear, (not without reason), that members of the dominant tribe will be favoured by politicians at the expense of the others. Soon, fear and distrust erupt into violence, and to maintain order, the government of the day suspends the rule of law in favour of martial law. To many this is one more proof of an attempt at domination and subjugation. The welfare of the State is threatened and good government becomes a mirage under such circumstances. Tribalism, as this blind allegiance to one's tribe and distrust of others is often described, is partly

responsible for the present unhappy situation in Sierra Leone. Apart from the fact that many dislike the concentration of power in the hands of one man, many see the proposal for an executive head of state as an attempt by the Prime Minister, who is a member of one of the northern tribes, to dominate the lives of the other tribes, mainly in the southern part of Sierra Leone. Tribalism all but destroyed Nigeria, and it may be many years before the full cost of the Civil War is known. The economy of the country may be restored but the damage in terms of human suffering may be irreparable.

By far the most important task facing the new nations of Africa is not the quest for 'modernity' but the quest for nationality. When the states become nations, then, with peace, citizens would be free to contribute to the development of their country to the best of their abilities. The schools, which are to help develop the new skills which would make modernization possible, should, at the same time, help to develop and foster attitudes which would make nationality attainable.

The Role of the Intelligentsia

No discussion of the concept of democracy, particularly in West Africa, would be complete without reference to a group of individuals, educated in the schools and universities of Western Europe, for they formed the vanguard of the nationalist movements. These people could be described as the intelligentsia of their day, for they were often members of the legal, medical and teaching professions. Since they were more often not members of local aristocratic families of chiefs, this group could also be called the middle class, having close affinity with neither those at the top nor those at the bottom.

Aristotle was of the opinion that for a political community to be stable it needed to have middle class citizens involved in the business of government.[45] Whatever the form of government at first adopted by the British in West Africa, it certainly did not actively involve the intelligentsia. They were excluded from early participation in government, though provisions were later made for their participation, first as nominated members to the Legislative Councils, then as elected members.[46] The frustration of this class of people gave rise to the early nationalist groups along the West Coast, during the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. Of the connection between the educated elite and the demand for self-government, Sir Ivor Jennings (1956) wrote,

> The development of self-government is not one of the objectives of education, but one of its inevitable consequences...Generally speaking, the development of education was left to missionaries and to local initiative, though small grants were often paid from public funds. One result was that the wealthy section of the population, which was small but influential, obtained quite a good academic education through the medium of English... The result was not only an unbalanced educational development, but also a strong nationalist movement led by the English-educated, before the educational system was sufficiently developed to enable self-government to be granted.[47]

The educated elite was not only excluded from active participation in the process of government, but they were even denied employment. "Thus for long," wrote Crowder (1968), "African doctors with better degrees than their European counterparts could not gain admission to the medical service and when they were admitted it was to a separate grade."[48]

Howe (1968) gave three roots of the nationalist revolution in West Africa. He listed "Sierra Leoneans" as one of the three.[49]

"Without the Sierra Leonean Creoles," he wrote, "the nationalist movement would have been delayed even more. Their contribution was as great as that of the European liberals."[50] Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leone, has had a long tradition of western education at all levels. The Church Missionary Society opened a Grammar School for Boys in 1845, and four years later followed with a similar institution for girls. Earlier the same society in 1823 had opened an institution for higher education which, in 1827, was to become Fourah Bay College.[51] James Africanus Horton (1835-83) left Fourah Bay College to study medicine at the University of Edinburgh, where he graduated in 1859. As a surgeon in the army he served on the west coast, but spent his longest period in the Gold Coast (Ghana). He wrote and published 'West African Countries and Peoples' in 1868, in which he suggested 'specific policies for British-sponsored independence.' The Fanti Confederacy, a political alliance between the traditional elite and the educated elite, formed in the 1860's relied very heavily for inspiration on the views expressed by Horton.[52] Joseph Ephraim Casely Hayford (1866-1930) of the Gold Coast qualified as a barrister in Britain in 1896, after receiving part of his education at Fourah Bay College. He became legal adviser to the Aborigines' Rights Protection Society which had been formed in the Gold Coast in 1897. Later he was to found the West African National Congress in 1920, which had its inaugural meeting in Accra on March 20 of that year. He declared that the conference had been brought about by the intelligentsia of British West Africa. The Conference then proceeded to draw up a memorandum which included demands for self-government, elective franchise, non-interference by government in the election of chiefs, the setting up of a university and the restriction of non-African immigrants.[53]

Throughout the length and breadth of West Africa, the Creoles were active in the nationalist movements and Howe (1968) has also remarked that "a score or more of Creole names practically constitutes the story of nationalism in the 'Twenties and 'Thirties - both in Africa and in London, where their allies were more often West Indian than native-African."[54]

If education was responsible for generating the demand for self-government and independence in British West Africa, it has an even greater responsibility now to see that the inheritors of the kingdoms of the earlier nationalists keep faith with their forefathers. This they can only do if they are taught not to value tribal associations less, but rather to value national aspirations more highly.

Footnotes for Chapter II

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2. Sartori, Giovanni, Democratic Theory. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1962), pp. 353-374, 416-439.

3. Aristotle, op. cit., 1291b, 30-1292b, 38.

4. Macpherson, C.B., The Real World of Democracy, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1966), pp. 1-22.

5. This gap between the ideal and the reality as it affects the United States was pointed out by Gunnar Myrdal in The American Dilemma (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944).

6. Rousseau, Jean Jacques, "The Social Contract," chapter IV in Ideal Empires and Republics (Washington and London: M. Walter Dunne), pp. 59-60.

7. Kerstiens, Thom., New Elite in Asia and Africa, (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966), p. 16.

8. Nkrumah, K. "Background to Independence" in The Ideologies of the Developing Nations ed. by Paul E. Sigmund, (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967), revised edition, p. 255.

9. J.B. Danquah, barrister, politician and philosopher, twice detained by Nkrumah, died in detention in 1965. His published works include Akim Abuakwa: Cases in Akan Law (London: G. Routledge & Sons Ltd., 1928); The Akan Doctrine of God, (London: F. Cass, 1968). See also Politics in Ghana 1946-1964 by Dennis Austin (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 50. This does not mean that the CPP lacked members of the intelligentsia. Rather that it was more a mass party than the UGCC.

10. Austin, op. cit., p. 354.

11. De Smith, S.A. "Westminister's Export Models; The Legal Framework of Responsible Government," in Journal of Commonwealth Studies, vol. 1, no. 1, 1967, p. 3.

12. The Ghana (Constitution) Order in Council 1957, United Kingdom Statutory Instrument no. 277 of 1957.

13. Rubin L., and P. Murray, Constitution and Government of Ghana, (London: Sweet and Maxwell, 2nd ed., 1964), pp. 9-10.

14. Op. cit., pp. 93-118.

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16. The Party, C.P.P. Monthly Journal, No. 7, June 1961, p. 14.

17. Ward, W.E.F. A History of Ghana, (London: Allen & Univir Ltd., revised 3rd ed., 1966), p. 426.

18. Rubin and Murray, op. cit., pp. vii-viii.

19. Ibid., p. 229-234.

20. Austin, op. cit., pp. 402-414.

21. Ibid., p. 414.

22. Ibid., p. 405.

23. For a brief account of events immediately before and after the coup, see Downfall of Kwame Nkrumah by K.A. Bediaku, (Accra, 1966).

24. Austin, op. cit., p. 407.

25. Ibid., p. 416.

26. Lewis, W.A. "Beyond African Dictatorship - The Crisis of the One-Party State" in Encounter, Vol. XXV No. 2, August 1965, pp. 3-4.

27. The Sierra Leone (Constitution) Order in Council, 1961 - Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Statutory Instruments 1961, No. 741, West Africa.

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31. Ibid., pp. 53-60.

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33. West Africa (London) No. 2540 Feb. 5, 1966, p. 160.

34. West Africa (London) No. 2554, May 14, 1966, p. 554.

35. West Africa (London) No. 2549, April 9, 1966, p. 415.

36. Ibid., No. 2594, Feb. 18, 1967, p. 251.

37. Ibid., No. 2594, Feb. 18, 1967, p. 251.

38. Report of the Dove-Edwin Commission of Inquiry into the Conduct of the 1967 General Elections in Sierra Leone and the Government Statement thereon, (Freetown: Government Printer, 1967). For a summary of its findings, see West Africa (London) No. 2636, Dec. 9, 1967, pp. 1576/7.

39. West Africa (London) No. 2600, April 1, 1967, pp. 427/9.

40. Joko Smart, op. cit., p. 21.

41. Sierra Leone Daily Mail, Freetown, July 10, August 18, October 8, 1970, p. 1.

42. Sierra Leone Daily Mail, Freetown, September 15, October 9, 1970, p. 1.

43. Sierra Leone Daily Mail, Freetown, September 24, 1970, p. 1.

44. Dove-Edwin Commission Report, op. cit., p. 2.

45. Aristotle, op. cit., 1295b 35-40, 1296a 1-21.

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50. Ibid., p. 55.

51. For early development of education in Freetown, see Harding, G. "Education in Freetown" in Freetown: A Symposium, ed. Fyfe and Jones, (Freetown: Sierra Leone University Press, 1968), pp.143-153.

52. Peterson, John. Province of Freedom, (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1969), p. 285. Also Wilson, H.S. Origins of West African Nationalism, (London: McMillan & Co., Ltd., 1969), pp. 155-225.

53. Wilson, op. cit., pp. 311-380. Also Kerstiens, op. cit., pp. 121-124.

54. Howe, op. cit., p. 55.

CHAPTER III

THE COLONIAL EXPERIENCE

The occurence of certain events has often been regarded as indicative of political instability. Fischer (1970) summarised these into four major measures for the purpose of statistical analysis. He characterized them as Elite, Communal, Turmoil, and Total. Indicators of instability at the elite or government level are coups, successful and unsuccessful, and plots; instability at the communal or mass level can be computed from the occasions of civil war, irredentism, mutinies, feuds and revolts; rebellions, demonstrations, declarations of a state of emergency indicate the extent of civil turmoil or civil unrest of a general nature; total instability is a composite measure, and refers to indicators of both elite and communal instability.[1]

During the period following independence, some or other of these indicators of political instability have occured in the former British West African colonies of Sierra Leone, Ghana (Gold Coast) and Nigeria. Even the Gambia, a narrow strip of land on either side of the river of the same name, has not escaped unscathed.[2] There the conflict centred around Christianity and monogamy on the one hand, and Islam and polygamy on the other. It involved no less a personage than the Prime Minister, who, as a convert to Christianity, had contracted a monogamous marriage. The conflict arose when, soon after independence, he re-entered the Moslem faith. It needed a

special act of the Gambia House of Representatives, Dissolution of Marriages (Special Circumstances), to resolve the conflict.[3]

The four regions of Nigeria had been uneasy partners in a federation. These regions, Northern (the largest and most populous), Western, Midwestern and Eastern have predominant populations which belong to one particular ethnic group or tribe. At various times, each had threatened to secede.[4] The root cause of this was fear of domination by another ethnic group.[5] Suspicion was rife and politicians did all they could to maintain themselves in power. The census figures of 1963 were regarded by some as fictitious, and the results of Federal Elections based on them were thus suspect.[6] Indeed, by January 1966, riots were frequent and law and order had all but disappeared.[7] There was an army mutiny, and senior army officers and leading politicians were killed. Among the dead were the Prime Minister of the Northern Region, the Sultan of Sokoto, the Prime Minister of the Federation, and the Prime Minister of the Western Region. The Council of Ministers handed over the government of the Federation to the Armed Forces, and the Supreme Commander became Head of the Military Government and executive President.[8] A unitary form of government was set up and the task of national reconstruction begun.[9] There were many who regarded the efforts of the military government with suspicion as the proposed reforms would have deprived them of position and power. When the Military President, in a broadcast to the nation on May 24, 1966, announced the plans of his government to ensure the unification of Nigeria, the Northern Region erupted into violence, for the people feared that under unification the

regions would lose their autonomy and non-Northerners would once again be appointed to positions of power and authority in the North. There were riots, and many lives were lost. All over the country, the situation continued to deteriorate. In July, the Military Head of State and the Military governor of Western Nigeria were killed by mutinous soldiers. More civilians and army officers were massacred in the months that followed. Eventually the people of the Eastern Region, who had sustained the heaviest losses, decided to regroup in their own region, and, under the new name of Biafra, sought to break away from the heterogeneous Federation of Nigeria. Attempts were made to effect a reconciliation without recourse to the force of arms, but to no avail.[10] Thus Nigeria was plunged into the chaos and misery of civil war.

In Ghana, the progressive move towards a one-party state had not been made without disruptions of the civil order. The opposition had to be incapacitated and this was achieved either by inducing members to change their party allegiance, forcing them into exile or holding them in prison under the provisions of the Preventive Detention Act of 1958. Party members, who did not favour the constitutional changes, suffered the same fate as did members of the opposition.[11] In such a situation, various attempts were made to assassinate the Prime Minister. As far back as December 1958, plans for a coup d'etat were uncovered. Nkrumah and other members of his government were to have been arrested by a faction of the army.[12] Two direct attempts on his life were also made. On August 1, 1962, a hand-grenade was hurled at him as he was alighting from his car during a visit to a

small village in Northern Ghana. He escaped unhurt but those around him were not so fortunate.[13] He seemed to bear a charmed life. On January 2, 1964, shots fired at him at almost point blank range by one of his security officers, missed their target.[14] During the course of 1961, the Government had to introduce an austere budget, designed to cope with the country's economic difficulties. This precipitated a strike by skilled and semi-skilled workers, whose wages were inadequate to meet the high cost of living occasioned by the new budget. So serious was the situation that a state of emergency was declared in the industrial area. Those regarded as the strike leaders and instigators were subsequently arrested and detained.[15]

Sierra Leone, too, has experienced its share of civil unrest. There have been riots during election time involving supporters of the major political parties. However, the proposal for a one-party state threatened the very existence of the entire civil order. On February 8, 1966, the then Prime Minister informed Parliament that a plot to assassinate him and senior officials had been foiled. Seven army officers were arrested and detained on the grounds that they were implicated in the plot. As a possible help to loyal Sierra Leone troops, the President of neighbouring Guinea moved his troops to the Sierra Leone border. This action was taken at the request of the Prime Minister, who with the President, had pledged mutual support in case of rebellion in their respective countries.[16] Though the plan for a one-party state was abandoned, it set in motion a train of events which culminated in three coups d'etat between March, 1967 and April, 1968.[17] A period of apparent calm ensued. Once again, another proposal for

constitutional change has been responsible for civil unrest and disorder. The recent proposal that Sierra Leone should become a republic with an executive president has revived fears of a totalitarian regime.[18] This has led to violence and intimidation. To save the situation the government declared a state of emergency and arrested the most vocal of the opposition.[19]

And so the new states of West Africa move from one crisis to another. This leads to the speculation as to how far their common background (as former colonies of an imperial power) may be a fundamental factor, predisposing them to political instability. Generally speaking, the form of government at the attainment of independence had been in operation for a comparatively short time. More often than not, the British had governed through a system of Native Administrations, described as Indirect Rule. Thus, one could hypothesize that a political system which has felt the impact of colonialism tends towards disintegration when the stabilizing influence of the imperial power is removed. This hypothesis will be examined by reference to empirical and historical data, pertaining to the former British West African colonies.

The British in West Africa[20]

The British (like other European powers) were attracted to the West Coast of Africa by the possibilities of trade. This trade, before 1807, was primarily concerned with gold and slaves. Africans taken prisoners in inter-tribal wars were brought down to the coastal areas and sold as slaves. Wherever there was gold and slaves to be

had, the British merchant built forts and settlements. However, the settlement and acquisition of the colony of Sierra Leone, soon to be described, was initially prompted by other motives. When Britain declared the slave trade illegal in 1807, the traders turned to other commodities, notably palm oil and groundnuts in Nigeria, and they also had to open up new markets and avenues for trade. To protect the trading interests of its merchants, the British Government, before long, had to make territorial claims and acquire African lands as part of its empire. This was done by signing treaties of friendship with African chiefs or by abrogating to itself treaty obligations between trading companies and chiefs. States hostile to British penetration were subjugated by force and, more often than not, the British intervened on the side of one or other of the protagonists in inter-state and inter-tribal wars. By the force of arms and by treaties, the British in West Africa acquired the territories which became known as the Gambia, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast and Nigeria. These territories included within the same boundaries African states and tribes, which before the advent of the Europeans were not only autonomous, but also strong and capable of defending their interests in wars against interference from neighbouring states and tribes.

Thus in 1885, when European Powers met in Berlin to formulate rules "for the effective occupation of the Coast of Africa," Britain secured international recognition for the territories already acquired in West Africa - the colonies of the Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast and Lagos. Britain was also able to secure for herself, to the exclusion of France, all that area around the Niger where her

traders and missionaries had been active. When in 1899, she revoked the charter which had conferred administrative authority on the Royal Niger Company, she was able to acquire a vast territory which became known as Nigeria. In Northern Nigeria, the British representative Lugard, decided to use the indigeneous administration already in existence as his instrument of government. From this evolved the system of government known as Indirect Rule.

The Colony of Sierra Leone[21]

The area from which the first English slave-trader procured his human cargo was destined to become the home of slaves emancipated by the British. In 1772, Lord Mansfield delivered his famous judgment in which he held that, once a slave set foot in England, he became a free man. This meant that a number of black people became destitute after they had been turned out by their former masters. To these were later added Negroes who, during the War of American Independence, had fought on the side of the British and had accompanied the army to England. They too soon joined the ranks of the destitute. To help their situation the Committee for Relieving the Black Poor was formed. Granville Sharp was one of the moving spirits behind this venture. Together with a Dr. Henry Smeathman, who was familiar with the West Coast of Africa, he conceived the idea of founding a settlement around the Sierra Leone River for the former slaves. The first batch of settlers sailed to Sierra Leone in 1787. On arrival, a grant of land was obtained from a local chief of the Temne tribe. Because the expedition was ill-prepared for life in the new territory, the

first attempt at settlement was not a success. Granville Sharp and his associates then decided to form a company, and to obtain a royal charter to enable them to carry out their plans. Accordingly, the Sierra Leone Company was incorporated by an Act of Parliament in 1971. To perpetuate the object of the settlement, the name Free Town was chosen.

In 1792 another group of settlers arrived. They were the Nova Scotians, former slaves who had been settled in Nova Scotia after the American War of Independence. Just about this time, there arose a dispute between the Head of the Temne Chiefs and the Company's officials. King Naimbana complained that one of his chiefs had improperly parted with tribal land. Though the dispute was settled and the land re-purchased, echoes of that quarrel can still be heard in present day Sierra Leone. During the dispute, King Naimbana declared, "But it is necessary for me to obtain the consent of my people, or rather the headman of every town, before I sell land to a white man or allow strangers to come and live among us."[22] The descendants of those strangers - the Creoles - can never, up to this day, buy land in the area outside the original settlement, which Britain later acquired as a Protectorate. They can only lease such land.

A second group of settlers joined the colony in 1800. They were the Maroons, descendants of Jamaican slaves, who had earlier been banished to Nova Scotia. Their arrival was timely and they were a welcome addition, for the French, in 1794, had attacked and sacked the settlement. The Temne, surrounding the area, soon took a

dislike to the settlers. They therefore made several attempts to destroy the colony between 1800 and 1802.

Free Town was governed by a Governor and Council appointed by the Company. They were assisted by a Mayor and Aldermen. Even though the Sierra Leone Company received an annual grant from the British Government, the financial burden proved too heavy. Consequently the Company asked the Government to assume responsibility for the settlement. This request was granted. After an Act of Parliament was passed in 1807, Sierra Leone became a Crown Colony on January 1, 1808.

Britain, at this time, was committed to putting an end to the slave trade in West Africa. The position of Free Town on the Sierra Leone river, with its good natural narbour, was ideal as a base of operation for British ships intercepting those still engaged in the slave trade. The recaptives, as the slaves freed from the intercepted ships were designated, were also settled in and around the colony. Thus the population increased and more land was acquired by treaty. The descendants of the settlers and the recaptives came to be known as Creoles. The Church Missionary Society, which appeared on the scene almost as soon as the first group of settlers, pursued its evangelical mission with great zeal. By the middle of the nineteenth century, churches and schools, belonging to various Christian denominations, were very much a feature of the colony.

The Creoles were active in trading with the hinterland, and a military force based in Free Town protected their interests. Treaties were signed with local chiefs. The Sherbro area, at the

request of its chief, was annexed in 1861 to prevent it being taken over by the French. Five years later, in 1866, Free Town became the centre of administration for the West African Settlements. The northern boundary of Sierra Leone was fixed at the Scarcies River by the British and the French in 1882.

In 1885, the north-western boundary of Sierra Leone was fixed, by a Convention between Britain and the Republic of Liberia, though this was to be the subject of dispute until 1903. An Order in Council dated August 24, 1895, extended the jurisdiction of Britain to territories adjacent to the colony of Sierra Leone. Once again, the Trade Wars[23] had made it necessary for Britain to take punitive measures against chiefs who molested and killed Creole traders from the Colony. The French, too, were making their influence felt in the hinterland. Consequently a number of treaties were signed to forestall them. In 1896, a Protectorate was declared over the area,[24] whose northern boundaries had been decided by the British and French in a series of Agreements signed in 1889, 1891 and 1895.[25]

As in the riverine territory of the Gambia, rivers played an important part in deciding the boundaries of Sierra Leone. The courses of the rivers Niger, Mellicourie and Scarcies were apparently more important than the inhabitants living on the banks of these rivers. At one point the line of demarcation stopped at the "intersection of the 13th degree of longitude West of Paris as marked on the French map, and of the 10th degree of latitude."[26]

British Administration in West Africa

The way in which a colony was acquired, in general, determined the status conferred upon it by Britain. Settlements as well as conquered or ceded territories were annexed and became colonies, annexation involving "the direct assumption of territorial sovereignty."[27] These territories "were at the absolute disposition of the Crown regarding their form of government."[28] A Governor was appointed by an Order in Council, and he exercised control through an Executive and a Legislative Council. However, the term Crown Colony did not come into general usage before the second quarter of the nineteenth century.[29] This no doubt was due to the fact that there was then no formal legislation which prescribed the powers of the Crown. The British Settlements Act of 1863 (and subsequent Acts) provided for the government of the West African Settlements, and empowered the Crown to erect courts and to delegate powers of legislation to three or more persons.[30]

Those territories which were acquired through treaties made to facilitate trade were given Protectorate status. Such a status carried with it "the recognition of the right of the aboriginal or other actual inhabitants to their own country, with no further assumption of territorial rights, than is necessary to maintain the paramount authority and discharge the duties of the occupying power."[31] It should be noted that in spite of the difference in status, the net result of occupation by Britain was to deprive the Africans of territorial sovereignty. The distinction, first ennunciated in 1883, was in fact nullified by an earlier Act - the Foreign Jurisdiction

Act of 1843, which "empowered the Crown to exercise any jurisdiction it might have in a foreign country in as full a manner as if that country had been acquired by conquest or cession."[32]

In 1811, three years after Sierra Leone became a Colony, an Advisory Council was constituted. The Governor, representing the Crown, two officials - the Chief Justice, the Colonial Secretary, and one unofficial member chosen from the Protestants made up the Council.[33] In 1863, the legislative and executive functions were separated, and a Legislative Council and an Executive Council appointed.[34]

The move towards independence could be traced through the composition of these two councils, as each constitutional change affected their membership.[35] By the very nature of things the official members or members appointed by the Governor from the ranks of the civil service were, initially, in the majority. Later, unofficial members were included in their numbers. This was the case in Sierra Leone in 1863, when one such member representing the Creoles was appointed. Sierra Leone had a new constitution in 1924,[36] and a next stage was reached. The jurisdiction of the Legislative and Executive Councils was extended to the Protectorate, which had hitherto been under the governor alone. For the first time in the Legislative Council there were three elected unofficial members from the Colony and three nominated unofficial members from the Protectorate. The balance of power was still held by the official majority, nominated by the Governor. This number was reinforced by an additional four nominated unofficial (non-government) members, and included two Europeans.

Indirect Rule in Sierra Leone

The very size of the areas which Britain claimed as Protectorates presented certain problems. There was the problem not only of effective occupation, but also of effective administration. Since these areas were often already organized in forms of government under tribal chiefs, it soon became apparent that effective administration could only be carried out through their agency. Lord Lugard successfully utilized the indigenous agencies as units of government in Northern Nigeria, and the system, thus developed, often described as Indirect Rule, was to become the means by which Britain tried effectively to administer her Protectorates.[37]

Britain declared a Protectorate over the hinterland of Sierra Leone in 1896, and as Porter (1963) has remarked, "'It is one of the paradoxes of history that this declaration of the Sierra Leone Protectorate, while uniting the country politically divided it culturally and ethnically.'"[38] Already by this time, Government attitude to the Creoles had undergone a change, and "fears in the Creole community led the settled Freetown population to suspect that they were in fact becoming sacrifices to the less sophisticated African from the interior on the altar of British imperial rule."[39] These fears were confirmed when under the provisions of the Protectorate Ordinance of 1896, Creoles were excluded from participation in the administration of the Protectorate.[40] Other provisions of the Ordinance prohibited slavery, claimed all minerals to be discovered for the Crown, while making no other claim to African (tribal) lands, and provided for the payment of a house or a hut tax.[41]

Two years later, when it was decided to collect the tax for the purposes of providing funds for the building of roads, schools and other services, the area erupted into violence, in what became known as the Hut Tax War.[42] Throughout the Protectorate, and especially in Mende land, European and American missionaries were killed, as well as a large number of Creoles living and working in the Protectorate as catechists or traders. In all about 1000 Creoles, who were identified with the British because of their speech and dress, were killed.[43] The then Governor charged that the Creoles had instigated the revolt by advising the Protectorate people against paying the tax.[44] The Royal Commissioner who investigated the causes of the revolt found no evidence to support the Governor's allegations that the Creoles had instigated the revolt. Rather he found that the chiefs had all expressed opposition to the tax on the grounds that they were too poor to pay the five to ten shillings levied on every house, when an explanation of the 1896 Ordinance was forwarded to them. Their protests had been ignored. Arrangements were made for the tax to be collected as from January 1, 1898. The Chiefs who refused to collect the tax in their chiefdoms were arrested and imprisoned. The frontier police who were then sent out to collect the tax seized goods and live stock illegally and were generally brutal in handling those who resisted. The resentment at the imposition of the tax coupled with police brutality led to the revolt and the ensuing massacre.[45] The Commissioner went on to recommend that "the only practicable form of government in the Protectorate was a regulated system of administration through the Chiefs, a method to

which, as he said, the people were accustomed and which was capable, with some guidance and control, of keeping the peace and doing substantial justice."[46]

Indirect rule had arrived in Sierra Leone. New Ordinances were soon enacted, but it would appear that very little was done to make them effective, and for all practical purposes "each Chiefdom remained substantially a Native State."[47] The administrative personnel - the District Commissioners - five in number, were to deal with about two hundred such states.[48]

Even though the Creoles had been exonerated by the Commissioner, the views of the Governor were accepted by the then Colonial Secretary. The bitterness generated by the Hut Tax War was to bedevil Sierra Leone politics for a long time to come. From then on, the British adopted a policy calculated to isolate the Creoles and to deprive them of any political influence they might have had. The Governor described the Creoles as "half-educated people who have had free institutions given them, which they cannot use aright, and a liberty of the press which had degenerated into licence."[49]

In 1902, the British Government created the West African Medical Service to which Native African doctors were appointed. This was an inferior branch of the medical service, and African doctors, whatever their qualification and experience, were to be subordinate to European doctors.[50]

The Government, in 1905, decided to open a secondary school for the sons and nominees of chiefs. The school was to be located in Bo, because

> under existing conditions, pupils educated in Freetown almost invariably return home with a feeling of contempt for the native towns and even for their nearest relatives. To prevent this both the native teachers and their pupils will be expected to wear country cloth and their lives outside school hours will be spent in a small town, the government of which will be on ordinary native lines.[51]

Creole masters were excluded from the teaching staff[52] and tribal rather than national loyalty fostered. "Tribal patriotism is to be strengthened; Mendi pupils, for instance, are to be taught in such a way that they will prefer Mendiland to any other country, so with Timinis and all other various tribes represented in the school."[53]

After the declaration of the Protectorate, the members nominated to the Legislative Council to represent Creole interests began to lose whatever political influence they had and Fyfe (1962) has remarked that by 1911 "Government had ceased to pay much attention to Creole members' speech. Debates became increasingly public endorsements of official policy where the unofficial members were allowed little more than protests. . . . Almost all vestige of real partnership faded away."[54] Under the 1924 Constitution, three elected Africans and two nominated Africans were to represent the Colony (Creoles) and three nominated Paramount Chiefs were to represent the Protectorate - two from the Mende and one from the Temne.[55] The three unofficial Creole members elected by a registered electorate numbering 1,016 out of an adult population of 25,000 could no more be said to be representative of the Creoles than the three Paramount Chiefs were of the Protectorate. If anything, the latter, by virtue of their position as rulers of the people, had a political mandate which the Creole representatives lacked.

In 1937 an attempt was made once again to bring the chiefdoms into line. The Tribal Authorities Ordinance, The Chiefdom Tax Ordinance and the Native Treasuries Ordinance were passed to deal with the situation. The Tribal Authority, made up of the Paramount (Head) Chief, Chiefs and their Councillors elected according to native law and custom, was recognized as the unit of local government and was responsible for maintaining law and order and providing local services. The local treasuries also had to collect the yearly Chiefdom Tax.[56]

For the purposes of administration, chiefdoms were grouped into districts, and the number of districts has been held constant at twelve since 1949, though the number of chiefdoms has varied from 217 in the 1920's, to 204 in 1948, down again to 146 in 1949, to 191 a year later, and back to 146 in 1963.[57] These were further grouped together into three Provinces.[58] The problem of administering the Protectorate was far from easy, and in 1949, some chiefdoms had still not come under the 1937 Ordinances. Thus there existed chiefdoms 'reformed' under the Ordinances, and unreformed chiefdoms. Taxes were collected in the former and the chiefs were paid a salary. Local services were also provided from Treasury funds. The unreformed chiefdoms had no Treasuries, no local services were provided and the chiefs paid by tribute exacted from their subjects in accordance with local custom.[59]

Provisions were made for District Councils, representing the Districts, to come together in sessional meetings, to discuss matters affecting not only their districts, but the Protectorate as

a whole. The District Commissioners presided over such meetings. The Protectorate Assembly was also constituted in 1945, and was a consultative and advisory body, under the presidency of the Chief Commissioner for the Protectorate.[60] This, however, was abolished in 1955, as the enlarged Legislative Council, with members from the Protectorate, was better suited to handle related matters.[61]

Later in the interim period between self-government and independence, the arbitrary delimiting of territorial boundaries without reference to tribal affiliations, and the amalgamation of chiefdoms were to contribute to political instability in Sierra Leone. From November 1955 to March 1966, there were widespread strikes and riots in many chiefdoms in the Northern Province. They came to be described locally as the "Tax Disturbances," because they were sparked off by protests against tax and tax assessment levied by the Chiefs. The commission of inquiry which investigated the matter found in one area that

> the particular venom of the rioters in Samu was the result of a dynastic dispute largely developing from the division of the area into British and French Samu . . . The strain upon loyalties which arises in the amalgamation of chiefdoms was noticeable in Marampa-Masimera Chiefdom, Maforki and Buya Romende. . . ."[62]

Towards Independence 1951-1961

In keeping with Britain's declared principle of "responsible self-government" for the colonies, proposals were announced for a change of constitution in 1947.[63] For the first time an attempt was made to bring the Colony and Protectorate together in a unified

legislature, whereby the Protectorate would have an elected majority reflecting its greater numerical strength.

The proposals were bitterly resented by the Creoles for, if one of the results of the Hut Tax War was to cause the British to apply the brakes to the political advancement of the Creoles, it also left the Creoles with a deep distrust and fear of the indigenous peoples of Sierra Leone, particularly the Mende. A local newspaper stressed the anxiety of the Creoles by asking

> What are the Creoles to the indigenous peoples of the Protectorate? Strangers! They see the Creole in the same light as they see the white man. . . . We are not indigenous to Sierra Leone. To add to this is the fact of our own Western culture. . . . This council would lead to a lowering of our citizenship. . . .[64]

As the great debate went on, more extreme Creole views were expressed, an example of which is the following excerpt:

> The Protectorate . . . came into being after the butchering and massacre of some of our Fathers and Grandfathers . . . and their blood streamed in the streets of Mendi Land because they were described as Black English Men showing the White English Men the country. Yes, their blood streamed with the blood of English men and after only fifty years of this treacherous and villanous act Loyal Sierra Leone is asked by the British Government to vacate her seats in their British Legislature (this is what is tantamounts to) for the descendants of the murderers of our ancestors.[65]

These sentiments drew similar response from the Protectorate leaders, one of whom remarked:

> Sierra Leone . . . is still saddled with an archaic constitution with official majority. The reason for this backwardness is evidently due to the fact that our forefathers, I very much regret to say, had given shelter to a handful of foreigners, who have no will to co-operate with us and imagine themselves

> to be our superiors because they are apeing the Western mode of living and have never breathed the true spirit of independence. . . .[66]

Eventually in 1950 it was decided to implement the earlier proposals with some revision. After four years of bitter debate, an election, on a limited franchise, was held in 1951. The Legislative Council, enlarged to thirty, was now to have twenty-one African members. Seven were directly elected by the Colony, one each by the twelve District Councils, and two from the Protectorate Assembly. Thus African elected members were in the majority for the first time in a legislature in which those elected from the Protectorate predominated.[67]

Kilson (1966) has observed that the 1950 decision to implement the revised constitutional proposals "marked the beginning of the end of the long-standing Creole political advantage."[68] In terms of representation based on population this observation is open to question, for representation of the Colony increased from seven in 1951 to twelve for the Western Area (former Colony) in 1962, where the registered voters for the year numbered 101,304, as against, for example, twenty three representatives for 543,484 registered voters in the Northern Province.[69] If, however, Kilson was equating political advantage with political influence, then the evidence, so far, suggests that this advantage was more apparent than real. The Creole presence in the Legislative Council had made very little impact on the political situation, since, even with the implementation of the 1924 Constitution, "the Executive Council, the primary source of Government policy, was not affected by the changes in the structure of the Legislative Council;

it remained a purely European organ."[70] Whatever illusions the Creoles themselves entertained about their political power were shattered by British response to their protests, petitions and representations against the implementation of the 1951 Constitution.[71] It is necessary also to put into perspective the disparity between educational provisions in Freetown, Creole educational attainment, and educational facilities in the Protectorate. Given the policy of the British Government which downgraded the appointment of African doctors and restricted the appointment of Creoles to posts of responsibility in the Civil Service, one should marvel not that there were only three doctors of Protectorate origin in 1950, but rather that the Creoles, who had known better days (professionally) since their association with the British in 1808, could have in the face of all difficulties produced 70 doctors.[72] The explanation of this may lie in what Peterson (1969) has described as the resilience of the Creoles, and the concern for the education of their children.[73] "The farmer and trader from Hastings, Regent, and York," he wrote, "came to the city to prosper and as he did he settled down in the city itself, buying property, opening a shop, sending his children to Freetown schools and English universities. . . ."[74] The uneven distribution of education in Sierra Leone had long been made known to the British Government.[75] The lack of financial resources to provide more educational facilities could not serve entirely to explain away Britain's failure to deal with the imbalance. A large iron mine was opened at Pork Loko[76] in the Northern Province in 1933, and some of the profits from the mining operation could have been diverted to the

provision of education in the Northern Province, which still lags behind most areas in the provision of education.

In order to contest the 1951 elections, the Sierra Leone Organization Society (S.O.S.) founded in 1946 by western educated intellectuals from the Protectorate, anti-Creole and anti-chiefs, effected a merger with the People's Party founded in 1949 by a Creole politician to include both Creole and Protectorate members, to form the Sierra Leone Peoples Party.[77] The SLPP emerged the winner in the elections and in its final form, while including members of other tribes, was predominantly Mende.[78] The main opposition to this party in the 1957 elections came from the United Sierra Leone Progressive Party formed in 1954 to bridge the gap between the Colony and the Protectorate,[79] and the Kono Progressive Movement.[80] A rift in the SLPP in 1958, led to a breakaway movement and the formation of a new party, the Peoples National Party, which included Creole and non-Creole members, though like the SLPP, the largest ethnic group was Mende.[81]

As all sections of the community were pressing to follow in the footsteps of Ghana (Gold Coast) and Nigeria, it soon became necessary to make further proposals for constitutional changes which would result in political independence.[82] Britain had made it clear that independence would only be granted to a United Sierra Leone - itself a rather unnatural condition.[83] Since all the political leaders were nationalists, they did agree to form a United National Front. Thus, after the 1960 Constitutional Conference in London, a date was fixed for independence. For very obvious reasons no mention

was made at the talks of two important points over which the political parties were deeply divided. The opposition parties were not in favour of chiefs in the Legislature and had wanted them moved to an upper house. The next major difference arose out of the land tenure system under which Creoles could never (and cannot) own land in the Protectorate, whereas people from the Protectorate could (and do) own land in the Colony area.[84]

The composition of the Executive Council, the policy making body, changed to reflect the constitutional advances of Sierra Leone. In 1958, the only non-Sierra Leonean in the Council was the Governor. The Sierra Leoneans with responsibility for various government departments were now functioning as Cabinet Ministers. When Sierra Leone became independent on April 27, 1961, the Executive Council disappeared, and its responsibilities passed on to the Cabinet, presided over by the Prime Minister.[85] Yet a new constitution was implemented in 1962. Its most noteworthy feature was that for the first time elections were held on the basis of universal adult suffrage.[86]

Another feature of the 1962 elections was that a new party challenged the position of the SLPP.[87] This was the All Peoples Congress which was formed soon after the 1960 Constitutional Conference in London.[88] Its leaders were northerners, who since 1957 had been apprehensive about the dominance of the Mende group in the SLPP, and who had wanted an election to be held before independence. In fact, the party started out as the Election Before Independent Movement. Members of the PNP who were Temne, joined with the present prime minister to start the APC. This party now enjoys substantial support

from the Creoles, the Northern tribes, The Temne, Limba, Loko, Susu and Madingo, and has in other areas eroded traditional support for the SLPP.

The Legacy of Indirect Rule

The social memory of Africa is not short. Tales of warrior ancestors are handed down by word of mouth, and there are those who still remember the time when the chiefdom was, more or less, an independent native state. (In Sierra Leone this was still the case up to 1935). In the name of friendship, in the interest of trade and in return for 'protection,' chiefs were willing to sign treaties with Europeans. The more organized tribes, like the Ashanti in the Gold Coast and the Mende in Sierra Leone had to be put down by force, and they saw their kingdoms broken up to prevent their resurgence. Yet these once independent and often hostile units were grouped together to form states or colonies, whose boundaries were decided in Berlin, or Paris or London and secured by arrangement not with the Africans, but between Europeans. Such inauspicious beginnings did not augur well for the future of the states of (British) West Africa.

There was lacking from the outset that concensus of feeling, of community, of common purpose which is the basis of a modern political state. They were colonies brought into being by treaties and agreements, and included within a colony were peoples traditionally hostile to one another. As independent native states, they had often been involved in war. British intervention which brought peace did not erase fear or distrust from memory. The Mende and the Temne in Sierra

Leone are traditionally antagonistic to one another. This dates from the early sixteenth century, when the Temne, in hordes, swept down from the Upper Niger area into Sierra Leone and drove out from their villages the autochthonous Susu and Mende.[89] The Ashanti and the Fanti in the Gold Coast fought many wars, and Britain had first to declare Fanti a colony to protect it from Ashanti, and later to take over Ashanti to ensure peace. In like manner in Nigeria the Fulani and the Yoruba, the Fulani and the Hausa had engaged not only in inter-tribal wars, but also in civil wars.

In order to gain viable territories, Britain had to conclude treaties with a heterogeneous collection of African states. To secure the Gambia, for example, involved signing treaties with over twenty native states,[90] while, between 1884 and 1892, the Royal Niger Company concluded treaties with 366 Native Chiefs.[91] When the boundaries came to be drawn, no thought was given to the possible fragmentation of tribes and families. Members of the same tribe in adjacent villages found themselves in different countries, under the control of different imperial powers. Rivers, and not tribes, decided where the boundaries were fixed. Consequently, we have the Gola in Liberia on the west bank of the Moa river, while those on the east bank of the river are in Sierra Leone. The Scarcies river put some Limba in Sierra Leone and some in (French) Guinea. The Fulani scattered over a vast area of West Africa had their locations decided by the rivers Niger, Volta, and Senegal.[92]

On the widely disparate groups, within the Protectorates, was imposed the system of indirect rule. Based as it was on the

chiefdom as the unit of government, it tended to emphasize the cohesion of a tribal community, and did nothing to foster inter-tribal unity or cooperation. In a sense, the tribes became plural societies within a colony - "living side by side, yet without mingling in one political unit."[93] This divisive tendency towards pluralism has been the most potent legacy of indirect rule. The unit of government, the tribe, came more and more into prominence for its inhabitants, and the country (or state) and other tribes receded to the background. For purposes of administration chiefdoms in Sierra Leone were grouped into Districts and Districts into Provinces. This was not an attempt to create a common social will,[94] but to facilitate administration. The frequent boundary changes made between 1896-1906, 1907-1919, 1920-1930, 1930-1945 and again in 1963, more often than not promoted ethnic rivalry. In 1963, the 71 chiefdoms of the Northern Province were reduced by amalgamation to 51.[95] Even though this produced more viable units, it perhaps has contributed to the perpetuation of northern hostility to the Mende of the south, since it happened under a 'Mende' government.[96] Not only were tribes isolated from one another, but the Protectorate was isolated from the Colony. Both had existed together in 1896. Yet the first contact, politically in a unitary government, was on a limited basis in the 1924 Legislative Council. Nothing more was done to bring both sections together until 1951. The acrimonious debates[97] which preceded this event indicated the extent to which indirect rule had eroded and undermined mutual respect and confidence.

When the Sultan of Sokoto observed "The mistake of 1914 has

come to light, and I should like to go no further,"[98] he expressed, for many in the North, the prevailing attitude to the amalgmation of Northern and Southern Nigeria, effected by Lugard, proponent of indirect rule.

If pluralism has been the most potent legacy of indirect rule, its most pernicious legacy has been the backward state of education in all the territories where it was practised. Making use as it did of Tribal Authorities elected according to native law and custom, it did not need a large cadre of educated people to sustain it. It made very little difference if the chief and all his councillors were illiterate, as long as there was a District Officer to direct operations, and a treasurer to handle the taxes. Moreover, by the time the Protectorates came to be established in Sierra Leone, the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast and Northern Nigeria, British administrators had developed a mistrust and dislike of the educated African from the Coast. They "attributed all the troubles along the West Coast of Africa to the educated native,"[99] and by the end of the nineteenth century, "a definite Colonial Office attitude towards educated Africans"[100] had crystallized.

This attitude produced two results. The promotion of Africans to senior posts of responsibility was henceforth to be curtailed, and finally to be discontinued. Later, the educated Africans, victims of discrimination were to start the nationalist movements for independence.[101] To save the tribal African from the influence of his educated brother became a sacred trust. Lugard himself was convinced "that Christian ideas and Western education would militate against the success of his

system of indirect rule."[102] The ruling Emirs in Northern Nigeria evidently shared his view. Consequently,

> In the decade from 1904-1914 the traditional dignitaries of Nigeria thus swung into close alliance with the British colonial regime. The old rulers became increasingly dependent on British support for their authority against the erosive influences of economic, commercial, and educational development.[103]

The number of children going to school in the Northern Province of Nigeria, in 1949, represented 3.5 percent of the potential school-going population.[104] The figure for the Western Province was 30.0 percent.[105] Though steps were being taken, in all territories, by 1950 to improve the position through funds available under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act,[106] the Northern region still lagged behind the rest of Nigeria in education. The effect of the uneven development of education accentuated a shortage of skilled personnel. Therefore people with the requisite knowledge were recruited from outside the area, mainly from the East. This displeased the Northerners. Over the years their displeasure hardened into bitter resentment. After independence, the 'foreigners' were looked upon as representatives of the hated Federation. In a bloody prelude to the Nigerian Civil War, many hundreds of Easterners, living and working in the North, were massacred.[107]

In retrospect, given the problems of administering vast areas, compounded by Islamic suspicions of Western ideas, particularly those of Western secular education, Lugard and his successors had no alternative but to use the indigenous administration as units of government. Even though this had the effect of retarding social and political

development, it also had the effect of stabilizing those areas by maintaining the status quo. In fact it was the stabilizing effect of such rule which prompted the Commissioner who investigated the 1898 Hut Tax War in Sierra Leone to recommend that a regulated system of administration through the Chiefs be introduced in the Protectorate.

There is also disparity in education between the former Colony and Protectorate of Sierra Leone. And there is also disparity between chiefdoms in the South and chiefdoms in the North. As late as 1949, many of the northern chiefdoms were unreformed and had no Treasuries from which to provide local services.[108] The greater part of the unreformed chiefdoms were in the Koinadugu District, which in 1963, had the lowest number of children in school.

The following tables give the distribution of primary and secondary school places, district by district in 1963.[109]

		Primary Enrollment		
	District	Population	Enrollment	Places per 1000 Population
Western Area	Freetown	127,699	20,217	158
	Rural Area	67,337	6,358	95
Southern	Bo	209,003	12,513	60
	Moyamba	167,651	7,146	43
	Bonthe	80,271	3,036	38
	Pujehun	85,297	3,930	46
Eastern	Kenema	227,545	9,224	40
	Kailahun	150,230	8,338	56
	Kono	170,164	7,910	47
Northern Province	Tonkolili	185,190	6,822	37
	Koinadugu	129,275	1,924	15
	Kambia	137,800	3,039	22
	Bombali	198,306	6,474	33
	Port Loko	247,252	5,775	23
		2,183,019	102,706	

	Population	No. of Secondary School Places	No. of Places per 1,000 of Population	
Freetown	127,699	6,727	53	
Rural Area	67,336	170	3	35
Bo	209,003	1,947	9	
Moyamba	167,651	508	3	
Bonthe	80,271	408	5	
Pujehun	85,297	222	3	
Kenema	227,545	845	4	
Kailahun	150,230	126	1	
Kono	170,164	179	1	
Tonkolili	185,190	454	2	
Koinadugu	129,275	140	1	
Kambia	137,800	134	1	
Bombali	198,306	466	2	
Port Loko	247,252	120	.5	
	2,183,019	12,446	5.7 (Average)	

Even when projected improvements are made the Northern District would still lag behind all areas in Sierra Leone. In so far then that indirect rule inhibited or retarded the spread of education, it also militated against modernization.

Whatever may be the merits or demerits of indirect rule, its effect on educational development has in turn influenced political events in Sierra Leone. In the 1962 Elections at which the SLPP emerged with a parliamentary majority, a substantial proportion of its members were old boys of the Bo Government School which had been founded in 1906 to educate the sons and nominees of chiefs, in keeping with English Public School tradition of leadership. When the Prime Minister of Sierra Leone died in office in 1964, his younger brother, in accordance with powers vested in the Governor-General, was

appointed to succeed him. There were many within the ranks of the Sierra Leone Peoples Party who objected to this appointment. It has been suggested "that a main cause of the protest against Albert Margai's appointment as Prime Minister was that he was not an Old Bo Boy, and that it was time a Bo School graduate became Prime Minister."[110] If some of the Mende members of the SLPP hierarchy resented the appointment, it was also resented by the Temne and others from the North who felt that a Temne Prime Minister should have been chosen to succeed a Mende Prime Minister.[111]

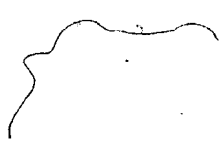
The system of government through native institutions afforded very little or no preparation for participation in a democratic system. Based as it was on the institution of chieftaincy in alliance with officers of the imperial power, it only provided an example of oligarchy at work. Having had, therefore, no first hand knowledge of democracy or experience through participation, many in the new states of West Africa could not understand their political obligations after independence.

The attainment of independence left many of the basic issues between tribes unresolved. It was imperative that important differences arising out of the very composition of the states be settled at independence. A change of political status did not cause all political problems to disappear. In Sierra Leone, six years after independence, the unresolved question of the position of Chiefs in the Legislature, led to a charge that the Governor-General had acted unconstitutionally. Following the 1967 general elections of ordinary members, he appointed a Prime Minister. The Force Commander, in

Sierra Leone's first military coup, intervened. He put the Governor-General under house arrest, and also had the new Prime Minister detained, on the grounds that the Governor-General had no right to make such an appointment while the election of chiefs in the districts was still going on. The Commission, which later looked into the conduct of the 1967 general elections, found that the Governor General had acted constitutionally.[112] The Force Commander was himself ousted from power, and tried for treason when civilian rule was restored.

It might be concluded, in the light of this analysis of the historical and political development of (British) West Africa, that indirect rule left behind a legacy fraught with dangers of social upheaval and political instability. The social foundations (based on tribe), laid down and reinforced during the period of colonialism, were not adequate to support the structure of political institutions vital to the survival of democracy. The numerous tribes did come together in apparent unity to win independence from Britain. Once this objective had been achieved, the bonds of unity forged in the heat of the struggle disintegrated. Once again, old hatreds, feuds and fears, aggravated by a new struggle for position and power, reappeared to threaten the very existence of the new states. The post-independence history of (British) West Africa is replete with evidence of political instability. Using Fischer's measures as a guide (p.46) Nigeria in 1966 experienced total instability which culminated in civil war. In Ghana there was evidence of instability both at the elite and communal level. Two unsuccessful attempts were made on

the life of the President. A state of civil unrest, occasioned by the authoritarian rule of the Nkrumah regime, and a combination of other factors led to the coup of February 1966. Sierra Leone which experienced three coups between March 1967 and April 1968 had its share of strikes, demonstrations and general unrest. The fact that all these states have a common background as former colonies of an imperial power, which ruled for the most part through native administrations, lends support to the plausible hypothesis that political instability is, in part, a consequence of colonialism and indirect rule.



Footnotes for Chapter III

1. Fischer, L.F., The Impact of Political Socialization on National Integration in Africa. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Northwestern University, 1970), pp. 188-192. For general survey of attempts to isolate and classify indicators of political instability, see Fischer, op. cit., chapter 7, pp. 180-204.

2. Gambia was the last of the British West African colonies to become independent on February 18, 1965.

3. See West Africa (London) No. 2623, September 9, 1967.

4. Okeke, G.C., The Biafra-Nigeria War. (London: 1968), pp. 3 & 4.

5. See Minorities, States and Nigerian Unity, published by the Old Calabar and Ogoja Provinces. (Lagos: May 1967), p. 4.

6. Okeke, op. cit., pp. 5 & 6.

7. See West Africa (London) No. 2537, January 15, 1966, p. 75.

8. For a day by day account of the coup and killings, see West Africa (London) January 22, 1966, pp. 105-6.

9. West Africa (London) No. 2542, February 19, 1966, p. 205.

10. Okeke, op. cit., pp. 12-16; Nigerian Situation: Facts and Background. (Current Issues Society: Kaduna, Nigeria, 1966), pp. 3-11. See also West Africa (London) No. 2566, August 6, 1966, pp. 871-6.

11. Austin D., Politics in Ghana 1946-1960. (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 377-421.

12. Bing, Geoffrey, Reap the Whirlwind. (London: McGibbon and Kee, 1968), p. 239.

13. Austin, op. cit., p. 410.

14. Barker, P., Operation Cold Chop: The Coup that Toppled Nkrumah. (Ghana Publishing Corporation: Accra, 1969), pp. 4 & 5.

15. Austin, op. cit., pp. 400-1.

16. West Africa (London) No. 2594, February 18, 1967, p. 251.

17. See West Africa (London) No. 2601, April 8, 1967, pp. 477-8; also Cartwright, John R., Politics in Sierra Leone 1947-67. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p. 282.

18. See Sierra Leone Daily Mail, September 15; October 9, 1970, p. 1.

19. Ibid., September 24, 1970, p. 1.

20. For a short account of the acquisition of British Colonies in West Africa, see Evans, Ifor L., The British in Tropical Africa. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1929).

21. Information about the settlement of Free Town is located in the following: - The British in Tropical Africa by Ifor Evans (Cambridge: The University Press, 1929), pp. 52-64; A History of Sierra Leone by Christopher Fyfe (London: Oxford University Press, 1962); The Rise of British West Africa by Claude George (London: Frank Cass and Col, Ltd., 1968 ed), pp. 15-63, 80-150; West Africa Under Colonial Rule by Michael Crowder (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1968), pp. 150-152; Creoldom by Arthur T. Porter, (London: Oxford University Press, 1963); Province of Freedom by John Peterson (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1969).

22. Falconbridge, A.M., Two Voyages to the River Sierra Leone 1791-1793 (London: Frank Cass & Co., Ltd., 1967 ed.), p. 38. The Temne, as the original owners of the land on which the Colony was founded, have always disputed the mode of acquisition. Several times during the early 19th century they attacked the Colony. During the latter part of the 19th century, the desire to participate in the trade with the colony, led to wars between various tribes. Thus during this period, chiefs of the two largest groups, the Mende and the Temne were often at war. Both united during the 1898 Hut Tax War to deal with the Creoles and European missionaries. Now a new rivalry has arisen between the two groups since the Mende dominated the political situation during 1951-1960 to the exclusion of the Temne. The latter, by forming their own political party (the All Peoples Congress) are now in power, having defeated the Sierra Leone Peoples' Party (Mende dominated) in the last general election.

23. Fyfe, op. cit., pp. 448-456, pp. 461-485.

24. Crowder, op. cit., pp. 150-155; Evans, op. cit., pp. 65-70.

25. For a detailed account of treaties and boundary arrangements, see Hertslet, E., The Map of Africa by Treaty, Vol. II, pp. 757-779. (London: Cass Reprint, 1967). The assignment of villages on either side of the line of demarcation makes fascinating reading. See also pp. 1136-1140.

26. Hertslet, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 57.

27. Crowe, S.E., The Berlin West African Conference, 1884-1885 (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1942), Appendix I, p. 186.

28. Wight, M., The Development of the Legislative Council (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1945 ed.), p. 28.

29. Ibid.,p. 57.

30. Ibid., p. 59.

31. Crowe, op. cit., p. 186.

32. Ward, op. cit., p. 195.

33. Wight, op. cit., p. 73.

34. Ibid., p. 69.

35. Ibid., p. 66-85.

36. Cartwright, J.R., Politics in Sierra Leone 1947-1967 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p. 18.

37. Perham, M., Native Administration in Nigeria (London: Oxford University Press, 1962 ed), pp. 43-60; 345-363.

38. Porter, Arthur T., Creoldom: A Study of the Development of Freetown Society (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 61.

39. Peterson, John, Province of Freedom: A History of Sierra Leone 1787-1870 (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1969), p. 247.

40. Porter, op. cit., p. 61.

41. Lord Hailey, Native Administration in the British African Territories, Part III (London: Her Majesty;s Stationery Office, 1951), p. 299.

42. Porter, op. cit., pp. 60-61.

43. Cartwright, op. cit., p. 16.

44. Porter, op. cit., p. 61.

45. See Mende Rising Against British Tax Administration in Sierra Leone, 1898 by Sir David Chalmers quoted in Colonial Africa eds Cartery, Wilfred and Kilson, Martin (New York: Random House, 1970), pp. 62-69.

46. Ibid., p. 300.

47. Crowder, op. cit., p. 225.

48. Ibid.

49. Porter, op. cit., p. 61.

50. The West African Medical Service in Sierra Leone Inheritance by Christopher Fyfe (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 299-300.

51. From Sierra Leone Royal Gazette, September 29, 1905, quoted in Porter, op. cit., p. 68.

52. Fyfe, op. cit., p. 616.

53. Alldridge, T.J., A Transformed Colony - Sierra Leone as it Was and as it is (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1910), p. 139.

54. Fyfe, op. cit., p. 617.

55. Kilson, Martin, Political Change in a West African State: A Study of the Modernization Process in Sierra Leone (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1966), pp. 124-125.

56. Hailey, op. cit., p. 301.

57. Clarke, J.I. Sierra Leone in Maps (London: University of London Press, 1966), p. 32.

58. Hailey, op. cit., p. 302.

59. Ibid., p. 303.

60. Ibid., p. 315-316. For Native Administration in the Sierra Leone Protectorate, Hailey, op. cit., pp. 298-318.

61. Cartwright, op. cit., p. 93.

62. Sierra Leone Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Disturbances in the Provinces (November 1955 to March 1956). (Crown Agents for Overseas Governments & Administration, London: 1956), pp. 146-147.

63. See Cartwright, op. cit., pp. 43-54.

64. Quoted in Cartwright, op. cit., p. 49.

65. Ibid., p. 53.

66. Ibid., p. 53.

67. Ibid., p. 55.

68. Kilson, op. cit., p. 169.

69. Clarke, op. cit., p. 34.

70. Kilson, op. cit., p. 125; see also Fyfe (1964) Sierra Leone Inheritance, pp. 295-308.

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72. Cartwright, op. cit., p. 24.

73. Peterson, op. cit., p. 36.

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75. See Report on Education in Africa by Jesse Jones (New York: Phelps Stokes Fund, 1922).

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80. Ibid.,op. cit., p. 96.

81. Ibid.,op. cit., p. 109.

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85. Ibid., p. 68 also p. 95 n. 39.

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89. Hailey, op. cit., p. 294.

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91. Ibid., pp. 131-136.

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109. Taken from The Development Programme in Education for Sierra Leone 1964-70 (Freetown: Government Printing Department, 1964), by G.F. Sleight, pp. 3 and 24.

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CHAPTER IV

EDUCATION AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

The practice of indirect rule had an adverse effect on the development of education in West Africa. British administrators, wary of the disruptive influence of the educated 'native,' discouraged, for as long as possible, the spread of western style education into the hinterland. The traditional rulers, buttresses of the system, were likewise not eager for an innovation that would undermine their authority. Thus, in Northern Nigeria, the policies of Lugard and his successors were directed towards conservative Moslem education which the Emirs favoured. According to Perham (1960), Lugard "was quick to foresee that the then inseparable combination of Christianity and Western education could destroy the discipline of Africans as members of families, of tribes and as subjects of a colonial government."[1] In his judgment,

> the primary function of education should be to fit the ordinary individual to fill a useful part in his environment with happiness to himself, and to ensure that the exceptional individual shall use his abilities for the advancement of the community, and not to its detriment or to the subversion of constituted authority.[2]

In Sierra Leone, the government's first incursion into the field of education in the Protectorate was to establish a school for the sons and nominees of chiefs. Since this school was located in the south, it gave a headstart to the people of this area over those in the north where there was no such school. The gap between the

north and the south was further widened by the delay in establishing Treasuries in the north, for the collection of chiefdom tax under the provisions of the Chiefdom Tax and Native Treasuries Ordinances of 1937. No local services (schools, hospitals) could be provided without the collection of taxes.[3] The policy of Britain at the time was that the overseas territories of her empire should pay their way,[4] not a surprising doctrine since they had their beginnings in commercial activities. A comparatively small number of European District Officers controlled vast areas with the help of the Tribal Authorities. The Chiefs and their Councillors did not need to be literate in English. In short, a corps of western educated native civil servants was not essential to the maintenance of the system. There was, therefore, no pressing need for the provision of schools in all areas of the Protectorate, though the establishment of a school for the sons of chiefs showed that there was an underlying belief that an educated chief was likely to function better than an uneducated one. The position was different in the coastal areas of the colonies, where the administration needed clerks and other minor officials to sustain it. The missionaries, who provided most of the education, needed people who could teach and interprete the Bible to others, and the commercial firms also needed clerks. So even when it became the policy to keep educated Africans out of senior posts, their services were still needed in other less exalted positions. Their services also ensured some form of continuity where, for health reasons, the tours of duty and the lives of the Europeans were short.

In Nigeria, even by 1920, the glaring discrepancies in educational

development between the North and South had become all too obvious. The then Governor of Nigeria, in an address to the Nigerian Council observed that

> In the northern provinces there has been until recently a certain tendency to regard education of the local population with some uneasiness and suspicion, as a process likely to exert a disintegrating and demoralizing effect upon the characters of those who are subjected to it; and where this feeling has been overcome, a further tendency is observable to regard education too, exclusively as a handmaid to administration . . . education in the north has been practically confined to the vernacular and Arabic, has been allowed to become the almost exclusive perquisite of the children of the local ruling classes, and has for its main object the equipment of these children with just sufficient knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic to enable them, in after life, to fill posts under one or another of the various Native Administrations.[5]

The Commission that visited West Africa in 1922, under the joint auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and the Foreign Mission Societies of North America and Europe, found, that even with the meagre overall provisions of education, a marked disparity existed between the north and the south, between the coastal areas and the hinterland. This was reflected in these figures:[6]

Country	Population	Estimated no. at school	Total % of Budget spent on education
Sierra Leone Colony	75,000	9,000	3.3
Sierra Leone Protectorate	1,350,000	9,000	
Gold Coast Colony	1,143,000	25,000	3.0
Ashanti	407,000	2,600	
Northern Territories	527,000	225	
So. Nigeria including Lagos	7,750,000	30,000	1.0
Northern Nigeria	9,000,000	235	

Britain's colonial policy had undergone a change by 1940. It was recognized that local revenue was no longer adequate to meet the cost of expanding social services. The British government, in 1940 and 1945, passed the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts.[7] Under the provisions of these Acts, money was made available by the British government for the expansion of educational and other facilities in the colonies. Over a five year period, the relative contribution of funds for the development of education in Sierra Leone was as follows:[8]

Year	C.D. and W. Funds £	Sierra Leone Revenue £
1949	76,969	27,241
1950	117,969	69,615
1951	134,835	120,963
1952	92,265	125,201
1953	126,290	122,678

In the same way, funds were made available for educational development in the Gambia, Ghana and Nigeria. This massive injection of funds by Britain could not radically alter the uneven balance, though it did increase educational facilities in these territories as a whole. The north still lagged behind the south, which also lagged behind the colony area in Sierra Leone. Hailey (1956) noted that in 1953, out of the 1,068,789 children enrolled in primary schools in Nigeria, only 125,989 were enrolled in the Northern Region,[9] and that schooling was still backward in the Protectorate of Sierra Leone.[10] The reality of the situation, and the generally accepted close relationship between education and modernization, prompted an unprecedented expansion of educational facilities in the years immediately before and after independence. The reasons for this expansion are easily discernible.

The countries which are the most highly industrialized (and are therefore modernized) are those in which all sections of the community have easy access to education, and where, at one stage, citizens are compelled by law to make use of the facilities provided. Since the new states of West Africa are underdeveloped because they lack the necessary skills and knowledge to modernize, more education was needed to remedy the position. Not only their own perception and awareness of the situation but also informed opinion tended to confirm the conviction that they are underdeveloped because of the lack of qualified man power,[11] though other factors like capital, organizational ability and control of markets are equally important. Independence also implied the assumption of positions of responsibility by Africans. Africans had to replace the Europeans who previously held such posts. This meant there had to be more education for more Africans to meet this need. It made no difference that the precise function of the man with the least amount of education was undefined within the existing framework. There was the civil service needing capable administrators. Economists and engineers had to be produced. Africans were to man the new industrial plants which would be set up, to extend the agricultural sector to produce more food locally and cheaply. Teachers had to be produced to teach the children from whom future engineers, economists and agriculturists would be drawn. There had to be those who would teach the teachers to teach others. For many, also, education was seen as the means of moving up the social ladder. The most successful men in the society, were, more often than not, those with a high degree of education. In any case, to get a coveted job in the civil

service demanded an education. Again, for many, the word 'independence' connoted not only control of the country's affairs by Africans, but also a better way of life, a better paid job, more money, more material goods, in short, more of the good things of life. Africans placed their faith in education to help them secure their share of the benefits of independence. Thus an almost insatiable demand for education became apparent and politicians, as nationalists, were committed to educational expansion.

The existence of an informed electorate was also seen by politicians as one of the prerequisites for the sustenance of the type of constitution they favoured, at the time of independence. These constitutions (of a liberal democracy) implied that the people should be able to understand the issues at election time and to vote intelligently. At other times, they should also show an interest in the activities of the government for which they had voted. For politicians, therefore, the aims of educational expansion were two-fold - progress towards modernization and stability of the state. The fact that education was not as wide spread as it should be perhaps explains why elections in Sierra Leone, before 1962, were conducted on a limited franchise.[12]

One of the aims of the politicians in expanding educational facilities - to ensure political stability - was destined to be frustrated by the manner in which they sought to win elections and power. The attainment of independence further accentuated the emphasis on tribe, for all too often, politicians in their attempt to win votes based their appeals on ethnic connections, and sought to discredit opponents on the grounds of their connections with rival tribes. Under the 'one man one vote' system of a liberal democratic constitution, the tribes

or groups likely to win a majority because of their numerical strength were, more often than not, those of the hinterland which, on the whole, had less education than the coastal tribes. (This situation, as we have seen, was itself a consequence of indirect rule.) In the ensuing struggle for power, tribes were polarized, and once the educationally less developed groups had control of the government, the tendency was for them to put as many as possible of their number in positions of power and authority. Thus, not only at election time was tribe an issue, but after election charges of tribalism or of giving preferential treatment to members of the majority tribe became frequent. All too often such charges and counter charges have been the social foundations of coups and bloodshed.

Busia (1969) has explained that tribalism entered African politics through the search for amenities, such as water and roads, which were sought, in the first place, from the traditional authorities, and that the uneven development in the regions gave this search the colour of tribal rivalry.[13] The cleavages arising out of the emphasis on tribe have produced such unstable conditions that governments have been forced to take steps to deal with the situation. On the eve of independence in Ghana, which had enjoyed self-government for five years since 1951, the Ga Community in Accra forwarded a number of resolutions to the Prime Minister, complaining of tribalism and nepotism. Some of the resolutions read as follows:

7 And whereas it is known that the Fantis, Ashantis and Ewes in the past, principally Fantis, though preaching against tribalism and nepotism are actually practising these administrative vices as witnessed by the number of them who are employed in the ministries . . .

9 And whereas it is rumoured that a Fanti Minister, Fanti Ministerial Secretaries and some of their wealthy friends are busily engaged in paying for and thereby acquiring for themselves some of the Estate buildings taken from defaulting members of the Party . . .

12 And whereas the Ga-Adangmes have deceived themselves into thinking that tribal barriers were broken down for ever . . .

49 Therefore BE IT RESOLVED AND IT IS HEREBY RESOLVED that while this feeling in the Ga-Adangme area . . . gathers and engenders a ferment for an eruption likely to blow up anytime, the Hon. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah be made known of it before it is too late if he seems not to know it or does not know it.[14]

Before long other groups which felt they were being discriminated against were making their voices heard. The Nkrumah government dealt with the problem in a characteristic manner. In December 1957, the year of independence, it passed the Avoidance of Discrimination Act (originally called the Political Parties Restriction Bill), prohibiting the existence of parties on a regional, tribal or religious basis.[15]

After the coup of January 1966, Nigeria, in like manner, attempted to deal with the formenting and exploitation of tribal differences. In May of the same year the Head of the Military Government announced in a broadcast that a Unification Decree had been promulgated, banning all existing political parties and prohibiting the formation of new ones. This was justified on the grounds that, in spite of earlier warnings, party activities were being continued either directly or through various tribal societies and organizations. It was hoped that this measure would minimize and destroy the bitterness created by tribal, sectional and regional associations.[16] This was a vain hope, for unification by this time had become anathema to the people of the Northern Region. The broadcast precipitated another wave of violence which was to cost the Military Head his life.[17]

In Sierra Leone, the Creoles, for a time, contested the legality of the 1951 Constitution, which gave political control to the people of the then Protectorate, admittedly less educated than the Creoles were.[18] The people of the Protectorate have always been in two main groups, generally distrustful of each other. It was the largest group, the Southern Mende, which was in political control until 1957. The Temne of the North and their allies, including most of the Creoles, were in opposition until they ousted the Mende in the 1957 elections.[19] Again for a number of reasons, one of which was certainly the tribal affinity of the then Force Commander and the defeated Prime Minister, for both were Mende, the military prevented the elected government from assuming office. The results of the election showed that tribe was an important factor. In the Western Area (Creole

stronghold) and virtually all the northern districts, the seats were won by the party with predominantly Temne - northern - members, while in the south, the seats went to the party made up mainly of Mende.[20] One of the first acts of the military government, the National Reformation Countil, whose chairman declared its primary aim was to suppress differences provoked by tribal motives, was to forbade the use of the word 'tribe,' and to order it expunged from all forms and records.[21] When civilian rule was restored in 1968, the government set about the task of removing from the civil service and other positions those whose only qualifications for their jobs was that they happened to be members of a particular tribe and they were replaced by qualified candidates. It was this situation which prompted a sympathiser to complain, "The wave of political victimisation in the form of the demotions and dismissals of top civil servants of Souther origin . . . has led to a renewed bitterness and a hardening of attitudes towards government."[22]

The Expansion of Education Facilities

With the approach of independence, the illiterate masses of West Africa, for the most part, were demanding some form of education to enable them to enjoy the anticipated benefits and to have a better way of life. The politicians, too, who saw a connection between education and modernization, between education and active participation in the franchise, were committed to an expansion of educational facilities. This meant that a basic education had to be made available as cheaply as possible and to as many people as wanted it. Expansion of education at

the primary level therefore commended itself to the politicians, who, as soon as they gained control of the policy-making machinery, took the necessary steps to introduce free and universal primary education, or to expand existing provisions at that level.

The 1951 Election Manifesto of the Gold Coast Convention People's Party, Towards The Goal, promised constitutional, political, economic and social reforms on the attainment of self-government. It promised "A unified system of free compulsory elementary, secondary and technical education up to 16 years of age; the University College to be brought up to University status; a planned campaign to abolish illiteracy."[23] These promises held out hope of great benefits once colonial rule was ended. Even if they had not been backed by similar promises in the other spheres of life, these assurances of free and better education would have been enough to ensure victory for the Party. In the event, it won the election which (though conducted on a limited franchise) brought self-government to the Gold Coast, and Nkrumah from prison into power as Leader of Government Business.[24] The country's first African Minister of Education thus assumed responsibility for directing educational development. One of his first acts was to draw up the Accelerated Development Plan for Education.[25] The Plan provided for the rapid expansion of education, particularly at the primary level, and at that stage was to be provided free of any payment, for every child of school-going age. Tuition fees in these schools were abolished, though parents still had to provide their children with books. The only exception to this was in the Northern Territories, where, in an attempt to get more children into school and to correct the initial

imbalance, books were to be provided free.[26] In a forward to the Plan, the Minister of Education stated

> One of the most urgent needs of a progressive, democratic country such as ours, is a measure of education (as much as we have the means to provide) for every child of school going age . . . I am confident that whatever sacrifices may prove necessary will be willingly made for the great purpose of lifting our country to the highest standards of the democratic way of life.[27]

This programme involved expanding the physical facilities to cope with the increased enrollment expected in 1952. Another provision of the Plan brought a very large number of primary schools within the official framework. At one point, it appeared as if the very proposals for the provision of more education were to form the basis of a new conflict. Under the Accelerated Development Plan, no new primary school opened by a religious body, or any one, would receive grants-in-aid from public funds, unless it had had the approval of the Local Authority for education, which would be acting in such matters as the agent of the Central Government. It was also expected that many of the church schools would be handed over to the Local Authorities. Many within and without the Legislative Assembly interpreted this to mean that denominational schools were going to disappear under the new system. However, the Minister explained that if schools were to receive grants from public funds, it was essential that all children should benefit without regard to religious or denominational affiliation. In a compromise move, the missions were allowed to keep and manage their existing schools, while more education officers were appointed by the Department (later Ministry) of Education to supervise these schools. The financial position of the Gold Coast, at this time, was a healthy one - in fact the healthiest

of all the West African countries. The Local Authorities were to pay forty percent of the teachers' salaries, though in most areas all but five percent was paid by the Central Government, which also bore the full cost of higher education.[28]

Middle and secondary school education was also affected by the provisions of the new plan. The middle schools were created out of the senior primary schools, and offered a four year course. The new schools were expected to supply the pupils for the secondary schools and also to provide a terminal education of a technical or vocational nature for those who did not go on to thessecondary stage.[29] To cater for the increased numbers coming out of the expanded system, six new regional secondary schools were built, and a number of privately-owned secondary schools given limited aid by having the salaries of the teachers paid by the central government, under an arrangement which changed their status to 'encouraged' schools.[30] Fees continued to be charged in both middle and secondary schools. The central government paid any portion of salaries not met by fees in the middle schools which were in existence, as senior-primary schools, before the new deal, while the local authorities assumed similar responsibility in schools established after the implementation of the Accelerated Development Plan.[31]

To cope with the unprecedented expansion at the primary and middle school level, teachers had to be produced in a hurry. In addition to expanding the capacities of the existing training colleges, Pupil Teachers' Centres were set up throughout the country, with each holding six courses a year for about sixty teachers at a time, and in 1953, an Emergency Training College was also established.[32]

Ten years later, the Gold Coast, which had attained independence under the name of Ghana, passed a new Act. The Education Act of 1961 extended free education to the Middle Schools and made both primary and middle school education compulsory.[33]

Southern Nigeria (Western and Eastern Regions) achieved a greater degree of autonomy in regional matters under the Macpherson Constitution of 1951.[34] The Minister of Education for Western Nigeria published his proposals for an Education Policy in 1952.[35] Like the Gold Coast plan, it was concerned with providing more education for more people, "calling for an all out expansion of all types of educational institutions."[36] The main proposal called for an introduction of free, universal and compulsory education at the primary level to be introduced not later than January, 1955. To take in the new flow of pupils from the expanded primary schools, non-academic secondary schools (secondary modern) offering more practical courses were to be built, as well as ten new secondary grammar schools in areas which then lacked such schools or were 'underserved.'

To finance the scheme a levy (educational and health) of ten shillings ($1.40) per tax payer was imposed in 1953. The imposition of this new tax was exploited by the opposition party, the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC) under its Ibo leadership. So violent was the anti-tax sentiment aroused that it led to violence, and some people were killed in the ensuing riots. The result of this was that in the 1954 federal elections, the Action Group (AG) of the predominantly Yoruba Western Region lost heavily.[37] Thus

tribal affiliations, even in the area of financing an educational programme, which it was hoped would benefit all people of the region, was exploited for political ends. However, since the power of the Western Regional Government was unaffected by its party losses at the federal level, the tax was collected in anticipation of the implementation of the new education programme. In the regional elections of 1956, the Action Group was returned to power, for by that time the people were already enjoying the benefits of free primary education. When the scheme was introduced abolishing all fees in primary schools, it was hailed as the "greatest piece of social legislation that has ever been made in this country."[38] Even though the government of the Western Region did not formulate its aims in precise terms, we can infer that they must have coincided, to a certain degree, with that of one of its more prominent members, who later declared

> To educate the children and enlighten the illiterate adults is to lay a solid foundation not only for future social and economic progress but also for political stability. A truly educated citizenry is, in my view, one of the most powerful deterrents to dictatorship, oligarchy, and feudal aristocracy.[39]

The proposals for primary education had to be modified before implementation. Parents still had to pay for books, and in some cases might have need of their children's services in the family business. Consequently on social and economic grounds, it was considered advisable to drop the compulsory aspect of the programme. Certain other modifications had to be made and one of these involved reducing the length of the primary course from eight to six

years. This was an attempt to reduce expenditure and at the same time to keep the number of unqualified teachers down to an acceptable minimum. As it turned out, the projected figures for pupil enrollment and total expenditure proved unreliable. The unexpected increase in enrollment necessitated the employment of a large number of unqualified teachers, since there was no time to train them before the scheme got underway. In spite of the difficulties and modifications to the programme, disagreements over implementation were greatly reduced because the government was in close consultation, at all times, with the voluntary agencies (churches and other denominational groups owning schools), as well as the Nigerian Union of Teachers, concerned about the implications of drafting a great number of unqualified people into the profession. The public, too, were kept fully informed and this had the effect of allaying the fears of the Moslem minority as to what kind of education their children would receive under the new arrangements.[40]

The Eastern Region produced a Policy for Education in 1953, and plans for universal primary education were drawn up in 1956 for implementation in 1957.[41] The emphasis was on the expansion of primary education, with a gradual abolition of all primary school fees. In its conception and execution, the programme of the Eastern Region was not as effective as that of the West.

The government was committed only to providing universal education for four years of the primary course. School fees were to be abolished on a progressive scale, and the rate of this depended

on the local councils, which were to raise forty-five percent of the costs. The education so provided was to be made compulsory when the local people were ready for this move.[42] Between 1954 and 1956 the rating system was in chaos, while a Finance Law was passed abolishing local rates for educational and other purposes. The object of this move, no doubt, was to prevent the opposition Action Group from exploiting any anti-tax sentiment in exactly the same way as the NCNC, the government party in the East, had done in the West, when the levy for education and health was made an election issue. The government's policy to assume responsibility for only a four year primary course of education, under a system in which the abolition of school fees was to be arbitrarily decided by local councils, came under heavy attack from the public.

When eventually plans were drawn up in 1956 for implementation the following year, the government's committments had been escalated by political expediency. Without an adequate reserve of funds, the decision was taken to abolish all school fees in 1957. Since the NCNC had criticized the Action Group in the West for introducing a six year primary course, it could not itself, in its own region, offer the people any less. Instead of four years, the people were offered not six but eight years of primary education. The fact that only a year was to elapse between planning and implementation brought difficulties of its own. There was very little or no time for consultation with the voluntary agencies and the Nigerian Union of Teachers. This omission was to result in conflict between the government and the Catholics on the one hand, and between the

Catholics and the Protestants on the other. The intention of the government was that all new schools should be under the control of the local authorities (local councils). The Protestants had no deep feelings about this, and were willing to go along with the idea. The Catholics objected on the grounds that they wanted a Catholic education for their children. The Protestants reacted by saying that the Catholics wanted to use the opportunity to expand at their expense. The compromise which was reached was to result in newly established local authority schools remaining virtually empty, while Catholics and Protestants flocked to their additional schools.[43]

Once again projection figures proved unreliable, and, with increased enrollment, modifications became necessary. The government of the Western Region, at some political risk, had taken the trouble to pre-finance its expanded programme. In view of its performance in the West, the NCNC had no such option open to it. In January 1958, one short year after free primary education was launched, school proprietors and managers were informed that the Assumed Local Contribution was to be re-introduced immediately. Since there was no other source from which the contribution could come, it meant school fees had to be paid once again. The irony of the situation was that the new school fees - now called enrollment fees and payable yearly in advance - exceeded the sums paid before the introduction of free primary education. The consequences of this were predictable. First, there were widespread riots and violence directed against the government and the NCNC. Secondly, many children

who had been sent to school to take advantage of the free education offered had to be withdrawn, even though the proposed charges were modified. It was estimated that about 260,000 children were withdrawn from school following the re-introduction of school fees.[44]

In 1951 Sierra Leone had a new constitution, and for the first time Sierra Leoneans could participate in policy-making decisions. No spectacular plan for the development of education was produced at this time. Nevertheless, the member of the Executive Council who assumed responsibility for education was well aware of the problems facing the country as a whole, and the Protectorate (or the Provinces) in particular, since he was himself from that part of the country. He therefore continued the policy which had been initiated in 1946 of extending and improving primary education in the Protectorate.[45] In order to ensure a more even development than in the past, he piloted through the Legislative Assembly a new Education Ordinance, soon after he was appointed Minister of Education in 1953. The Ordinance provided for the establishment of Local Education Authorities. They were, in addition to other responsibilities, to generally organize and develop education in primary schools within the areas in and for which they were established, to control the establishment of new schools in their area, and to allocate funds as grants-in-aid to schools within their jurisdiction.[46] An important step forward was taken in 1955 when government decided to pay the salaries of teachers in all primary schools in the Protectorate, subject to a partial refund by Local Education Authorities under an

agreed formula.[47] These attempts at improvement paid off, and 1956 saw a substantial increase in primary enrollment in the provinces.[48] Though this improvement was maintained, enrollment figures, even for the country as a whole remained low, because there were still too few school places. In 1961, the year of its independence, Sierra Leone with a population of just over two and a quarter million people had 81,881 children in primary schools and 7,097 in secondary schools. The rate of expansion over a ten year period can be computed from a comparison with the 1951 figures of 28,641 and 2,730 respectively.[49]

The Consequences of Educational Expansion

The people of the independent states of West Africa demanded the provision of more educational facilities and supported politicians who promised to meet their demand. The demand was prompted by the desire to get better-paid employment, to move into the modern sector of the economy and to enjoy a better life. Empirically, they had discovered a positive correlation between the amount of education a person had received and the standard of living he enjoyed: more education brought correspondingly higher rewards. Therefore, the expansion of primary education generated a demand for more post-primary education. More secondary grammar schools, with their academic curricula, were built, and as in Ghana, senior primary schools were converted into middle schools to feed the grammar schools and to provide a vocationally oriented education for those who would not be going on to secondary school.[50] Nigeria established secondary modern schools, with non-academic curricula, to cope with the flow of pupils from the primary schools.[51] The unprecedented expansion of primary education involved

the expenditure of comparatively large sums of money to establish the schools, provide buildings, meet the salaries of teachers and pay for the cost of a corresponding expansion of teacher training institutions to ensure a supply of qualified teachers. Much of the total expenditure on education was absorbed by the primary sector. Thus in Western Nigeria, the total expenditure on education rose from 2.2 million pounds (sterling) representing about 34 percent of the regional budget to 5.4 million pounds which was 47 percent of the region's entire budget. Almost 90 percent of the increase was spent on primary education.[52] Between 1956 and 1957, the Eastern region's expenditure on education went up from 3.6 to 6 million pounds and 4.5 million of this amount was spent on primary education.[53] Less money was therefore available to expand the more expensive and highly desirable secondary stage of education on the same scale. In a situation where the successful completion of a secondary (grammar) school course has been regarded as essential to future success in life ensuring entry to colleges, universities and better paid jobs, the shortage of grammar school places can have political repercussions. The result of primary education limiting in this way the expansion of secondary education has further emphasized the distorted picture of education in West Africa, often represented as a pyramid with a broad base which tapers to a point at the apex. The following figures illustrate the relative scarcity of secondary school places.[54]

	Ghana	Sierra Leone	Gambia	Nigeria
Primary	1,288,383	136,824	16,230	3,025,981
Secondary	179,004	22,119	4,012	202,638
Ratio	7 : 1	6 : 1	4 : 1	15 : 1

These figures conceal more than they reveal, for they do not convey the persistence of regional variations. In Sierra Leone most of the secondary school places are in the Western area, and there are more in the Southern Province than there are in the North. A breakdown of the figures for Sierra Leone show the following distribution.[55]

Area	Primary	Secondary
Western Area	34,352	10,909
Southern Province	33,043	5,424
Northern Province	37,878	2,929
Eastern Province	31,551	2,857
Total	135,824	22,119

When these inequalities coincide with ethnic and provincial boundaries, as they do in Sierra Leone, they are likely to be focal points for civil unrest. The opportunities for (upward) social mobility are thus further curtailed in areas where inequalities in the provision of grammar school places prevail. This situation inevitably leads to further stratification of the society along tribal or provincial lines. Unrest and ethnic rivalry ensue, thereby undermining the political stability of the state.

The shortage of grammar school places would pose no threat to the state, if the graduates of the primary schools were gainfully employed. This, however, has not been the case in West Africa. In Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and the Gambia large numbers of primary school leavers are among the unemployed since they have been displaced in the limited job market by those coming out of the grammar schools.[56] Such people, disappointed, angry, and frustrated, have become victims of what is generally described as the "revolution of rising expectations."

Independence and education had led them to expect that they would readily find employment in the modern sector of the economy. Out of school and with no job prospects in sight, they have always been ripe for exploitation by unscrupulous politicians. Ghana was the first to face this problem. In 1956, the Ga Adangme Shifimo Kpee - the Ga Standfast Association complained of tribalism and job discrimination. The Associations most ardent supporters were the unemployed elementary school leavers, known locally as 'Tokyo Joes.' They were also the most militant of an assorted array of dissident groups which included university students and chiefs.[57] In Nigeria it was the product of the primary schools, the lowest paid workers, who called a general strike in June 1964. The strike was called ostensibly to protest at the failure of the regional and Federal governments to implement a new wage structure recommended by a commission of inquiry. The main cause of the strike was that the workers found that the wages accruing to them from their education were very meagre and inadequate to provide a decent standard of living, while others, notably the politicians, were living very ostentatiously.[58] In Sierra Leone much of the distrubances of the past year could be attributed to ganga of unemployed youths who roamed the streets, intimidating the opponents of their political backers.[59] Thus the expansion of primary education has not been without its problems, for where the rising expectations of the school leavers have been unfulfilled, their collective reaction has been detrimental to the stability of the state. Fischer (1970) found a high correlation between the number of incidents indicative of political instability and a

corresponding expansion of education facilities.[60] This, together with the unemployment situation, tends to confirm the hypothesis that the expansion of educational facilities in a developing country is disruptive of national unity when there is disparity between achievement, expectation and employment opportunity. This situation has been described as "perhaps the most serious long-run socio-political problem facing African countries."[61] In view of this, the 'inevitability of instability' in the developing states of West Africa is seen to derive not so much from the unsuitability of liberal democratic constitutions, but rather from the fact that colonialism or the conditions created by colonialism and democracy are mutually exclusive.[62] The situation has been aggravated by some of the very measures adopted to eradicate or minimize the negative consequences of indirect rule.

If the people have had cause to be unhappy about some of the consequences of educational expansion, the politicians likewise have had no cause for unmitigated joy. To the extent that they had hoped the expansion of educational facilities would solve problems of modernization, they have so far had limited success. The number of secondary school children drawn from the corresponding school age population is woefully small compared with that from similar populations in the developed countries. The kind of education given has also resulted in an over production of the literary or administrative type and an acute shortage of engineers, doctors, technologists and scientists.[63] The following table indicates the extent of the problem the politicians have yet to solve in West Africa.[64]

Adjustment school enrollment ratio: percentage enrolled of corresponding population of school age as defined for each country

Level of education	Age	Sierra Leone
First & second level	5-18	19
First level	5-11	30
Second level	12-18	6
		Ghana
First & second level	6-19	52
First level	6-11	90
Second level	12-19	14
		Gambia
First & second level	6-19	19
First level	6-11	31
Second level	12-19	8
		Nigeria
First & second level	5-18	19
First level	5-10	36
Second level	11-18	3
		United Kingdom (England & Wales)
First & second level	5-17	90
First level	5-10	110
Second level	11-17	70
		U.S.S.R.
First & second level	7-17	95
First level	7-14	105
Second level	15-17	67
		Sweden
First & second level	7-18	99
First level	7-12	98
Second level	13-18	99

In addition to the quest for modernization, politicians favoured an expansion of educational facilities because they hoped that education would heighten the political awareness of the people as well as facilitate their participation in the political process through increased communication between government and the masses. In Sierra Leone, the politicians also hoped that an over-all expansion would narrow the gap, opened up during the colonial period, between education in the Provinces and education in the coastal area around Freetown.[65] It was essential that this be done so that the people of the Provinces would be able to claim a larger share of elite positions, commensurate with their superior numbers and control of the country under the extended franchise of one man, one vote. Though not formulated in such precise terms, education was to be an instrument of national integration. This was to be achieved at two levels - vertically through increased communication between the masses and the ruling elite, horizontally by reducing the cleavage along social and economic lines between the people of the Provinces and those of the Freetown area.

The consequences of educational expansion in Sierra Leone have had, to some extent, a detrimental effect on national integration. According to Abernethy (1969), "a polity is integrated to the extent that it is able to transcend domestic conflict. It limits conflict to a certain level of intensity while providing political channels for its expression, and has cleavages that cut across rather than re-inforce each other." The events which led up to the coups of 1967 and 1968 showed that Sierra Leone was far from being an integrated polity.

Events since then have further confirmed this view. There have been periods of civil unrest and violence. A state of emergency has been declared, on at least one occasion, and normal government suspended.[66] Reports of plots and attempted coups have also been made.[67]

The spread of education did increase the political awareness of the people. This was one reason why the proposal to create a one-party state in Sierra Leone in 1967 met with such opposition from all sections of the community. This was one reason why people were (and still are) opposed to a republic with an executive president.[68] The news reports of economic and other difficulties coming from the neighbouring West African territories, which were one-party states and had presidents with executive powers, convinced most people that Sierra Leone was better off with a two party system of government. If people were in a position to pass judgment on events outside Sierra Leone, they were also able to pass similar judgment on events within the country. The lives and actions of politicians therefore became subject to greater scrutiny. Where a politician has been judged to be guilty of corrupt practices, nepotism or tribalism, in a situation where unemployment is high among a certain group, this has led to turmoil and violence. The printed word assumed a new importance with an increase in the number of people able to read. 'Underground' newspapers became a cheap and effective method of criticizing politicians and publicising alleged malpractices. The inflammatory nature of many of these publications have certainly hindered the progress towards national integration, both vertically and horizontally. Irresponsible supporters of both government and opposition parties have usually reacted violently to the publication of any news calculated to damage

the parties politically. In January 1970, supporters of the government alledgedly shot up the offices of an opposition newspaper. In the process of doing so, they killed a newsboy who was waiting to collect his quota and seriously wounded another.[69] In spite of this incident, the 'underground' newspapers continued to multiply and flourish and the violence they provoked increased to such an extent that, in the general security measures taken during a state of emergency, all such newspapers were banned in October of 1970.[70] The very names of some of these publications were evocative of militancy and disruption. They included the Probe, Express, Encounter, National, and Black Power. They set some of the people against the government and also increased tribal animosities, since they often focused their criticisms on politicians of tribes different from that of the publishers. When the ban was imposed the Prime Minister explained that it was not the intention to restrict the (legitimate) information media, but that there had arisen irresponsible media which spread false reports at little cost all over the country, no matter how detrimental to the state. Existing libel laws would not affect the situation since with a typewriter, a cyclostyling machine and duplicating paper, there were no assets to appropriate in consequence of any court action. Imprisonment would have the effect of creating heroes out of those found guilty. The expansion of education with the attendant increase in literacy, before the ban on 'underground' newspapers was imposed, certainly contributed to the disruption of the polity.

Abernethy (1969) has isolated another by-product of educational expansion. He noted that the spread of education to the rural areas of

Nigeria resulted in segregation along tribal lines. Before steps were taken to provide education on a wider scale, pupils had the opportunity to travel to schools outside their areas, and thus came to know people of other tribes, and at least tried to live with them. Under such circumstances, the bond of 'the old school tie' had the effect of counter-balancing the tribal orientation of African culture. Recruitment policy in the different regions changed, preference being given to indigenous pupils, and schools consequently became predominantly mono-ethnic in composition. Thus a situation was created in which schools unwittingly re-inforced tribal divisions. "What little instruction there was in the early 1960's concerning Nigeria," Abernethy wrote,

> was not re-inforced outside the classroom by inter-ethnic contracts, which were more frequent thirty years earlier, when the elite that brought Nigeria to independence was attending grammar school. Hence the nationalism of the Post-independence generation of secondary students, such as it was, remained an abstract sentiment that could not readily be translated into action.[71]

Forster (1962) had earlier called attention to the tendency in Ghana of some of the new secondary schools or poorer low status institutions to become ethnic schools, the danger being that if this trend continued, and local rate of economic change was seen to be slower than in other regions, inter-ethnic rivalry would result.[72] Later in 1965 he also remarked that in spite of a policy of recruitment based on merit position in a centrally administered examination, "particularistic patterns in school recruitment persist, producing trends towards the 'ethnicization' of individual schools."[73]

If Abernethy was correct in his analysis, then it would appear that Nigeria has paid for her educational expansion with more than money, for in so far as the disintegration of the First Republic could be traced to deep seated tribal antagonisms, the very expansion of education, with its emphasis on regional recruitment and development, certainly did not further the cause of national unity. Sierra Leone has no reason to be complacent about the integrative aspect of its educational development. There has been a recent tendency for the prestigious schools in the Western Area to be more and more 'Creole' in composition. The reason would appear to be that the Creoles, long at home with western education, tend to dominate the top positions in the Selective Entrance Examination to secondary schools, and are therefore assured of places in the schools of their first choice. Another explanation of such domination may lie in the fact that Creoles in the higher socio-economic group have increasingly come to use expensive private preparatory schools, where the teachers are highly qualified and classes small rather than the public primary schools, where a large proportion of the teachers are unqualified and the classes large. In 1965, for example, there were 1,193 qualified teachers in primary schools in Sierra Leone as well as 2,536 who were unqualified, and in 1966 out of a total of 1,068 primary school teachers in the Western Area, 128 were described as "trained but unqualified" and 614 as "untrained."[74] The change in the ethnic composition of the Albert Academy in Freetown, serves as an illustration of this trend. The Albert Academy was founded by the United Brethren in Christ Missionaries (American-based) in 1904. Two things distinguished

it from the other schools in Freetown. Its curriculum had an industrial bias, and it was meant to take in not only boys from the Colony, but also from the Protectorate, "thus ensuring that more Protectorate youths would have the opportunity of attending a secondary school."[75] It was certainly not regarded as a high status institution by the Creoles of Freetown, though it was well patronized by the people of the Protectorate, notably the Mende, because it had adequate boarding facilities.[76] The performance of its pupils in public examination was not particularly outstanding, though from time to time one or another of its pupils did excel. In 1953, it had 182 boys from the Protectorate who comprised 67.4 percent of its enrollment. The number of boys from the Protectorate rose to 210 the following year, but they represented 60 percent of the total enrollment.[77] The position was to be radically altered a few years later, when a distinguished alumnus, young and energetic, educated at Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone, and at Universities in the United States and England was appointed principal. He had, as one of his senior assistant teachers, his Creole wife also educated at Fourah Bay College and in England. Together they set about the task of improving the status of the school. Well qualified Africans were induced by favourable conditions of service to join the staff and expatriate teachers were attracted to the school. Before long examination results improved, and it became necessary to expand the school to take in more boys. The improvement was maintained and the new status of the Albert Academy was confirmed when it was given permission by the Ministry of Education to establish a Sixth Form and so prepare boys for advance level examinations, success

in which results in scholarships to universities at home and abroad. The change in its status soon commended the school to an ever-growing number of Creoles who began to make it their first choice for secondary education. Thus the composition of the school gradually changed over the years, and by 1969, the Creoles made up 60 percent of a student body of 800.[78]

It could be argued that the transformation in the composition of the Albert Academy was the result of the principal's effort to improve its standing. Yet this change also coincided with the period during which primary education was expanded. Those who could afford to pay high fees, suspicious of the quality of education in the primary schools, opted to send their children to private institutions which were staffed by qualified teachers, thereby ensuring their success in the Selective Entrance Examination to secondary schools. The expansion of the Albert Academy provided more grammar school places which were taken up by Creoles. The net result of this was that pupils with a provincial background, living in Freetown, were edged out of what was once their traditional stronghold at a time when it was producing quality education. These 'displaced' children were therefore forced to lower status secondary schools or to one of the private institutions which were hastily organized to cater for those children who could not get into recognized secondary schools. If this trend were to continue, the lower status and private schools are likely to become the breeding ground of social and economic malcontents, and after a time the possibility of a'Nigerian solution'could not be ruled out.

The 1963 census figures revealed that in the Western Area,

the Creoles had become a minority group, numbering 41,783 out of a total population of 195,023, made up mainly of migrants from the provinces.[79] The distribution of secondary school places by district for the same year was as follows:[80]

	Secondary Enrollment	School Places per 1000 population
Southern Province	3,085	6
Bo	1,947	9
Bonthe	408	5
Moyamba	508	3
Pujehun	222	3
Eastern Province	1,150	2
Kailahun	423	3
Kenema	548	2
Kono	179	1
Northern Province	1,314	1
Bombali	466	2
Kambia	134	1
Koinadugu	140	1
Port Loko	120	0.5
Tonkolili	454	2
Western Area	6,397	33
Sierra Leone	11,946	5

By 1969, the number of secondary school places had shown a considerable increase as is reflected in this table.[81]

Southern Province	6,207
Eastern Province	3,431
Northern Province	3,624
Western Area	11,945

The number of places in the Western Area and the Southern Province had increased two fold, while that of the Northern and Eastern Province increased three times. If, however, the Creole minority in the Western Area was able to claim a substantial number of the new places

in high status institutions in Freetown, assuring them of quality education, then new inequalities have been introduced as a consequence of the expansion of primary and secondary education. Any development which has enabled the Creoles to claim a disproportionate share of available facilities would not, in the long run, be conducive to national integration and stability.

The consequences of educational expansion in Sierra Leone have, so far, fallen short of the aspirations of both political leaders and the people. The rate of modernization has been slow and national integration far from achieved. Secondary school places have not increased fast enough to meet the demands of the people, and the unemployment situation, particularly for primary school-leavers, has been aggravated rather than ameliorated. More important still, educational expansion may have introduced new inequalities thereby providing a basis for further social and political cleavages.

In undertaking the expansion of educational facilities to ensure greater participation by the citizens in the political order, so as to sustain the liberal democratic constitutions which were implemented prior to independence, political leaders in West Africa acted "on the assumption that education is a correlate, if not a requisite, of a democratic order."[82] Through education, it was hoped, citizens would develop the right attitude to the government, thereby increasing their capacity for political participation. Education then was to be a means of socializing citizens into the prevailing political culture. As Almond (1960) explained

> Political socialization is the process of induction into the political culture. Its end product is a

> set of attitudes - cognitions, value standards, and feelings - toward the political system, its various roles, and role incumbents. It also includes knowledge of, values affecting, and feelings toward the inputs of demands and claims into the system, and its authoritative outputs.[83]

In short, political socialization is training for citizenship.

The next chapter will examine the extent to which political leaders and educational planners made training for citizenship an integral part of their educational programmes. Consequently, statements on educational policy as well as the curricula of schools will be reviewed.

Footnotes for Chapter IV

1. Perham M., Lugard: The Years of Authority. (London: Collins, St. James' Place, 1960), p. 490.
2. Ibid., p. 491.
3. Hailey, op. cit., p. 73.
4. See Rotberg, Robert I., A Political History of Tropical Africa. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1965), p. 289.
5. Quoted in Education in Africa - A Study of West, South and Equatorial Africa by the African Education Commission, Phelps-Stokes Fund, New York, 1922, pp. 174-175.
6. Table compiled from Education in Africa, op. cit., pp. 102, 106, 108, 127, 130, 150, 156, 171-2.
7. Lord Hailey, (b) An African Survey, Revised 1956. (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 1167.
8. Report on the Education Department for the year, 1953. (Freetown, Sierra Leone: Government Printer, 1954), p. 4.
9. Hailey (b) op. cit., p. 1175.
10. Ibid., p. 1176.
11. See for example, Harbison F.H. and Myers C.A., Education, Manpower and Economic Growth. (New York: McGraw Hill, 1964).
12. See pages 65 and 68 of dissertation.
13. West Africa (London) No. 2735, Nov. 1, 1969, p. 1303.
14. Austin, op. cit., pp. 373-374.
15. Ibid., p. 377.
16. West Africa (London) No. 2556, May 28, 1966, p. 606.
17. Ibid., 2557, June 4, p. 639.
18. Cartwright, op. cit., p. 122 n. 77.
19. Ibid., p. 282-283.
20. West Africa (London) No. 2601, April 8, 1967, pp. 477-8; For polarization of Mendes and Temnes, see Cartwright, op. cit., pp. 123-181.

21. Ibid., No. 2602, April 15, 1967, p. 506.

22. Ibid., No. 2729, Nov. 20, 1969. Letter by J.B. Danda - Sierra Leone Now, p. 1121.

23. Austin, op. cit., p. 130.

24. Ibid., pp. 151 and 156.

25. McWilliam H.O.A., The Development of Education in Ghana: An Outline. (London: Longmans Green and Co. Ltd., 1959), pp. 83-94.

26. Ibid., p. 84.

27. Accelerated Development Plan for Education. (Accra: Government Printer, 1951), p. 1.

28. McWilliam, op. cit., pp. 85-88.

29. Foster P., Education and Social Change in Ghana. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965), p. 199.

30. Ibid., p. 193.

31. McWilliam, op. cit., p. 89.

32. Ibid., pp. 91-93.

33. See West Africa (London) No. 2370, November 3, 1962, p. 1207.

34. Nigeria (Constitution) Order-in-Council, 1951, Statutory Instruments No. 1172, 1951.

35. Abernethy, David, The Political Dilemma of Popular Education - The Case of Nigeria. (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1969), pp. 127-128.

36. Ibid., p. 128.

37. Ibid., pp. 157-158.

38. Ibid., p. 128.

39. See Awo: The Autobiography of Chief Obafemi Awolowo. (Cambridge: The University Press, 1960), p. 268.

40. Abernethy, op. cit., pp. 145-156.

41. Ibid., p. 128.

42. Ibid., p. 162.

43. Ibid., pp. 167-178.

44. Ibid., pp. 181-185.

45. Sierra Leone, Report of the Education Department for the Year 1952, p. 12.

46. Ibid., 1954, p. 5.

47. Ibid., 1955, p. 3.

48. Ibid., 1956, p. 4.

49. Figures taken from Sleight, op. cit., pp. 4 and 20.

50. See page 97 of dissertation.

51. Abernethy, op. cit., p. 195.

52. Ibid., p. 128.

53. Ibid., p. 129.

54. Computed from Unesco Statistical Year Book, 1969 - Ghana, pp. 141 & 200; Sierra Leone, pp. 144 & 204; Nigeria, pp. 143 & 202 (figures available for 1967); Gambia, pp. 141 & 198.

55. Ministry of Education Report for the Year 1968, (Freetown, Sierra Leone: Government Printer), Table II, p. 19 and Table V 1967/68, p. 22.

56. For the unemployment situation, see Abernethy, op. cit., p. 197; Cartwright, op. cit., p. 127; Foster, op. cit., pp. 201-206.

57. Auston, op. cit., pp. 374-376.

58. See Lewis, L.J., Society, Schools and Progress in Nigeria. (London: Pergamon Press, 1965), p. 134, also Abernethy, op. cit., p. 208.

59. Sierra Leone Daily Mail, January 26, 1970, pp. 1 & 3.

60. Fischer, op. cit., pp. 247-251.

61. Quoted in Abernethy, op. cit., p. 197.

62. See article, "The Inevitability of Instability" by James O'Connell, in The Journal of Modern African Studies, 5 2 (1967), pp. 181-91.

63. For the problem of education and modernization in Sierra Leone, see "Commission on Higher Education" in Sierra Leone - Report, London, 1970, pp. 1-3.

64. Figures from Unesco Year Book, op. cit., pp. 72, 74, 76, p. 95, p. 98. Figures for Nigeria and United Kingdom relate to year 1967, the rest for 1968. In view of the employment situation, it should be noted that greater numbers might have produced more unemployment, thereby aggravating an already serious problem.

65. Cartwright, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

66. See Sierra Leone Daily Mail, October 6, 7, 9, 1970, p. 1.

67. Sierra Leone Daily Mail, October 3, 1970, p. 1; October 27, 1970, p. 1; December 15, 1970, pp. 1 & 4; Chicago Tribune, March 25, 1970, p. 25.

68. See page 37 of dissertation.

69. Sierra Leone Daily Mail, January 26, 1970, p. 1.

70. Ibid., October 9, 1970, p. 1; also November 6, 1970, p. 7.

71. Abernethy, op. cit., p. 259.

72. Foster, Philip J., "Ethnicity and the Schools in Ghana," in Comparative Education Review, 6, 2 (October 1962), pp. 127-135.

73. Foster, (1965), op. cit., p. 236.

74. See Sierra Leone Ministry of Education Report, 1966, pp. 8 and 30, Table XV.

75. Sumner, D.L., Education in Sierra Leone. (Government of Sierra Leone, 1963), p. 138.

76. See Cartwright, op. cit., p. 166, note accompanying table 9:14.

77. Report on the Education Department for the Year 1953, (Freetown, Sierra Leone: Government Printer), p. 9; Ibid., 1954, p. 14.

78. Information supplied by Principal of School, September 1970.

79. Clarke, J.I., Sierra Leone in Maps. (London: University of London Press, 1966), pp. 34 & 35.

80. Ibid., p. 68.

81. Report on the Ministry of Education, (Freetown, Sierra Leone: Government Printer, 1969), Table VI, p. 23.

82. Coleman, James S., (ed) Education and Political Development. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 6.

83. Almond, Gabriel A., and Coleman, James S., (eds) The Politics of The Developing Areas. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1960), pp. 27-28.

CHAPTER V

EDUCATION AND POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

The concept of education as an instrument of political socialization is grounded in antiquity. Plato in an attempt to define justice and in the search for the ideal state recognised an antithesis between the individual and the state. This was to be resolved by education of the right kind, designed to make every citizen function effectively according to his endowments. Only when each citizen was functioning effectively within his group, and each group within the state would harmony and justice be said to exist. Thus education and the commonweal were seen to be inter-related.[1] Aristotle, the pupil of Plato, took the argument further. Man, being a political animal, was always in association with others to form a community. Such communities or states evolved various forms of government. He believed that the best form of government was that based on democracy, but democracy, like all other forms of government, had to be backed by an adequate system of education. Education was to be used to produce citizens who would be able to live and function in a democratic state.[2]

The philosophical basis for the use of education in political socialization has since been strengthened and reinforced by theories adduced by educationists, psychologists and political scientists. John Dewey held the view that the school in its activities should reflect the life of the community in which it was situated.[3] He assumed that

the aim of education was to enable individuals to continue their education - that the object and reward of learning was continued capacity for growth. This idea of education could not be applied to all members of a society except where intercourse of man with man was mutual and except where there was adequate provision for the reconstruction of social habits and institutions by means of wide stimulation arising from equitably distributed interests. The only society in which his stated aim of education could be achieved was a democratic society.[4] Democracy, therefore, was essential for education, and the school should also reflect the democratic character of its society. The theories of Jean Piaget on the intellectual development or intellectual maturation of children could be said to have important implications for all aspects of education. He demonstrated that the intellectual development of children moved along clearly defined stages. Though the exact age for the onset of each stage of development could be said to vary, there was no variation in the stages which began with the use of reflexes and the co-ordination of vision and proceeded to the acquisition of language and the identification of words and symbols with corresponding objects, then to the start of inductive and deductive reasoning, and culminated in the child's ability to handle hypothetical propositions and more abstract ideas.[5] The onset of the stage of inductive and deductive reasoning, according to Piaget's theory, was around eight years of age, and was progressive up to about eleven years. This stage overlapped the period of elementary education investigated by Hess and Easton, who collected data from children in

grades two through eight, in their attempt to determine the role played by the school in the process of political socialization. They concluded that

> Even with our incomplete picture, it seems clear that during the child's early years of schooling his awareness of political authority and his respect for its motives and actions are high indeed. In this phase of highly positive orientation, the child is perhaps as ready for both formal and informal learning as he will ever be . . . This general picture of the development of political attitudes in children has a number of implications for educational practice.[6]

Merriam (1931) examined the chief techniques employed for the purpose of civic education in eight states. In his study, the school emerged as the major instrument used to prepare citizens for their roles in the societies of which they were members. Since all the states investigated had universal education, this meant that all citizens, during childhood and adolescence, were exposed to an education designed to inculcate in them attitudes and values deemed necessary attributes for effective citizenship. However, while in most of the eight countries civic education was systematic and deliberate, England was an exception and civic education in the schools tended to be indirect rather than direct. Consequently the schools (except in England)

> tended to follow the process of indoctrination, in the main, the liberal transmission of the group traditions in elastic form - a retrospective rather than a forward-looking view of the civic situation. In this the schools perpetuate the methods of the tribal groups described in Weber's Duk-Duks, but, in fact, fall behind the early systems, in that the primitives endeavoured to train the candidates for citizenship in some tribal skills of war or the chase as well as in a knowledge of tribal traditions handed down by the wise men.[7]

During the intervening forty years, much has happened to revolutionize the approach to civic education, particularly in the United States.[8] Nevertheless, the 'bush schools' of West Africa have continued to function as they have always done. These schools or secret societies, which the children enter at puberty are charged with the responsibility of making the children, passing into adolescence, aware of their obligations to the tribe. The first written accounts of these schools in Sierra Leone were provided by Dapper (1670).[9] He identified the school or secret society of the men as the Belli-Paaro, better known as the Poro, as well as a similar one for women and girls, the Nesogge or the modern Sande, which in some parts of Sierra Leone is also known as the Bundu society. Little (1951) has provided detailed description of the training given in the secret society schools of the Mende.[10] Members are initiated by definite rites, and oaths of secrecy are administered to ensure that no vital secrets are passed on to non-members. Native law and custom is taught and further amplified by the simulation of courts and trials, with the boys taking the roles of the elders and the litigants. If a boy could afford to spend a longer time (in view of the costs and depending on whether he goes to a normal school) he is taught native crafts as well as the duties of a male adult. These include elements of farming and road clearing and specialists in various crafts, such as weaving and basketry, are invited to teach the initiates, who are also taught to fish, hunt and build bridges. Physical training is not neglected and acrobatics are a feature of the course, as is singing and drumming. The initiates are also put through a regimen of training

calculated to make them endure pain and hardship with equanimity. The training given in the Sande school for girls reflect the aims of the Poro society for boys. They are taught the arts and crafts and other relevant things which would enable them to become full and useful members of the tribe.[11] Little (1951) summed up the functions of the secret societies as follows: -

> (a) General education, in the sense of social and vocational training and indoctrination of social attitudes.
>
> (b) Regulation of sexual conduct.
>
> (c) Supervision of political and economic affairs.
>
> (d) Operation of various social services ranging from medical treatment to forms of entertainment and leisure.[12]

In performing these functions, the Poro and the Sande have proved strong cohesive forces in indigenous Sierra Leone society and a politician can always call on his fellow Poro or Sande members to deliver the votes on his or her behalf, though this is contrary to the election laws.[13]

Schools, therefore, in both Western and indigenous education, have always played a vital role in political socialization. The British, however, were familiar with a system, which, because of the homogenous nature of the population and longer established traditions, did not include any political content in the educational curriculum. Rather, such civic education as was provided was directed towards character training. The indigenous tribes in Sierra Leone have always relied on the bush schools or secret societies to induct their young into the customs and mores of the tribe thereby ensuring tribal survival, as well as to provide training in specific skills thereby ensuring the survival of the individual.

British Educational Policy in West Africa

A commission was appointed in 1919 under the auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and the Foreign Mission Societies of North America and Europe, to investigate the state of education in Africa and to assess the results of the educational efforts of the various missionary societies. The commission visited West Africa, and three years later published a report of its findings. The 1922 report, as well as another on East Africa published later, was highly critical of the state of education from the point of view of quantity and quality.[14] However, much of the criticism focused on the quality. The education provided was unsuitable and needed to be adapted to the African environment, there was need for closer cooperation between the missions and the government, as well as for better organization and supervision of educational facilities.[15] The British government had welcomed the Commission and as a result of its reports, in 1923 appointed a committee to advise the colonial secretary on matters of 'native education in British Tropical Africa.'[16] The Committee, after giving due consideration to the Phelps-Stokes reports, produced a Memorandum on Native Education in Tropical Africa in 1925.[17] This memorandum was to form the basis of Britain's educational policy in all her dependencies. The following excerpt illustrates the rationale which was to influence the development of education in the colonies: -

Adaptation and Aim of Education

> Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples. . . . Its aim should be to

> render the individual more efficient in his or her condition of life, whatever it may be, and to promote the advancement of the community through the improvement of agriculture, the improvement of health, the training of the people in the management of their own affairs and the inculcation of true ideals of citizenship and service. . . . Education thus defined will narrow the hiatus between the educated class and the rest of the community whether chiefs or peasantry. . . . Education should strengthen the feeling of responsibility to the tribal community.[18]

Teachers were to be prepared for their jobs under conditions similar to those in the rural areas or villages where they would eventually work. As far as was possible, they were to be members of the tribe among whom they were going to work so as to eliminate or reduce language and other cultural problems.[19] For the same reason, visiting or supervising teachers, who were to travel from village to village in an attempt to improve the teaching in the rural areas, were also to work among people whose tribe, language and customs were no different from theirs.[20]

Technical Training was to do little more than produce artisans. The memorandum recommended that: -

> Technical industrial training (especially mechanical training with power driven machinery) can best be given in government workshops, provided that an Instructor for Apprentices is appointed to devote his entire time to them; or in special and industrial workshops on a production basis. The skilled artisan must have a fair knowledge of English and Arithmetic before beginning his apprenticeship in order that he may be able to benefit by instruction and be able to work dimensional plans.[21]

The education of women and girls in Tropical Africa presented special problems, and educators should be guided by the "differences in breed and tribal tradition."[22]

The education of adults was not to be neglected for "the education of the whole community should advance pari passu, in order to avoid, as far as possible, a breach in good tribal traditions by interesting the older people in the education of their children for the welfare of the community."[23]

The 1923 committee was superseded in 1929 by a much enlarged body with wider responsibilities, the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies. This new committee was very zealous and over the next 32 years met on 242 occasions.[24] It produced a number of memoranda, which had great influence on government policy. In 1935, the committee produced a Memorandum on the Education of African Communities, which was primarily concerned with the education of the mass of the people.[25] It emphasized the educational significance of the inter-relation of all factors in community life. The school as an instrument of change could only be effective if it directed its efforts to the entire community; consequently one of the primary tasks of African education should be to assist in the growth of rural communities securely established on the land, progressing economically and socially, and producing both the crops required for their own subsistence and for purposes of export, thereby earning the means of improving their standard of living. This was followed in 1943, by another report, Mass Education in African Society.[26] The tone of this report was quite different from anything published before. Perhaps the impact of the Second World War, which was still raging at the time, influenced the thinking of the committee. The political significance of education was now emphasized. Universal education for children was a goal towards

which all efforts should be directed and the education of adults should also receive similar attention. The importance of education as a necessary adjunct of political development was brought out in these words: -

> A man may be wealthy, though illiterate. He may be prosperous without being learned. He may, while still almost entirely ignorant of the wider duties of a citizen live, and indeed, enjoy life under a government which provides him with security and justice. All these things may, in a measure, be true, but it is far truer that the general health of the whole community, its general well-being and prosperity, can only be secured and maintained if the whole of the mass of the people has a real share in education and has some understanding of its meaning and its purpose. It is equally true that without such general share in education and such understanding, true democracy cannot function and the rising hope of self-government will inevitably suffer frustration.[27]

The next memorandum, Education for Citizenship in Africa, produced in 1948, further emphasized the relationship between education and political socialization. The spread of literacy would not by itself prepare Africans for self-government because "the pace of life is faster, the economic structure is immeasurably more complicated, nations more closely linked, and democracy has replaced aristocracy."[28] Education was to produce not only farmers, artisans, clerks, technicians, managers and administrators, but had to go further, and train men and women as responsible citizens of a free country. "Constitutional advance, culminating in responsible self-government, is a necessary consequence of advances in general education. It is a question of improving the education provided so as to give a conscious preparation for citizenship. . . ."[29] Political socialization designed to prepare citizens to function efficiently in democratic

societies was to be achieved through character training at home, political, social and economic instruction at school, and through schemes for adult education.[30]

The first two memoranda, not surprisingly in view of the practice of indirect rule based on the tribe as the unit of government, were mainly concerned with education along tribal lines with the least possible disruption of village life. Education thus conceived could certainly not have contributed to the development of a sense of 'colonial' or territorial unity. Technical training (and not technical education) was to produce a limited number of artisans and mechanics. The quality of technical education envisaged was not likely to propel technologically under-developed societies into the modern era of the jet age. A different attitude developed during the war years. Thus, while African education was first conceived in terms of transforming rural communities into idyllic pastures of Arcadia, the emphasis later shifted to education for living in modern self-governing societies. Laudable as the later proposals were, they could not, by the very nature of things, influence the political socialization of subject peoples, whose territories were not governed democratically. Some comments of the Watson Commission, which enquired into the disturbances in the Gold Coast in 1948, revealed the gap between the rhetoric of Colonial Office memoranda and the realities of life in a colony.

> The moral justification for Britain remaining in the Gold Coast lies in this: out of a total population of approximately four and a half million Africans, on a fair assessment, barely ten percent is literate. . . . His Majesty's Government therefore has a moral duty to remain until
>
> (a) the literate population has by experience reached

> a stage when selfish exploitation is no longer the dominant motive of political power or
>
> (b) the bulk of the population has advanced to such a degree of literacy and political experience as will enable it to protect itself from gross exploitation and
>
> (c) some corresponding degree of cultural, political and economic achievement has been attained by all three areas now part of the Gold Coast.[31]

Thus such education as had been available in the Gold Coast had proved inadequate to meet the political needs of the country. It is worth recalling at this point that the rise of nationalism in West Africa was a very important by-product of western education. Unintended as this result was, education provided through the missionary activities of British citizens enabled Africans to see the contrast in their status as subject peoples, denied positions of power and authority, and the ideals of equality and the dignity of the individual inherent in the Christian faith. The view that Colonies were to become independent states owed its acceptance to a change of opinion occasioned by the Second World War.[32] The incaceration of Gandhi in India, Kenyatta in Kenya, Danquah and Nkrumah in the Gold Coast, and Makarios in Cyprus showed how difficult it was for the British to come to terms with the nationalistic aspirations of colonial leaders.[33] Moreover, it was to be expected that training for citizenship which would hasten the dissolution of the British Empire was unlikely to be undertaken by British citizens, however much the Advisory Council in England emphasized that such training should be an integral part of education in the colonies. Furthermore, given the homogeneous nature of the population of the United Kingdom and other factors, the schools in Britain, as Merriam (1931)

found, had never been actively engaged in the business of political socialization. Thus when the control and implementation of educational policy was in the hands of the British, the schools in West Africa, played very little part in providing civic education for living in an independent democratic society or in fusing together, as a nation, the divergent ethnic groups in the various colonies. When this control passed into the hands of Africans, it was to be hoped that educational policies would reflect the aspirations of the new states in their quest for modernity and nationality, in exactly the same way as indigenous (tribal) schools have reflected the concern of the tribes for survival and continuity.

African Educational Policy and the Problem of National Integration

Attendant upon the legacy of indirect rule with its emphasis on tribe, the most fundamental political problem which tne new states of West Africa had to solve was how to create nations out of a heterogeneous conglomeration of tribes and how to fuse hitherto centralized autocracies into harmonious democracies. Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and the Gambia, in varying degrees, comprised of multiple entities, which were politically separate for much of the time. Nigeria was a 'multiple dependency,'[34] in which the two protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria were merged in 1914. The most important political consequence of the merger was that Lugard was able to extend indirect rule south to the Yoruba area, and other administrators later extended it to the Ibo area.[35] The 1922 Constitution created a Legislative Council which was primarily concerned with Southern Nigeria. This was substantially the position until 1946, when the Richards

Constitution split the country into three regions - Northern, Western and Eastern.[36] Ghana, as the Gold Coast, was once described as the most complex of the multiple dependencies. It comprised of the Gold Coast (a 'settled Colony transferred to the Crown by an Act of Parliament in 1821), Ashanti (annexed as a Colony in 1901), The Northern Territories (declared a Protectorate in 1901) and the former Mandated Territory of Togoland, later a Trust Territory. Prior to the implementation of a new constitution in 1925, tthe Legislative Assembly was empowered to legislate only for the Gold Coast Colony. Ordinances passed by the Legislative could only be applied to Ashanti and the Northern Territories by 'enactment.' Ashanti was not represented in the Legislative Assembly until 1946.[37] The colony of Sierra Leone passed to the Crown in 1808. Some ninty years later, Britain declared the hinterland a Protectorate. The 1924 Constitution brought the Protectorate and Colony together, politically for the first time. Two decades were to elapse before any attempt was made to widen the basis of the limited political contact initiated in 1924.[38] In this way, with the passage of time, local interests fostered under indirect rule coalesced along tribal and regional lines. The conflicts of interests inherent in such a situation first became apparent during the pre-independence struggle for power and position. Nigeria had the intractable problem of Northern feudal conservatism and Southern egalitarianism further complicated by regional rivalry.[39] In the Gold Coast the struggle was first between Ashanti and the Colony, and, later, Ashanti and the Northern Territories were in alliance in opposition to political solutions supported by the South.[40] The political rivalry

between the Colony Creoles and the indigenous tribes in Sierra Leone soon gave way to a more acrimonious rivalry between the southern tribes predominantly Mende, and the northern Temne.[41]

If indeed it is true that it is social demands which shape education rather than education which influences society, then the very fragmentation of African States along tribal and regional lines, exacerbated by the practice of indirect rule, and the deep cleavages apparent at independence, demanded that national integration and the inculcation of a national spirit and identity be fostered through education and the schools.

The Gold Coast achieved self-government in 1951, and in the same year drew up the Accelerated Development Plan for Education, which was implemented in 1952. This, as the Minister stated, was done in the name of democracy. He described the Gold Coast as a progressive democratic country, and stated that he was confident that whatever sacrifices were deemed necessary would be made to provide a measure of education for every child of school going age for the purpose of lifting the country to the highest standard of the democratic way of life. Apart from making proposals for the expansion of educational facilities, the plan was silent as to how the expanded educational system would facilitate the attainment of the highest standard of the democratic way of life.

Given the characteristics of a liberal democratic state already described, certain assumptions are made concerning the attitudes and values of its citizens - that people would be willing to accept responsibility for the machinery of government; that they would accept

one another as being politically equal in the true spirit of fellowship; that while enjoying the benefits of life in a democratic state, they would also assume the responsibilities which go to ensure that others enjoy the same benefits. Democracy, then, is more than a constitution. It is a way of living, thinking and acting. Yet the Accelerated Development Plan which was to spread literacy provided no guidelines as to how people were to be imbued with the democratic spirit.

The teaching of certain subjects have been traditionally associated with political socialization. These subjects deal with man and his relationship to his fellow man and his environment. They are derived from the social sciences and together are called the social studies. Included in such studies are civics, history, geography, and at more advanced levels, economics and government. (Anthropology and sociology do not, generally, in West Africa get the same extensive treatment as economics and government.) Therefore an examination of the provisions for the teaching of these subjects, at the primary level, would give some indication as to how far they were to be used to influence the children's attitude to their country and its new form of government.

An outline Social Studies Syllabus was put out by the Gold Coast Education Department in 1954. The following comment gives an idea of its scope and content.

> In the Elementary School, the main aim of teaching either History, Geography or Civics is to enable the child to understand his environment. The child's environment can be considered from different angles. There is also a social environment which the child sees in the various roles which various persons play in the community. He sees a chief, a policeman, a doctor, a fetish priest, a minister of the Gospel, all performing different functions and occupying

> special statuses in the child's setting. Besides observing others play their different roles, the child also becomes aware gradually of his status, responsibility and rights. It is all this that the teacher tries to teach in his civics lessons. In teaching History, for instance, the main aim of the teacher is to enable the child to appreciate his cultural heritage by leading him to discover how his ancestors lived and how the various institutions in his community come to have the forms he sees.[42]

This statement made no reference to the kind of community the child was living in, no reference to the relationship between that community and others, his status as a citizen, his responsibilities and rights in a self-governing democratic state. Another statement made the main aim of middle school geography the development of the concept

> that all areas to-day are dependent on one another, that future progress and prosperity depend upon co-operation between peoples: that economically, at any rate, the world tends to become more and more a single unit. The development of this idea of world unity may be fostered by the use at all times of a globe rather than separate wall maps for reference. . . . The primary school teacher must try to provide his pupils with a simple but vivid knowledge of the living conditions and the work of men and women in various parts of the world. Added to this should be a more specialized knowledge of their own locality, and how they may be affected by circumstances, particularly in the economic field abroad.[43]

Thus the pupil's knowledge was to be more world oriented rather than Gold Coast oriented. From his locality, he was to move, not to other communities in the Gold Coast, but out to the world. World unity was to be fostered and emphasized rather than inter-tribal or inter-regional unity. Yet the child whose mind was to be nourished on this new fare had already witnessed two general elections in the Gold Coast. He had seen the formation of the Convention Peoples'

Party and its struggle with the United Gold Coast Convention. He was well aware of allegations and investigations of bribery and corruption among public officials.[44] He had witnessed the formation of political parties on a regional basis and had listened to a bewildering amount of claims and counterclaims put out by the nine political parties which contested the 1954 general elections.[45] He was not entirely ignorant of the relationship between supply and demand. The economic facts of life could have been introduced by drawing his attention to the critical shortage of food when, for any reason, yam or plantains failed to reach the market. Proceeding from the familar to the unknown would have had the effect of increasing his understanding of inter-tribal and inter-regional relationship and how important such relationships were for the happiness and well-being of individual citizens, and the survival of the country as a whole. When the concept of unity at home has been grasped, then world unity would be seen in its true perspective.

Western Nigeria published its Proposals for an Educational Policy in 1952. Neither in this nor any other statement on education was an official view expressed on national unity.[46] Universal primary education was introduced in 1955. An outline syllabus for primary schools which was first published in 1954 had reached its sixth edition by 1962. The aims of primary education were four-fold:[47] -

> the development of sound standards of individual conduct and behaviour;
>
> an understanding of the community and of what is of value for its development, and of the contribution which the individual can make to the community;

> the development of a lively curiosity leading to a desire for knowledge about the immediate environment and the world outside;
>
> permanent literacy;
>
> the acquisition of some skill of hand and the recognition of the value of manual work.

The study of civics was confined to the last two years of a six-year primary course, once a week for a period of thirty-five minutes. History and Geography were to be confined to the same two classes and were to be allocated two periods each week except for Class Six History which was to be taught for three periods.

Civics in Class Five was to deal with communities - "the different communities to which any member of the class may belong explained and illustrated. Home, village, division, province, region, Nigeria, Africa, British Commonwealth, the world."[48] Civic virtues were to be derived from religious instruction thus,

> What our religions teach us about Civic Virtues (common teachings of Christian and Moslem religions - service, almsgiving, hospitality, courtesy, kindness, humility. These teachings are our authority for trying to develop many of the civic virtues mentioned earlier) practising what our religions teach us. . . . Tolerance - in religion, race, tribe, politics. Reasons for it. Every human being is entitled to respect and to his own freedom of opinion. Examples of tolerance and prejudice and why prejudice is wrong and harmful to the community as a whole. The caste system in India. The brotherhood of man. Harmful effects of intolerance illustrated.[49]

Only during the third term was the word democracy to be explained.

Class Six was to study

> the larger communities to which we belong. The British Commonwealth of Nations explained. Dominion and Colonies. The advance to self-government of Nigeria and Ghana and other British territories. The family of nations compared with our own families (illustrated).[50]

The approach to history was to be purely biographical, and later supplemented by recent (unnamed) developments in Nigeria. Class Five was to be told stories of famous people who lived long ago selected from a list which included Ulysses, Cyrus, Leonidas, Alexander, Hannibal, J. Caesar, Moses, Bhudda, Confucius, Jesus Christ, Mohammed, Hammurabi, Socrates and Archimedes. To those were to be added heroes (unenumerated) of the children's own tribe or people. Next were to be told stories of famous people of Nigeria, then stories of famous people who lived and worked in Africa, and finally stories from the history of healing. The stories in the last category were to be about Hippocrates, Father Damion, Raheare, Madame Curie, Jenner, Ronald Ross, Florence Nightingale, Reid, Louis Pasteur, Bruce (Tsetse fly), Helen Keller. Class Six had to study stories of people who explored West Africa, stories of people who explored other parts of Africa, and finally learn about recent developments in Nigeria under transport, trade, Missions, education and civics - a simple outline of the structure of local and regional government and the part played in both by the ordinary citizen.[51]

Geography was to include "exploration geography and geography of the things we use." During these lessons, the children were to go on "imaginary journeys along the main routes across Western Nigeria . . . to note the chief geographical features;" they were to be given "a brief summary of the geography of the whole country by . . . imaginary journeys by land and air. . . ." In order to know something of the life and work of the people of Africa, they were to make "imaginary journeys to each country to study the type of people and their activities."[52]

The impression has been created that the syllabus in Civics, Geography and History had been designed to insulate the children from the political realities of life in Nigeria. Democracy was a word to be explained. The implications of 'one man one vote' and government by the majority were not conceived as being part of the concept of democracy. No controversial issues were raised, and as an example of intolerance and prejudice, the caste system of India was to be studied in a country whose children had no doubt heard of the Kano riots of 1953,[53] the Minorities Commission of 1957,[54] and, where at independence in 1960, the strongest political party, the Northern People's Congress was not a national party.[55]

Paradoxically, the Eastern Region of Nigeria, whose secession as Biafra was to lead to civil war, had taken the official position that its schools should be used to promote national unity.[56] Perhaps it was already aware of the vulnerability of its citizens, who were to be found in other regions of Nigeria (notably the North), should inter-regional relations deteriorate and the Federation collapse, as it did. Anber (1967) explained that "faced with internal problems of land hunger, impoverished soil, and population pressure, the Ibos migrated in large numbers to urban areas both in their own region and in the North and West, in search of economic and educational advancement."[57] Consequently social studies in Class Five in the primary schools were to include the study of the country "as it evolved into an 'independent and industrial nation,' emphasizing the 'struggle towards independence.' Class Six was to focus on the political history of Nigeria, with particular attention to the development of democracy.' "[58]

At the secondary level the teaching of all subjects were to be nationally oriented, and then progressively directed outwards to a study of other countries, culminating in the concept of the unity of mankind. The teaching of History was, preferably, to be undertaken by a Nigerian and History and Geography were to be primarily concerned with Nigeria. Civics was to be studied in the secondary schools and "conscious effort made by secondary school teachers to instil in our youth the right attitude to and respect for our culture, our eminent men and women and our National Anthem and Flag."[59] Education in Eastern Nigeria, at both levels, was to have a definite political content, calculated to promote national unity. As it happened, Eastern Nigeria was to be involved in a struggle for survival two years after such aims were made public, and the extent of implementation cannot now be assessed.

Sierra Leone became independent in 1961. The Curriculum Planning Committee of the Ministry of Education published a new trial syllabus in 1969. Among the eleven suggested responsibilities of the Local Authorities and the teaching staff in co-operation with the home were the following

> (3) To develop an understanding for and a faith in democratic government and to instil a sense of unity and patriotism among Sierra Leone children.
>
> (8) To develop a respect for law and the practice of abiding by the principles of law and order.
>
> (9) To develop in children the habit of thinking for themselves logically, and to work towards a responsible approach to making decisions.[60]

Social studies were to be taught from the very first class of the primary school. The unit approach was to be used, moving out

from the school to the home and the family to the community. History in classes four to seven was to start with local history, then on to the history of Sierra Leone and finally the history of West Africa. Under civics a progressive study was to be made of citizenship and its meaning, government in urban affairs, regional divisions, the government of Sierra Leone, and then international relationships. Geography was to start with a study of the child's locality, proceed to various aspects of the geography of Sierra Leone, then on to the neighbouring countries and finally other countries of West Africa.[61] An important feature of the social studies programme has been the publication of school text-books written by a Sierra Leonean. The series, Our Sierra Leone, deal with the history of the country, while that entitled Civics for Sierra Leone cover citizenship and government of the country.[62] While it should be noted that the new trial syllabus published in 1969, went into limited use in the schools in September of 1970, very little attempt has been made to emphasize and develope the concepts of state, nation and nationality. In dealing with local government (chiefdom administration) no mention has been made of a rather common phenomenon - the government withdrawing recognition from paramount chiefs following the results of investigations into allegations of abuse and misuse of power. Such allegations and petitions have been linked with national politics and citizens supporting one political party as opposed to the other often clashed with their chiefs, if the chiefs were supporting the other party. In 1970, for example, official recognition was withdrawn from seven chiefs after an enquiry into allegations of misconduct, headed by a judge of the Supreme Court.[63]

The curricula of secondary schools in West Africa are greatly influenced by the syllabuses put out by the West African Examinations Council for the purposes of its school leaving examinations, the ordinary level which is taken at the end of the usual five year course, and the advanced level taken two years later.[64]

The content of the syllabuses is now more African than before, and deal with the subjects from the point of view of West Africa generally, and in specific areas with the candidates' own countries. Economics is to deal with the main structural features of economic activity and economic institutions with special reference to West Africa, as well as specific aspects of economic developments. Geography covers not only related regions but involves elements of world human geography. Government involves the study of the present day constitution of any of the four West African territories as well as the organization and structure of the government. Later, candidates would have to deal with the general constitutional development of the territories and the political developments prior and subsequent to the attainment of independence. Candidates have a choice of periods to study in history, but West African and African history are prominent, though there is also a section on world history.[65]

But the format of the syllabuses creates the impression that treatment of the subjects should be descriptive rather than analytic. Indeed the rubric to the syllabuses states that "the ability of candidates to express themselves clearly and to present their work neatly and accurately will be taken into account in assessing marks in all subjects."[66] No evidence of the ability to think independently and analytically is obviously required or considered of any significance.

The examination of social studies programmes in West Africa reveal that while attempts have been made to reflect political changes in the status of the territories, no conscious attempt has been made to promote national unity through the schools or to involve pupils in processes which could lead to an awareness of, and respect for, the democratic way of life. Perhaps the most outstanding feature of the programmes is the complete absence of the treatment of controversial issues. Only rarely is the word 'tribe' mentioned, yet tribe is the basis of life in West Africa. People do belong to tribes and owe their first loyalty to their respective tribes and regions. It should be the task of education, through the schools, to teach that loyalty to tribe and loyalty to the state and nation are not necessarily incompatible. The production of food in West Africa is, to a great extent, on tribal and regional basis. Certain tribes are fisherman and so provide fish for non-fishing tribes, others produce rice or yam for the whole country, while there are those who move cattle for meat from one part of the country to the other, while yet some are itinerant traders taking goods from one place to the other. Very little has been done to emphasize this aspect of life in West Africa. An appreciation of the extent to which one tribe is dependent on the other for the necessities of life may, perhaps, make people less willing to destroy one another, even for political ends. The politicians have attempted to deal with the problem of intense loyalty to tribe by decree and legislation and not by education.[67] The former course might have had the effect of antagonising citizens, while the latter course may yet win minds.

The freedom to discuss controversial issues and to compete for political power on the basis of differences of opinion is fundamental to the concept of democracy. When citizens are exposed to an education which enables them to handle controversial issues objectively, they would be less inclined to use violence to coerce people to their point of view. It is quite possible that the neglect of controversial issues arises from the didactic, descriptive, and narrative approach to teaching. Apart from the negative influence of this approach on the development of correct attitudes to democracy, the effect on the learning process retards rather than promotes education. Pupils are not encouraged to draw upon their experiences to help them develope concepts and principles which they may need to use and apply to situations in later life. For example, most children in West Africa know what happens when an adequate supply of a staple food does not reach the market. Many children in Sierra Leone know that rice is scarce during the rainy season, and consequently their parents and guardians have to pay more for it at that time of the year. The children may not be aware of it, but already they have the knowledge of the law of supply and demand and its effect on prices. It is the job of the teacher to help them organize their knowledge and see this as a general principle. When this basic principle is understood, the children would later have no problem understanding the causes and effects of monopoly, price controls and the functions of the various market boards, which control the production and fix the prices of certain cash crops. In fact an understanding of the economic facts of life, in an independent state, may very well have the effect of securing the cooperation of the

citizens for the government's economic policy. As in this manner of learning economics, for instance, and applying what is learned to economic affairs, so it is in other spheres of life. Understanding rather than indoctrination or mere accumulation of facts is more likely to promote an appreciation of the benefits of democracy.

Rather there has developed the wide-spread view that religious education will further the development of a sound character, and other virtues which make for good citizenship. This is not surprising in view of the fact that Western education was brought to West Africa by the missions. The 1925 Colonial Office Memorandum also made religious teaching the basis of character development. Schools in England have been able to influence the character of their pupils, not so much as a result of religious teaching, but as Merriam (1931) discovered they had inherited certain traditions and attitudes over a long period of time. The effect of religious education on character development is not as definite or certain as some people believe. The revelations of bribery and corruption involving politicians who, often than not, had been educated at mission schools, have, if anything, called into question the generally assumed connection between religious education and the development of certain virtues.[68]

It is clear, therefore, that the West African governments have, so far, failed to capitalize on the potential of their vast investments in education to promote national unity. In like manner they have failed to use the schools to any appreciable degree to prepare citizens for their role in independent democratic states. At the Conference of African States on the Development of Education in

Africa which was held in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia) in 1961, members were more concerned with the quantitative development of education, though mention was made of the need for curriculum reform.[69] Education, being considered the basic factor in economic and social development, they were concerned with producing programmes for educational expansion which would promote the necessary development. Therefore, one of their proposals called for the implementation of free universal primary education by member states by 1980. Three years later, in 1964, the African Ministers of Education met at Abijan (Ivory Coast) to discuss the need for curriculum reform.[70] Ghana, which, ten years before Addis Ababa set the 1980 target date for universal primary education, had introduced its Accelerated Development Plan for Education, stressed the need for quality education. The Minister representing Ghana asked the Conference to take certain steps to ensure that quality was not sacrificed in favour of quantity. He asked that this be done by

(a) A review of syllabuses and text books.

(b) Organized experimentation in sciences and language.

(c) Education in citizenship and the introduction of African Studies in Universities.

(d) Teacher training programmes.

Ghana had by this time become a one-party state based on democratic centralism.[71] This entire process involved such a basic change from the liberal democratic constitution of independence that it soon became necessary to institute a new form of political education to socialize citizens into the new order. The attempt is worthy of description because it represented the one conscious effort in (British) West Africa to use education as an instrument of political socialization.

Political Socialization in Ghana, 1960-1966

Ghana became a republic on July 1, 1960, after a referendum which had been held earlier in the year. In his now famous speech delivered in April in which he declared that the Convention People's Party was co-terminous with the state of Ghana, the Prime Minister also equated academic freedom, as conceived by the University of Ghana with disloyalty and hostility to the government. He also indicated that the greatest importance would be attached to the 'ideological education' of the youth, and that the Young Pioneers Movement would be set up for this purpose.[72] Later, a more comprehensive plan was drawn up to combat by "intellectual educational and organizational attack all aspects of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism." The ideology of Nkrumaism was to be used to combat neo-colonialism.[73] Nkrumaism, the ideological policies taught by Nkrumah, has been officially defined as

> the ideology of the New Africa, independent and absolutely free from imperialism, organized on a continental scale, founded upon the conception of one and united Africa, drawing its strength from modern science and technology and from the traditional African belief that the free development of each is the free development of all.[74]

An elaborate structure was set up to ensure that the new philosophy reached the people of Ghana. The Secretariat of the Bureau of Party Education had to go to the people at all levels, the wards, the towns and the villages; special branches were created in offices, shops, factories, state farms, corporations and all places of employment. It had to reach the primary schools through the Young Pioneers, as well as the secondary schools, colleges and universities, where Party

Study Groups were to be organized. Education Secretaries were to be appointed at all levels - at the branch level, wherever a branch of the Party was established and at the Regional and District levels. Party Educational Conferences were also to be held at these three levels.[75]

The Ghana Young Pioneers organization was started in June of 1960, and soon became part of the national system of education.[76] Every school and college had a unit, which was led by a volunteer member of staff. The aims of the Young Pioneers were as follows:

> To train the mind, the body and soul of the youth of Ghana;
>
> To train them to be up to their civic responsibilities so as to fulfill their patriotic duties;
>
> To train their technical skills according to their talents;
>
> To foster the spirit of voluntaryism, love and devotion to the welfare of the Ghana nation;
>
> To inculcate into the youth "nkrumaism" - ideals of African Personality, African Unity, World Peace, social and economic reconstruction of Ghana and Africa in particular and the world in general.[77]

The activities of the Pioneers included physical drill, agriculture, cultural activities - an attempt to blend old African arts with the new negro history, leadership training, first aid, voluntary service, hobbies, athletics, games and sports.[78] Each member had to make this pledge, which was also recited by all school children (secondary and primary) and training college students every morning.

> (1) I sincerely promise to live by the ideals of Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah.
>
> (2) To safeguard by all means possible, the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the State of Ghana from internal and external aggression.

(3) To be always in the Vanguard for social and economic reconstruction of Ghana and Africa.

(4) To be always in the first rank of men fighting for the total liberation and unity of Africa, for these are the noble aims guiding the Ghana Young Pioneers.

(5) As a Young Pioneer, I will be a guard of workers, farmers, co-operators and all the sections of our community.

(6) I believe that the dynamic Convention People's Party is always supreme, and I promise to be worthy of its ideals. So help me God.

After the pledge, came the liturgy

Leader: Nkrumah does no wrong.

Response: Nkrumah is our leader.

Leader: Nkrumah does no wrong.

Response: Nkrumah is our Messiah.

Leader: Nkrumah does no wrong.

Response: Nkrumah never dies.

More often than not this was followed by the refrain

If you follow him, if you follow him,
He will make you fishers of men
Fishers of men, fishers of men;
He will make you fishers of men
If you follow him.[79]

In 1963 the Convention People's Party decided that Nkrumaism should be taught in the schools.[80] The Headmasters' Conference (Secondary Schools) resisted this move, which no doubt was welcomed by the Primary schools, for in 1965, the Ghana Teachers Conference (Primary Schools) recommended that all heads of schools should undertake periodical courses at the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute.[81]

The teachers who led the units of the Young Pioneers in the schools and later taught Nkrumaism were trained for this purpose at

the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute founded in 1961. Its first students were Trade Unionists, Party officials and employees of government-controlled organizations who enrolled in either six-month or one year courses which covered a wide range of political philosophy. In 1963, it widened its curriculum to include a two-year course leading to a diploma in economics and political science, which attracted many primary school teachers. In 1964 it offerred a degree in economics and political science, and was able to attract students who were qualified to enter university. Nkrumaism was studied for one and a half hours a week, and the text book for the first year was the autobiography of Nkrumah.[82]

No educational institution escaped the attention of the Bureau of Party Education. In the field of mass education, the Institute of Extra Mural Studies was renamed the Institute of Public Education in 1964. It came under the control of an advisory council which included the Director of Party Education, the Director of the Ideological Institute, and the Secretary of the All-African Trade Union Federation. The residential (Easter and New Year) schools discussed such matters as African Unity, Imperialism, Colonialism, and Neo-colonialism. What had hitherto been an institution concerned with arousing and stimulating the interests of workers in a variety of subjects had degenerated into a propaganda machine of the Party.[83]

A Committee of Inspection on Publication was set up in 1964 to inspect publications in bookshops, libraries of schools, colleges and universities, and "to work out a system to ensure the removal of all publications which do not reflect the ideology of the Party or

are antagonistic to its ideals."[84] A year later it was announced that "new primers and literacy materials were being written to suit local conditions and devoid of colonial mentality" for use in all literacy classes organized by the Ghana Ministry of Social Welfare.[85]

However, the most strenuous efforts at conversion were directed at the University of Ghana. The resulting conflict brought into focus the functions of a University in a developing country. Most members of the university, staff and student, were wedded to the ideal of "academic freedom" - an ideal which was a legacy of the country's association with Britain (or of colonialism) - while the government resented that freedom which it felt was tainted with hostility to the Party and the government,

> the same Government whose money founded the University and maintains it and who provides them with their education in the hope that they will one day repay their country-men by giving loyal and devoted service to the Government of the people.[86]

Under the University Act of 1961, Nkrumah, as Chancellor, became one of the Principal Officers of the University, and the Chairman of the University Council was empowered to act for the Chancellor, while the Vice-Chancellor was to be appointed by the University Council with the approval of the Chancellor.[87] Attempts were made to get the University to tow the Party line but the majority of staff and students would not. In 1964 for example, the Vice-Chancellor was asked to dismiss six members of the academic staff or get them to resign because of their subversive activities. Since no evidence of subversion could (or would) be produced, he refused to comply with the request. Thereupon the six were promptly served with deportation orders. This was followed by a demonstration of some 2,000 Party

members and supporters, led by the Executive Secretary of the Party, who marched through the campus and halls of residence protesting that the students, lecturers and professors had isolated themselves from Ghana's Socialist revolution.[88]

The efforts of the Party to socialize the state into the new political culture of Nkrumaism did not meet the approval of all sections of the Community. Indeed the implementation of the Accelerated Development Plan for Education had not been regarded by all with unmitigated approval. Some educationists were concerned that many unqualified people would be drafted into the teaching profession, with disastrous consequences. "The 1951 document, the Accelerated Plan of Education," said one critic, "has brought untold headaches - the first products of this plan are the stone-throwing/rioting students who constitute a new problem for our society. . . ."[89] Even the move to a totalitarian regime has been traced to the implementation of this Plan. "We were soon faced," wrote another critic,

> with a growing population of semi-literates taught by pupil teachers who had to go into teaching because they were not good enough to enter secondary schools and training colleges. They were the stuff of which a dictator makes use in his plans for enslaving the population. . . .

Under the circumstances, it was not difficult for democratic ideals to be swept away since criticism, necessary to sustain such ideals, were muted. "The blow to democracy and efficiency was very great. For in Ghana," explained the writer,

> we do not by custom encourage the young to be inquisitive at home. One would expect them to be encouraged to develop the habit at school. But where the teacher is very ignorant, and the society does not encourage the questioning of authority, the habit of criticism is not easily developed.[90]

The songs and slogans of the Young Pioneers also antagonized the Christian churches and their members. This was not surprising in view of the fact that education in Ghana, as in the Gambia, Sierra Leone and Nigeria, had for long been undertaken by the Christian missions.[91]

The children, no doubt, were required to laud Nkrumah as the Messiah, because the Party looked upon him as the political Messiah who had come to deliver Ghana from the domination of the Imperialists, and eventually reunite the peoples of Africa.[92] Since "Messianism in the Bible is inseparably linked with the person of Jesus Christ,"[93] the attribution of a messianic mission to Nkrumah aroused the displeasure of Christians of all persuasion. In an address to the Synod of the Diocese of Accra in 1962, the Anglican Bishop deplored what he described as the godlessness of the Movement, and the atheistic nature of the songs and phrases prescribed for the children to repeat. He concluded,

> Surely it is our duty to ask that some consideration be given to the convictions of loyal citizens of Ghana, who by virtue of their Christian Faith, desire that nothing shall hinder their children from growing up to be loyal and faithful Christian men and women.[94]

A week later he was deported together with the Archbishop of West Africa. However, his deportation was deplored by Churches and congregations not only in Ghana, but throughout West Africa, and in November the expulsion order was revoked.[95]

Perhaps Nkrumah would have succeeded in converting the majority of the people to Nkrumaism, if any tangible benefits had been seen to accrue to them as a result of this new concept. As it turned out,

the results of his economic and educational policies - government over-expenditure (budget deficit) inflation and unemployment - contributed to the overthrow of his government and the end of Ghana's flirtation with socialism.[96]

Nevertheless, so thoroughly had the Party infiltrated the educational system that the National Liberation Council had to set up a Centre for Civic Education which was to be an instrument of active citizenship. Its main objectives were to provide education in

(a) democratic rights and responsibilities and

(b) ideals of public service, integrity, tolerance and belief in those other values which constitute a firm foundation for a free society.[97]

The Centre was under the direction of a Board of Trustees headed by Professor K.A. Busia. Soon afterwards, he spoke at a press conference on the challenges of democracy, and what the Centre hoped to achieve through its work which would reach all sections of the community and be carried on through the medium of the Ghanaian languages as well as English.[98] "Behind this venture for Civic Education which the National Liberation Council has encouraged and brought into being lies the faith that we in Ghana are capable of practicising true democracy," declared the man who was to be Ghana's next Prime Minister.

> Democracy is a way of life, founded on respect for the human being. It reflects the history, the culture, and the values of a country; it is manifested in the day-to-day life and activities of a community, and in all its social relations, in home or school or public place, between government officials and the public, in the general moral atmosphere of society, and in the quality of the individual citizen.[99]

Once again, education was to be the instrument of socializing

the people of Ghana into the (new) political order occasioned by a change of government and ideology, in exactly the same way as Nkrumah had relied upon education to orientate the citizens to his socialist view of life. Nevertheless, the functions and methods of the Centre for Civic Education were to be quite different from that of the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute. Though a "quasi-government agency of political education," it was free from government control and not tied to any political party. It sought to involve the entire population in discussions about the political difficulties of the First Republic and the requirements for democracy. Given the alienation of groups of citizens under Nkrumah, high priority was given to achieving national unity, and to the promotion of projects designed to show the divisive and often disruptive effects of tribalism and regionalism. In preparation for the 1969 elections, the registration of voters was undertaken by the Centre, and it had to restore the faith of citizens in the electoral process, since many had been disillusioned by government control under the former regime. Whereas the proponents of Nkrumaism equated political opposition with hostility to the Party, the state and the government, the Centre for Civic Education, after the 1969 Election, mounted a campaign on the theme, "Your Political Opponent is not your Enemy."[100]

In his attempt to mobilize the resources (both human and physical) of Ghana and to defeat the forces of colonialism and neo-colonialism in order to produce the kind of socialist society he envisaged, Nkrumah had to rely on a new political religion.

Individualism, tribalism and pluralism militated against mobilization. Therefore he aimed at integration through the propagation of a militant ideology, which he described as Nkrumaism. No aspect of social life was to be outside the political influence of the new religion. The schools, colleges and university were considered vital to the whole process, and great emphasis was laid on "ideology, socialism, political obligation, and civic responsibility."[101] However, discrepancies between theory and practice, between the promise of socialist rhetoric and economic reality, soon became apparent in the one-party state with its enforced unity. The government was overthrown, and, after a period of time, a new government was elected on the basis of competition between groups and individuals.[102] In effect the pluralistic nature of Ghanaian society was acknowledged and re-inforced, and unity was to be achieved through a government based on the tenets of a new liberal constitution and not on the social and political ideas of a charismatic leader. Ghana thus moved from what Apter (1963) has characterized as a mobilization system in which the state was supreme to a reconciliation system, depending for its validity on a constitutional framework.

Some Suggestions for Improving Social Studies in Sierra Leone

The concept of democracy, as understood in Sierra Leone, is based on the 'one man one vote' principle, which affirms the equality of all citizens and emphasizes the worth of each individual. Yet the reports of violence, and of attempted coups seem to suggest that some citizens are considered more equal than others, and some individuals worthier than most. Consequently the state is deeply divided along tribal lines, along regional lines, along party affiliations. While there is nothing inherently wrong in divisions along these lines, there is something seriously wrong when such divisions blind supporters to an awareness of the dangers to the stability of the state. Therefore a social studies programme for Sierra Leone should address itself primarily to the task of making citizens aware of their membership in a larger community, the state, which is made up of smaller communities, the tribes. The next aim should be to enable pupils and teachers to discuss controversial issues with a view either to resolving conflicts or to co-existing with those who hold contrary views, since one of the bases of democracy is the willingness of all to co-exist peacefully in spite of differences of views and opinions.

The weight of evidence, so far, suggests that social and political attitudes are determined by early life experience, and consequently the first attempts to influence such attitudes should be made during the primary school stage.[103]

The children in Sierra Leone are very much aware of what is going on. They reflect the attitudes of their parents in their

attitudes to different ethnic groups. In addition to the influence of parents, there is also the influence of the mass media. People unfamiliar with West Africa, and Sierra Leone in particular, would find it difficult to believe that transistor radios are to be found in the remotest corner of the country. These carry the news not only in English but in many of the principal vernaculars. Newspapers, and even television, reflect and reinforce the prevailing attitudes.

The Social Studies Programme in the New Trial Syllabus (Sierra Leone) is designed to start in Class One and continue right through the primary school course to Class Six. It covers all the relevant areas of social studies, civics, history and geography. A child who completes the course would have an adequate amount of factual knowledge relating to and affecting life in Sierra Leone. It is not certain, however, that this accumulation of knowledge would in any way affect the child's social and political behaviour. Therefore, the educational value of the course could be enhanced by laying down certain definite objectives in terms of behavioral outcomes. These could centre around words, concepts and institutions which have been the focal points of controversy, unrest and violence in Sierra Leone. Below is a list of outcomes, which could be expected to reflect changes in a child's attitude to certain political and social institutions.

(1) The pupils must be able to understand the meanings of and differences between the following words: - TRIBE, NATION, STATE.

(2) The pupils must also be able to understand the meanings of and differences between the following words: - TRIBALISM, NATIONALISM.

(3) Pupils are to demonstrate a knowledge of the respective functions and relative importance of THE PRIME MINISTER and A PARAMOUNT CHIEF.

(4) Pupils are to show a knowledge and understanding of the relationship between A TRIBE AND SECRET SOCIETIES, THE NATION AND POLITICAL PARTIES.

(5) Pupils are to be able to show a knowledge and understanding of the functions of a DISTRICT COUNCIL and of PARLIAMENT.

Pupils must be able to show an appreciation and respect for cultural differences after they have come to understand the meanings of the words tribe, nation, state, tribalism, nationalism. The many tribes of Sierra Leone have different customs which may be admired by some and despised by others. It should be the aim of the social studies course to show that diversity (or pluralism) adds richness to national life and that differences in tribal customs do not mean that one tribe is superior or inferior to the other on account of such differences.

The suggestion has also been made that social studies should give some guidance as to how to handle controversial issues. No profound treatment is expected at the primary school level, but provision should be made to handle these issues as they arise. In any social studies class discussing tribe, uncomplimentary views of one tribe or

another are bound to be expressed. They can best be dealt with by making a list of such views, and then, individually or collectively, attempting to find the basis for them. Pupils will find justification difficult except to refer to the view of a parent or other adult. The dangers of prejudice, and of drawing conclusions which are not based on facts can, even at this stage of their education, be demonstrated to the children. Frequent practice in trying to get children to justify their views and opinions will have the effect of getting them to realize the importance of weighing all the available evidence before arriving at a conclusion.

Schools in Sierra Leone make use of the prefect system, whereby boys and girls considered outstanding in respect of personality and ability are chosen to be responsible for helping to maintain order and to serve as liaison between pupils and teachers. In the primary school there are prefects sometimes called monitors for each class. In the secondary school, there are form prefects for each form, school prefects with jurisdiction over the entire school and a senior prefect who generally is in the final year of his school career. Invariably there is also a Head Boy or Head Girl of a school, chosen from those in their senior or final year as a result of ranking first in scholastic performance. In addition to having responsibility with the school prefects for maintaining order, the Head Boy (Head Girl) is also the school's representative at public and other functions where such representation is necessary. This existing system could be used to further the civic education of the pupils. Instead of monitors and prefects being appointed by teachers, they could be elected by the

class, the form or the school. After preliminary discussions, class and teachers could arrive at the qualifications necessary for a successful monitor or prefect. A list could then be compiled of those considered as having the requisite qualifications, and a time fixed for voting by secret ballot. In the top classes of the primary school and in the secondary schools, candidates could be asked to state how, for example, they would improve discipline and staff-pupil relationship, if they were elected. The whole idea would be to get the pupils involved in choosing their own monitors and prefects according to the rules laid down by the class, and where possible, give them an opportunity to assess the different candidates on their qualifications and proposals. Equally important, those who were nominated but failed to win election would also begin to learn how to be good losers.

Since class monitors and form prefects are chosen every term, such an exercise three times a year, for about four years of a seven year primary school course and five years of a secondary school course, would have the effect not only of giving the children some idea of electoral procedures, while promoting the spirit and values of the school, but also of improving the relationship between staff and pupils, who would now be closely involved in electing their own representatives. The school as one body could, likewise, be involved once a year in the election of school prefects.

Specifically, it is expected that after a period of time, pupils would be able during local and general elections to identify the contesting parties, the opposing candidates, their relative positions on

political and social issues, and attempt an evaluation of those positions in terms of national unity and stability. Furthermore, pupils who have had practice in choosing their class and school representatives because they meet certain qualifications considered essential for those who lead and hold public offices, will, it is hoped, come to choose their parliamentary representatives for similar reasons, and not because they belong to any particular group or tribe. Given the situation in which tribal groups became the units of government under indirect rule, and that the administrative groups or districts which were formed under such conditions have, with independence, remained intact for electoral and administrative purposes, the temptation for politicians to appeal to tribal voting blocks will always be present. Therefore, one of the basic aims of social studies education or any related project designed to increase the awareness of voters, should in Sierra Leone, aim at teaching citizens how to discriminate in their choice of candidates according to other criteria than solely tribal connections.

The practice of critical appraisal once started in the primary schools should be continued in the secondary schools. At the present time, syllabuses of history and other subjects are closely related to those prescribed by the West African Examinations Council. The content is now African oriented, but again, the emphasis would appear to be on the accumulation of facts. A study of the settlement of Sierra Leone would not by itself contribute to the political socialization of those involved, unless the content helps the students to understand the effects and influence of that settlement on the lives

of the people in and around the area, and in doing this, uses methods calculated to give practice in obtaining, analysing and utilizing information. Thus the primary aim of a history course for secondary schools, will be to help pupils understand, appreciate and finally evaluate significant events that have influenced and shaped subsequent developments in Sierra Leone. Only when this is done will the present tensions and misunderstandings between various groups be seen in their true perspectives. Perhaps with understanding will come a desire to submerge past differences, and to build a united Sierra Leone.

For any learning experience to be meaningful to a pupil, it must begin with the experiences and things with which he is most familiar. In this way his level of ability and his interests will also be taken into consideration. The following outline course suggested for secondary schools, will, therefore, start with the immediate environment and community, working from the present to the past to provide a basis for the pupil's interests. From local history, the course then goes on to study the state and finally expands to take a regional and global view.

In general, certain concepts which have been regarded as central to sound curriculum planning in history will be incorporated in the outline history of Sierra Leone. These are the concept of culture; the concept of man in culture interacting with the forces of nature; the concept of social group, including the relationship of the group to the development of the individual; the concept of economic organization; the concept of political organization including the nature of political rights and responsibilities and means of

political control; the concept of freedom in relationship to personal security and social control; the concept of growing inter-dependence between individuals and groups.[104] The course will afford some training in the techniques which have characterized the study of history; these are locating and gathering information, developing a sense of time and chronology, interpreting maps, organizing, analyzing and evaluating information, and in the setting out in a proper manner the results and observations. It is also to be hoped that pupils going on to study history at university level would be stimulated and given the basic tools of their trade. The greater number of pupils would also be given an awareness of the importance of history, and all pupils will be led to feel the excitement and responsibility of living in a newly independent state.

The History of Sierra Leone

At every stage, pupils will be encouraged to make use of community resources. Community resources will range from churches to newspapers, to local libraries where these are available, from the Sierra Leone Museum to local parks and monuments, from Hansard, the official record of Parliamentary debates (a name adopted from England) to local dignitaries and sages, who, in the best oral tradition, are repositories of a wealth of knowledge on matters pertaining to local history. Pupils will be required to ask questions and to find out for themselves some of the basic reasons why there is such a deep division among the various groups.

Some activities, like visits, would involve large groups or

classes, while some investigations would require pupils to work in smaller groups or individually. Reports would be verbal or written and each child would build up his own history text book, by keeping all work in folders, since the course is not based on a prescribed text. In the first two years of the course pupils would be encouraged to act out scenes involving historical characters and to dramatize events. The primary purpose of this would be to enable the children to see the characters involved as human beings and not mere ghost figures. Later pupils would pass on from role playing to using simulated games. Maps would be used to fix locations and, wherever and whenever possible, films would be used.

By the time the children enter the secondary school, they would already have learned about Prince Henry, the navigator, Vasco da Gama, Pedro da Cintra, and the earlier expeditions to Sierra Leone in their primary schools. However, as evidence of continuity and social change, references will be made to pre-19th century sources where this is relevant. Descriptions of life in Sierra Leone among the Temne and the Mende, before the arrival of the settlers, would be used. Among such descriptions would be those of the early Portuguese sources as given by Christopher Fyfe in Sierra Leone Inheritance.[105] These sources inform us of secret societies for both men and women and some of their functions. We know that these societies exist today in Sierra Leone, and children would thus be led to see these societies for what they have been - the custodians and transmitters of much of the indigenous culture of Sierra Leone. Use would also be made of Anna Maria Falconbridge's account of events in Sierra Leone between 1971 and

1793.[106] The quarrel between the settlers and King Naimbana, and later the sending to England of Naimbana's son, would be of great interest to the pupils, since echoes of that quarrel can still be heard today. The position is still unchanged, the system of land tenure in the provinces of Sierra Leone and the procedure of disposing of land to non-natives of an area is summed up in Naimbana's words, "But it is necessary for me to obtain the consent of my people, or rather the head man of every town, before I sell any land to a white man or allow strangers to come and live among us."[107] It will be pointed out to the pupils that the descendants of those strangers - the Creoles - can never, up to this day, buy land in the provinces of Sierra Leone - they can only lease such land. This system of land tenure was one of the basic disagreements between the Creoles and the indigenous tribes left unsettled at independence. No opportunity will be lost to get pupils to discuss controversial issues. For example they will be required to discuss the land tenure problem, to discuss some of the manifestations of what is described as tribalism - and how it has and is affecting life in Sierra Leone. In discussing the peoples of Sierra Leone, for example, emphasis will be laid on the contribution of each tribe to the cultural, social and economic life of the country. Diversity will be discussed and unity for survival will be a theme running through all lessons. Political events will be made the starting points of lessons, as and when they occur. For example, the declaration of a state of emergency will prompt a discussion on the political implications of such a move. The proposed course of instruction is not

rigid and allowance is made for lessons with a definite political content, where and when local events make this imperative. Since the proposed history course will involve a number of contacts with the community through speakers, visits, field trips and excursions, the pupils will have to be intimately concerned with making the necessary arrangements. As part of their education in planning and decision-making in a democratic society, the pupils will take part in discussions, make suggestions, and take responsibility for executing some of the decisions reached. They will, for example, contact speakers, write letters for permission to visit, work out costs in terms of transport, and generally be given an insight into planning and organization. This is an aspect of education which has been neglected in Sierra Leone. All too often details of such visits, field trips, and excursions are worked out by school staff and teachers, and then announced to the class or school.

Outline Course of History of Sierra Leone for Secondary School Pupils

Form I

- Pupils will be asked to supply a list of names of streets in the locality. Names would range from Wilberforce Street, Campbell Street, Macaulay Street on the one hand, to Naimbana Street, Mammy Yoko Street, Pademba Road on the other.
- Children will then be required to classify names - English names and African names.
- Children to do research to find out who these people were.

- How did the people with English names get to Sierra Leone and why do they have streets named after them?

- At this point, and in an attempt to answer the above questions, children would then be taught about the slave trade, the names of the important people who helped to abolish it and the decision to settle the freed slaves in Sierra Leone.

- The founding of Freetown, the settlement and the people who already lived around the area - King Jimmy, King Naimbana and others, and their quarrels with the settlers.

- If possible a visit would be made to Bunce Island to see the remains of an early European settlement.

- Children to visit local churches, particularly the earlier buildings which abound in Freetown and in some places up country. Their attention will be directed to the memorial tablets - anything interesting to be noted down.

Arising from this will be lessons to explain the following:

- Why many people with English names died within a short time of arrival in Sierra Leone; why they died young and why quite a few came from Liverpool. Geography and the climate of Sierra Leone which made it the white man's grave.

- An interesting memorial in St. George's Cathedral is to a "Captain _____ who survived the hazards of Waterloo to perish in this unlealthy climate, aged 23 years."

- The climate; how it affected the settlers. The expanding settlement and contact with more of the inhabitants of Sierra Leone. Who were those inhabitants, their chiefs, how they lived and their wars.

- Maps showing how the settlement expanded would be on hand.

Such local study will teach the children that indigenous Africans, Europeans and (African) settlers have contributed to the foundation and development of Sierra Leone - that the present Sierra Leone is the result of joint enterprise and not of any one group or tribe.

Form II

Our Schools

- Children will be asked to supply the names of various organizations running schools in Sierra Leone. Next will come the classification of such organizations by: Missions (Christian and Muslim) and local Government (District Councils, Municipal Councils) and the central Government.

- Children will then give the names of their previous elementary schools. The Christian Missions will soon emerge as responsible for providing (initially at any rate) the greatest number of schools.

- Children divided in groups to work on projects involving the main Christian and Muslim organizations: Church Missionary Society, Wesleyan (Methodist) Missionary Society, Roman Catholic Mission and the American United Brethren in Christ, Ahmadiyya. Main aims of projects: brief history of missions, important institutions founded by each (e.g. C.M.S. founded Fourah Bay College in 1827), contributions to education of institutions not only to Sierra Leone, but also entire West Coast of Africa. Emphasize location of early institutions in or around Freetown due primarily to geography of area.

- Sierra Leone now observes Christian and Muslim festivals as public holidays. Provision also exists for Muslim employees to have Friday afternoon off work to attend prayers.
- The main religious groups in Sierra Leone to be characterized. Children representing such groups to present to class beliefs and practices relating to birth, marriage, death.
- Class will then work out and tabulate similarities and differences between main Christian groups on the one hand, and Christian and non-Christian groups on the other.
- Place of indigenous schools, i.e. the various secret societies, what they teach, how they preserve African arts of dancing, drumming and carving of masks, and their great influence on lives of members.

The uneven distribution of schools is the result of a number of factors. The geography of the country, government policy, and the building of roads determined where and when the missions built schools in areas far from the coast. It was not the fault of those people living in the south or the fault of Christian missions that there are fewer schools in the north.

Members of secret societies are often prevailed upon to take an oath to vote for a fellow member at election time. After doing so, they sometimes complain about it, as it tantamounts to voting under duress and is contrary to the election laws of Sierra Leone. Consequently the conflict between loyalty to secret society and freedom of choice at election time in a democratic state will be discussed.

Form III

Government

- The peoples of Sierra Leone. S.L. Independence Day. How is Sierra Leone governed now?
- How was the country governed before?
- How, why and when Freetown became a Crown colony.
- How, and why the colony expanded, the trade wars of the later 19th century, and the creation of a Protectorate of Sierra Leone.
- The importance of the Hut Tax War and its effect on the various groups involved. Primary cause of war - taxation without representation, explanation or understanding.
- Compare, contrast, and tabulate pre-independent forms of government and post independent unitary form of government.

Our Neighbours - (Next door neighbours and distant)

- Who they are, their languages. Their dates of independence. Their government and how chosen; compare and contrast their forms of government with Sierra Leone's. Membership of the British Empire and consequent involvement in two world wars. Extent of involvement and participation.
- Where possible visits to different embassies to get information. Talks from embassy officials. Documentary films from embassies showing life in other West African areas.
- Children who have family connections with these areas or have visited will describe dress, food and other interesting aspects of life.

In discussing Sierra Leone before independence, the following

points will be emphasized; the role of chiefs before European rule, their role after the declaration of the Protectorate, their present political activities and how this has affected the chiefdoms; the relationship of the chiefdoms to the districts and the present relationship of the districts to the central government in Freetown; the demand for self-government and how it affected the various tribes. Sierra Leone as a country is the result of boundaries drawn after agreement between Europeans, the English and French. Consequently people of the same tribe are not all in the same country. Therefore, problems of divided loyalty can still be a source of trouble as in the Samu area in 1956, where the country and the people had been divided between the English (Sierra Leone) and the French (Guinea).

Form IV

Independence

- What changes took place at independence. Visible changes in Sierra Leone, e.g. the Sierra Leone flag, (its meaning), the Governor becoming the Governor General, Parliament and election of members. Invisible changes - membership of international organizations. Importance of such membership, e.g. United Nations and agencies. The Organization of African Unity.
- How Parliament works: The Prime Minister and the Cabinet; Ministers and how they work; visit to House of Representatives to watch Parliament at work; relation of local government to central government; visits to district and municipal councils.

- Democracy and election: Begin with recapitulation of some aspects of recent general elections in Sierra Leone, e.g. parties and nomination of candidates; the functions and responsibilities of the Electoral Commission.

Here problems of national unity will be emphasized. Sierra Leone became an independent state, but was not a nation. How, in view of the many chiefdoms and paramount chiefs, can one nation be created? The emphasis here will be not on the institutions but on the people who now have to think of themselves not only as owing allegiance to a chief but also to the state of Sierra Leone. Formerly allegiance to the chief was all that was seen to be necessary, since the chief in turn was held responsible for loyalty of his chiefdom to the Imperial Government through the District Commissioner. Questions of conflict of loyalties and interests will also be discussed.

Form V

Democracy and Election

- Principle of one man one vote. Is this principal violated by chiefs and members of district councils who vote for ordinary members and then vote for chiefs to represent districts?

- Ideals and practice of Democracy. Democracy in England, democracy in the United States, origins of democracy. Mock election and debates to help pupils understand how the system is supposed to work. The importance of the secret ballot. What happens when elections are rigged, ref. to events in Sierra Leone after 1967 elections.

- Other forms of political ideology. Russia, China and Communism.
- Pupils to find out in which countries Sierra Leone is represented and which countries are represented in Sierra Leone. (Difference between an embassy and a high commission). Advantages of such representation. Foreign policy of Sierra Leone (diplomatic, economic and social); what it is and what it ought to be.
- Wherever possible simulation games would be used to help get across principle concepts, e.g. international simulation (originally developed at Northwestern University) shows the relationship between (or inter-relationship of) domestic and foreign policy.

During discussions of the development of democracy in England and in the United States, the emphasis will be on the supremacy of the nation over other institutions in the state. In England the conflict between the Church and the State was resolved in favour of the State representing the Nation, and in the United States of America the conflict between groups of states in the union was resolved in favour of the nation as represented by the federation of all states, the Union. Likewise in Sierra Leone, the nation (and the state) takes precedence over institutions like chiefdoms, and districts. Unless the nation is seen and held to be over all other institutions, challenges to its position will always pose a threat to national stability.

By this time, a knowledge of the development of the country to its present state, the inhabitants and the problems of nationality and national integration would have been gained by pupils.

In Sierra Leone the curricula of primary and secondary schools are influenced by examinations set by the West African Examinations Council. Therefore any new programme which is likely to affect or influence such curricula, particularly at the secondary level, will have to meet the approval of the Council. Consequently its position, functions and relationship with secondary schools (and primary) schools will be examined in the next chapter.

Footnotes for Chapter V

1. For Plato's views on education for citizenship, see Lodge, R.C. Plato's Theory of Education (London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd., 1947), pp. 60-85.

2. Aristotle, Politics, Jowett's translation, 1310a, pp. 12-17.

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6. Easton, D., and Hess, R.D.,"The Role of the Elementary School in Political Socialization" in The School Review, Vol. 70, No. 3, 1962, p. 264.

7. Merriam, Charles E., The Making of Citizens. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931), p. 289. For a summary of his findings see pp. 250-362.

8. See for instance American Council of Learned Societies and the National Council for the Social Studies, The Social Studies and the Social Sciences. (Harcourt, Brace & World, 1962).

9. Fyfe, Christopher, Sierra Leone Inheritance. (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 35-40.

10. See Little, Kenneth, The Mende of Sierra Leone: A West African People in Transition. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967 ed.), pp. 118-130.

11. Ibid., p. 121 & 127.

12. Ibid., p. 248.

13. Cartwright, op. cit., pp. 247-248.

14. Report by Thomas Jesse Jones, Education in Africa. (New York: Phelps Stokes Fund, 1922), p. 9.

15. Ibid., pp. 16-56.

16. See Britain and Education in the Commonwealth. (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1964), p. 4.

17. Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies, Education Policy in British Tropical Africa. (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1925).

18. Quoted in Education and Nation Building in Africa (eds) L. Gray Cowan et. al. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965), p. 46.

19. Ibid., p. 49.

20. Ibid., p. 50.

21. Ibid., p. 50.

22. Ibid., p. 51.

23. Ibid., p. 52.

24. Britain and Education in the Commonwealth, op. cit., p. 5.

25. Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, Memorandum on the Education of African Communities. (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1935).

26. Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, Mass Education in African Society, Colonial No. 184. (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1943).

27. Ibid., p. 4.

28. See Britain And Education in the Commonwealth, op. cit., p. 6.

29. Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, Education for Citizenship in Africa. (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1948), p. 6.

30. Britain and Education in the Commonwealth, op. cit., p. 6.

31. Colonial Office, Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Disturbances in the Gold Coast, 1948. (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, Colonial No. 231), p. 26.

32. See Education for Citizenship in Africa, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

33. See Ashe, Godfrey, Gandhi. (New York: Stein & Day, 1968), pp. 289-90, 314-315, 352, 353-7; Alastos, Doros, Cyprus Guerilla Gruvas Makarios & the British. (London: Heinemann, 1960), pp. 97-119. For arrest of Sanquah and Nkrumah see Austin, op. cit., p. 75; Slater, Montague, The Trial of Jomo Kenyatta, 2nd ed. rev. (London: Secker & Warburg, 1966).

34. Hailey (1956b), op. cit., p. 307.

35. Ibid., p. 454.

36. Ibid., pp. 309-310

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38. Cartwright, op. cit., p. 18.

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41. Cartwright, op. cit., pp. 43-54, 125-137.

42. See Lusty, M.M., Social Studies Syllabus for Gold Coast Primary and Middle Schools in Gold Coast Education (pp. 22-26) No. 1, May 1955, pp. 22-23.

43. See Higson, F.G.,"An Introduction to the Teaching of Geography in Primary and Middle Schools"in Gold Coast Teachers' Journal, No. 3, December, 1944, (24-31) pp. 30-31.

44. Austin, op. cit., pp. 172-173.

45. Ibid., p. 209.

46. See Peshkin, Alan,"Education and National Integration in Nigeria," The Journal of Modern African Studies, 5,3 (1967), pp. 323-34.

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48. Ibid., p. 65.

49. Ibid., pp. 66-67.

50. Ibid., p. 68.

51. Ibid., p. 72.

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66. Ibid., p. 25.

67. See pages 93 & 94 of dissertation.

68. Note 43, p. 16.

69. Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa - Addis Ababa, Final Report. (Unesco, 1961), pp. 9-13.

70. See Cawson, F.H.,"The Educational Needs of Independent Africa" in The Ghana Teacher's Journal, No. 45, Jan., 1965, p. 34.

71. For 'democratic centralism,' see page 24 of dissertation.

72."The Party," C.P.P. Monthly Journal, September, 1960, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 6.

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75. Op. cit., April 1-15, 1962, No. 22, Guide to Party Action, p. 3.

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82. Barker, op. cit., p. 97-100; also Szamuely, Tibor, op. cit.

83. See the "Institute of Public Education Rediscovers Itself," by E. Ampene in The Legon Observer (Accra) Vol. 1, No. 2, July 22, 1966, pp. 7-8.

84. Africa - Bulletin of Africa Research Ltd., op. cit., Vol. 1, No. 11, November 1964, p. 195B.

85. Op. cit., Vol. 2, No. 8, August 1965, p. 391B.

86. The Party, op. cit., Vol. 1, No. 1, September 1960, p. 6.

87. Appiah-Ofosu, L.H., "University Autonomy and Academic Freedom in Ghana," in Legon Observer, Vol. 11, no. 7, 31 March 1967, pp. 5-8.

88. See West Africa (London) No. 2437, February 15, 1964, p. 187; also Africa Bulletin of Africa Research Ltd., op. cit., Vol. 1, No. 2, February 1964, p. 30c.

89. Quoted by E.K. Asamoah in "What Type of Teacher," Legon Observer (Accra), Vol. II, No. 22, October 1967, p. 17.

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91. Hilliard, F.H., "A Short History of Education" in British West Africa (London, New York: T. Nelson, 1957).

92. See The Party, op. cit., Vol. 1, No. 1, September 1960, Editorial pp. 3 & 17; Vol. 1 No. 2, October 1966, "Nkrumah Our Redeemer," by K. Nti-Adu, p. 26; No. 2, March 1961, "The Birth of the C.P.P. pp. 11 & 13; also Martin, Marie-Louise, Biblical Concept of Messianism (Morija-Basutoland: Morija Sesuto Book Depot, 1964), pp. 152-153.

93. Martin, Marie-Louise, op. cit., p. 42.

94. West Africa (London) No. 2358, August 11, 1962, p. 887.

95. See West Africa (London) No. 2360, August 25, 1962, p. 949; No. 2361, September 1, 1962, p. 971; No. 2371, November 10, 1962, p. 1251.

96. For the economic problems underlying the coup, see Legon Observer (Accra), The Economy, Vol. 1, No. 1, July 8, 1966, p. 7-8.

97. Supplement to Legon Observer, 23 June 1967, Vol. II, No. 13, p. II.

98. Ibid., pp. III & IV.

99. Ibid., p. IV.

100. See Ghana Experiments with Civic Education by Fred M. Hayward in Africa Report, Vol. 16, No. 5, May 1971, pp. 24-27.

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103. See Patterson, Franklin, "Political Reality in Childhood - Dimensions of Education for Citizenship," in Teaching the New Social Studies in Secondary Schools, by Fenton, Edwin, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1966), pp. 72-80; also Cammarota, Gloria, "Children, Politics and Elementary Social Studies" in Social Education XXVII, April 1963, pp. 205-7 & 211.

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107. Ibid., p. 38.

CHAPTER VI

CURRICULUM PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION IN SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION

Since many of the schools in Sierra Leone were founded by Christian missionaries from Britain the system of education developed along lines similar to that of Britain. The similarity was reinforced by the fact that Sierra Leone was part of the British Empire and consequently participated in school leaving and other examinations set and marked in Britain. The curricula of the schools, both primary and secondary, was more British than African or Sierra Leonean in content. In geography and history, for example, pupils knew more of the distant lands of the British Empire than they did of Sierra Leone and the other adjoining West African countries. With the rise of nationalism in Sierra Leone came an awareness that education should give knowledge about the country, its history, its peoples and its culture. Therefore curriculum reform aimed at making the primary school course more Sierra Leonean and African in content was undertaken in the years following independence.

The Curriculum Planning Committee of the Ministry of Education was directly responsible for reviewing the primary school curriculum and of revising the syllabus to reflect desirable changes in content.[1] Though the syllabus was revised in 1964, five years were to elapse before a completely new syllabus, the New Trial Syllabus, was produced in 1969. One of the noteworthy features of the New Syllabus was the

emphasis on social-studies education to which were devoted as many pages as were to mathematics.

The Curriculum Planning Committee is made up not only of representatives of the Ministry of Education, but also of the various proprietors of primary schools (missions and local government) and teachers. Consequently curriculum changes were not likely to be resisted by the very people who sat in on the deliberating committees and subject panels in preparing the New Trial Syllabus. All are agreed that social studies education should, amongst other things, "develope the skills necessary for active participation in the life of the community."[2]

If, however, acceptance of the new syllabus presented no problems, its implementation is likely to be hindered by teachers who lack the requisite knowledge for successful implementation. While social studies education is now to be part of the primary school curriculum, not all the areas of the social sciences from which the content of the curriculum is drawn form part of the curriculum of teachers colleges. History and geography are part of the curriculum of teachers colleges, but anthropology and sociology from which are derived concepts relating to the needs of man as a social being, his association with others in groups, and the culture of the society are so far not included; nor are political science and economics from which are drawn social studies concepts involving citizenship, democracy interdependence, specialization, economic growth, and stability.

Since teachers may also lack the skills necessary for successful implementation, they are likely to prefer the old and familiar

curriculum to the new. The resistance may come from both unqualified and qualified teachers alike, since the latter like the former may lack confidence in their ability to implement a new curriculum. For example, in dealing with a case study in the new social studies curriculum, there is no one correct answer. The teacher must be willing and confident enough to consider different answers given by pupils and to help them apply critical-thinking skills to their own answers. Adequate in-service re-education of teachers already in schools as well as adequate pre-service education of those in colleges will be needed to ensure that teachers can cope with the new material. Aspects of teacher education will be dealt with in the next chapter.

Because many of the teachers in the primary schools are unqualified, they tend to rely rather heavily on text-books for guidance. In this situation there is need for text-books written with such teachers in mind, and there is the further need for some of the text-books to be written by Sierra Leoneans for the Sierra Leone situation. The Curriculum Planning Committee has also drawn up a list of recommended text-books to be used with the new syllabus, while the Publications Branch of the Ministry of Education is undertaking the publication of suitable reading texts, and for history and civics has already published two series written by a Sierra Leonean.[3] However, the work of the Publications Unit needs to be expanded to ensure that more texts are produced to cater for all levels of social studies education in primary schools.

Teachers, like other groups in Sierra Leone, are also members of various ethnic groups. While some teachers do teach in areas where

their tribes predominate, there are still others who teach in districts or chiefdoms with which they have no affinity. So far tribe has not been an issue in the teaching profession though this situation is likely to change when teachers, under the new social studies programme, are expected to handle 'closed areas' or controversial social issues. Teachers, ill equipped to handle such issues, may well approach them with a biased attitude which would defeat the whole object of the exercise. Here again, it is to be hoped that enlightened teachers who have been adequately prepared by their previous education to handle controversial issues in the classroom would be able to control their biases, if any, and treat relevant subjects in an impartial manner.

Change and implementation at the secondary level of education is quite another matter. In a recent report of the Ministry of Education, under Curricula, Syllabuses and Methods, it is explicitly stated that "the Secondary School curriculum continued to be guided by the revised General Certificate of Education syllabuses of the West African Examinations Council."[4] Because of the nature of its functions, any attempt to alter the content of the curriculum of secondary schools in Sierra Leone will have to win the support of the Council.

The West African Examinations Council[5]

In 1951, the late Dr. G.B. Jeffrey of the University of London Institute of Education visited the West African territories of Nigeria, Gold Coast (Ghana) Sierra Leone and the Gambia. During the course of his visit he became aware of the difficulties facing the various Departments of Education, which had to conduct local examinations (example primary school leaving and Scholarship examinations) not only on their own behalf, but act as agents for a number of external examining bodies (notably the Universities of Cambridge and London). He therefore proposed that there should be established in West Africa an Examinations Council which would be responsible for the organization of all such examinations in the (British) West African territories. The West African Examinations Council came into existence with the enactment of similar ordinances in the four countries in 1952. At the second meeting of the Council held at Ibadan (Nigeria) in March 1954 it was decided that the Council accept the offer of the Cambridge Syndicate of collaboration in the conduct of the School Certificate Examination, which from 1955, by agreement between the Syndicate and the Council, would be renamed the West African School Certificate Examination. A new examination known as the School Certificate of the West African Examinations Council, which was not only West African oriented but also West African based in respect of examiners and moderators, was introduced in June 1960. Credit passes in this examination were recognized locally and by Universities in the United Kingdom as equivalent to passes at the General Certificate of Education Examination in the same

subjects. Not only have the results of this examination been used to assess fitness for admission to university but also job opportunities, especially in the Civil Service, have come to be linked with success in this examination. Consequently, the secondary schools see their main function as preparing their pupils for the examinations of the Council and parents and pupils, with a realistic appraisal of employment opportunities and with a view to upward social mobility, have also come to expect the schools to do just that - irrespective of the abilities and aptitudes of the aspirants. The curricula of schools in Sierra Leone no less than those of schools in Ghana, Nigeria and the Gambia are dominated by the Syllabuses of the West African Examinations Council.

However desirable a new social studies curriculum may be, schools and teachers would resist any change or suggestion of change which would deviate from the syllabuses of the Council, and detract from the main preoccupation of trying to give an education which would ensure success in the school leaving and other examinations of the Council. To get the Council to make any change in its syllabuses would involve winning the support of the other member states. In this case, education for citizenship and the subjects and methods which would contribute to such an education would have to go through the appropriate subject panels as well as National and Regional Committees. This is obviously a long and slow process, but one of the aims of the Council is to ensure a certain degree of uniformity in content and quality of education in West Africa.

It may very well be that the territories concerned would

welcome any change in the content and process of education which would help to promote political stability and national integration. Nevertheless, such innovations like a new social studies programme, however desirable they may appear to be, ought not to be implemented without the assurance of pilot schemes and evaluative research procedures to ensure that they are feasible, would produce the desired results and not have a detrimental effect on the quality of education. This is particularly important in view of the vast number of pupils in four territories likely to be affected by any proposed change, and more so in view of the fact that the West African territories and the West African Examinations Council have recently had cause to reverse themselves on policy and practice relating to an important subject like English Language.

Under the rules and regulations which governed the School Certificate Examination conducted by the University of Cambridge Overseas Syndicate, a pass in English Language was essential for success in the examination. However well a candidate may perform in the other subjects attempted, he was likely to fail the examination if he did not pass in English Language. In addition to this, he had to attempt a minimum number of subjects in specified fields and had to pass at certain levels designated A - excellent, or very good, C - credit and P - pass, to determine the quality of his certificate which was awarded in three grades, the highest being grade one. These were very stringent conditions, and given the state of education in West Africa, the number of candidates who were able to pass was comparatively small, though judging from subsequent

performance, those who did pass particularly at the grade one level went on to achieve success at universities, in the professions and in the Civil Service. The conditions were inherited by the West African Examinations Council when it took over the conduct of examinations, and were in operation until 1963. Partly as a result of nationalism which did not favour the apparently undue influence exerted by a foreign language on education in West Africa, and partly because failure in such a foreign language had prevented many candidates from getting a certificate, even when they had secured three, four or five credits, English Language ceased to be a compulsory subject for candidates in Ghana, Sierra Leone and the Gambia in 1963, and in Nigeria the following year. In order to compensate the less able candidate, who had attempted the School Certificate examination, a new provision was also introduced in 1963. Under this provision, candidates who obtained one or more credits were to be given a General Certificate of Education showing pass standards in those subjects and also showing those subjects in which they reached the School Certificate pass standards. In a further liberalizing provision, the School Certificate ceased to be awarded in 1965 and the General Certificate Examination of the West African Examinations Council became the only school leaving examination for candidates in Ghana, Sierra Leone and the Gambia, and more important still was the provision which removed the restriction of a minimum number of subjects to be attempted at one sitting, and also did away with subject groupings. Before long, students were arriving at University, unable to express themselves through the medium of the English language. Fourah Bay

College had to institute tutorial classes for students in the first year of a four year degree course, and the Board of the Faculty of Arts concerned at the relatively poor performance of some of these students set up a committee to re-examine entry requirements. The same situation became apparent in Ghana, and Ghana, which in 1963 had led the movement which radically altered the structure of the school leaving examination, was the prime mover in getting the West African Examinations Council to reverse itself and to return to the status quo in 1970. The School Certificate is back, and English Language is essential to the award of either a grade one or grade two certificate. Candidates must once again enter for a minimum of six and a maximum of nine subjects selected from the different groups including subjects from each of groups one to four, with languages in group one, general subjects in group two, mathematical subjects in group three, science subjects in group four, arts and crafts in group five and technical and commercial subjects in group six.

It may be some years yet before the renewed emphasis on the use of English language will come to have the desirable effect of improving the communicating skills of pupils and students in Sierra Leone. Given the increased expenditure on education in developing countries and the scarcity of financial resources, change without experiment and research can indeed be a costly affair, particularly when the implementation of changes adversely affects the quality of education. This should not be taken to mean that a social studies programme is likely to have such an effect. The moral is that a

programme which may appear desirable and feasible in theory may very well in practice have unanticipated consequences, which could be brought to light during an experimental phase.

The West African Examinations Council also conducts the Selective Entrance Examination to secondary schools for the Sierra Leone Ministry of Education. This is purely a local affair and does not involve national or regional committees or subject panels, even though the council conducts similar examinations in Nigeria and Ghana. The Council does not give out a prescribed syllabus for this examination for pupils in primary schools. Rather the examination consists of achievement tests in English Language and Arithmetic based on the primary school curriculum as well as an aptitude test.[7] These tests, except for one part of the Language paper, are objective-type tests which have been standardized for use in West Africa. The pressure on primary schools to get their pupils through the examination and into secondary schools is so great that most schools put their qualified and more experienced teachers to work with children in class seven who are about to take the examination. These children are coached constantly and given practice in answering the type of questions set in the Selective Entrance Examination. Consequently little time is given to general education, and so when they have passed and entered the secondary schools they have not the necessary background to cope with the work, even in schools which do not follow the traditional academic curriculum. The result is that a number of children have to repeat the very first form in the secondary school. Of 7,812 children who entered

secondary schools in 1967/8, 518 were reported as repeating the first form in 1968/9, a conservative figure since all the schools did not send in returns showing number of repeaters.[8] With the available qualified teachers concentrated on teaching at the top end of primary schools, the lower classes are generally left in the hands of unqualified and inexperienced teachers. Under such circumstances the quality of education in the primary school leaves much to be desired. Thus we have a situation in Sierra Leone where prescribed and necessary examinations, at both the primary and secondary levels of education, exert undue pressure on the schools and directly or indirectly militate against the implementation of new curricula.

If the schools in Sierra Leone are to handle effectively topics dealing with tribalism, nationality, the State and national integration and political stability in a social studies programme, the West African Examinations Council must do more than sanction their inclusion in its prescribed syllabuses. The Council must go further and signify that they are worthy of examination by including questions on such topics in its set papers. The Council, like other institutions in West Africa, is faced with rising costs of operation and costs are invariably increased when essay-type questions call for individual marking by examiners. To reduce the subjective biases, if any, of those marking such questions, the marking is centralized in one institution of a member state, and other state representatives travel to that institution for the collective marking of scripts. On the other hand the Council may decide on objective-type questions, the answers to which can easily be scored mechanically. If the decision is taken to set

questions on the relevant topics calling for essay-type answers then such questions may very well appear infrequently or not at all. In a situation where the emphasis and pressure is on passing the examinations of the Council teachers and pupils may come to ignore those topics in the curriculum which are infrequently or never covered by questions in the examinations. Consequently if teachers and pupils are to pay any attention to topics which have a direct bearing on tribalism, nationality, national integration and political stability, they must not only appear on the syllabuses of the Council but consistently be examined in one form or the other. Lower down at the primary school level the teachers must increasingly be made aware that they are not merely preparing pupils to pass the Selective Entrance Examination to secondary schools but also laying a foundation which would enable the children later to perform well in the other examinations set by the Council. Teaching the children, for example, to understand the meanings of and differences between words and concepts like state, nation , nationality, tribe and tribalism, would help them later to understand more fully concepts like interdependency and democracy, on which aspects of their courses in the secondary schools would be based.

Even after proposed changes have been accepted by the West African Examinations Council and found to be feasible in practice, there are likely to be further obstacles to implementation. As in the primary schools, text-books would have to be produced to meet the requirements of the new social studies programme for secondary schools. Last, but by no means least, there has to be a corps of Sierra Leonean

teachers qualified to handle the courses. Sierra Leonean teachers would bring to social studies education the special qualification of belonging to the society whose national integration and political stability is being promoted. Therefore consideration will now be given to the education as well as the factors which affect the demand and supply of teachers.

Footnotes for Chapter VI

1. Report of the Ministry of Education for 1965 (Freetown: Government Printer, 1965), p. 4.

2. New Trial Syllabus, op. cit., p. 37:10.

3. Our Sierra Leone Series and Civics for Sierra Leone by Talabi Aisie Lucan.

4. Report of the Ministry of Education for 1969 (Freetown: Government Printer, 1969), p. 8.

5. Material on the West African Examinations Council taken from an article "Whither Examinations in Sierra Leone?" by Gladys Harding in Sierra Leone Journal of Education, Vol. 3, No. 2 (October, 1968), pp. 16-21.

6. See the Regulations and Syllabuses for the Joint Examinations for the West African School Certificate and General Certificate of Education 1970 (Accra: The West African Examinations Council), pp. 20-24.

7. See Report of the Ministry of Education for 1969, p. 5.

8. Reports of the Ministry of Education, 1968 and 1969, Table IV, p. 21 and Table XIII, p. 30 respectively.

CHAPTER VII

TEACHER EDUCATION IN SIERRA LEONE[1]

Primary school teachers in Sierra Leone are at present prepared for their profession in nine training colleges owned and managed by various bodies, and distributed as follows: Union College (Bunubu), Catholic Girls Training College (Kenema), located in the Eastern Province, owned and managed respectively by Five Protestant Churches and the Roman Catholic Bishop of Freetown and Bo; Bo Teacher Training College and Catholic Training College, Bo, located in the Southern Province, owned and managed respectively by the United Christian Council and the Roman Catholic Bishop of Freetown and Bo; the Magburaka Training College and the St. Augustine's Training College (Makeni) in the Northern Province, control and ownership of which are vested respectively in the Government of Sierra Leone and the Catholic Mission of the Northern Province; the Women Teachers College, Port Loko also in the Northern Province, owned and run by the Government of Sierra Leone; the Freetown Teachers College, and the Milton Margai Teachers College (Goderich), located in the Western Area, control and ownership of which are vested respectively in the Sierra Leone Church, (Anglican Protestant) and the Milton Margai Teachers College Council, a statutory body. Eight of these colleges offer courses leading to the Teachers Certificate, the exception being the Milton Margai Teachers College, which offers an advanced course leading to the Higher Teachers Certificate.

Teachers for secondary schools are at present prepared for their profession in two departments of education of the two colleges which together make up the University of Sierra Leone. The Department of Education of Fourah Bay College, after the manner of most universities in Britain, offers a one year post-graduate course leading to the Diploma in Education. The University College at Njala, following the pattern set for it by the University of Illinois in the United States, offers four-year undergraduate courses in education leading to either a B.Sc. (Ed.) or B.A. (Ed.) degree.

Over and above these teachers colleges and departments of education stands the Institute of Education, established by the University of Sierra Leone in 1968. The Institute works in close collaboration with the Ministry of Education from which it assumed control of the Board of Teacher Training and the Curriculum Planning Committee, since it is now responsible for the curricula, syllabuses and method courses in teachers colleges. Its responsibilities include: -

(a) The co-ordination of the training of teachers in the Department/Faculties of Education of constituent University Colleges and Training Colleges and other institutions which are, or may be, members of the Institute.

(b) The approval of courses of study leading to the status of qualified teachers.

(c) The conduct of examinations for the award of certificates below degree level by the Ministry of Education, and for the recommendation of candidates for the award of degrees and post graduate diplomas by the University.

(d) The general advancement of the theory and practice of education.[2]

Re-organization of Teacher Education

Soon after the Institute was established, the Cabinet decided to entrust it with the urgent task of working out plans for the "synchronization of Teacher Training Colleges."[3] The Government attached such importance to this reorganization that it asked that a report be submitted within a month. The Institute responded by setting up a committee to deal with the matter, and interpreted the word "synchronization" in the context to mean "rationalization and co-ordination." Government's request for such urgent action arose from the fact that it was the main source of revenue for eight out of the nine colleges, the exception at the time being the Women Teachers College at Port Loko which, until 1970, was financed by the Swedish Government, and for which the Sierra Leone Government has now assumed financial responsibility.

The Committee, guided by national needs and interests and financial considerations, recommended the amalgamation of certain colleges. The Union College (Bunubu) is to be retained as the training college in the Eastern Province; the two colleges in Bo to be amalgamated on the new site of the Bo Teachers College, and the amalgamated institution should become the training college in the Southern Province; the Magburaka College and St. Augustine's College to be amalgamated on the new site at Makeni and thus become the training college in the Northern Province; the Women Teachers College at Port Loko should serve as the resident college for women in the whole country at the teachers certificate level, and at a similar level the Freetown Teachers

College should be retained as a separate institution in the Western Area, since it is non-residential and caters for serving teachers who attend on a part-time basis; Milton Margai Teachers College in the Western Area should continue as the country's advanced teachers college.

The Committee in the course of its investigations discovered that the colleges were operating below capacity level, there being a total of 540 vacancies. In spite of these vacancies each college had to have separate facilities to keep them functioning effectively. Amalgamation was seen as the answer to bring about a concentration of equipment, consolidation of staff and a reduction in administrative costs.

The difficulty of recruiting qualified staff was regarded as one of the strongest arguments in favour of rationalization and co-ordination. Out of a total of 77 lecturers only 35 had degrees and professional qualifications, and 10 of those 35 had less than five years teaching experience. The majority of the staff of training colleges are expatriates and, except where they are also missionaries, are generally on short contract appointments. The staff turn-over is high and the lack of continuity affects the standard of work done in the colleges. A core of expatriate missionaries concentrated in one college rather than spread out over two such colleges would help to ensure a certain degree of continuity in teaching, especially important if new methods of teacher education are to be introduced. Expatriate staff in terms of pay, contract allowances and the cost of leave and other passages are more expensive than local staff. Concentrating their use in fewer institutions it is hoped would lead to substantial savings by eliminating duplicate appointments.

If Sierra Leone is short of qualified teachers, the shortage of qualified indigenous staff for training colleges is more acute. This is because the necessary training for such a career involves study beyond graduate level as well as a period of successful teaching in schools. The University of Durham in England, for example, with which Fourah Bay College was affiliated until 1967 stipulated that a candidate for the degree of Master of Education, which required a three year course, should have a post graduate teacher's qualification and a minimum of two years approved teaching experience. Because of library and other facilities it was advisable that the course for this degree be undertaken in England, rather than at Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone. In pre-independent Sierra Leone scholarships for such protracted training in education were just not available. The few Sierra Leoneans who held post-graduate degrees in education before 1961 had more often than not studied abroad at their own expense.

It is a tribute to the relationship existing between the missions and the Sierra Leone Government that acceptance of the recommendations of the Institute and the statement that amalgamation would be effected in 1972/73 so that there would be only one inter-church teachers college in each Province has produced no organized protests from the missions.[4] This is rather a different re-action from that which was occasioned by similar proposals in the Greaves' Report of 1948.[5] The then colonial regime had invited a Methodist missionary from the Gold Coast to review the work of training colleges in the Protectorate of Sierra Leone and to make recommendations for their organization and staffing. His proposals for co-ordination and

co-operation were not favourably received by the missions nor did the government take steps to implement them. Government's inaction may very well have been due to the fact that it had, at this time, to cope with the protests and counter-protests aroused by the 1948 proposals for a new constitution.

To the extent that mission schools and training colleges have been accepting pupils and students without reference to religious affiliation, they have contributed to national integration. Depending as they now do for their support on funds provided by the Sierra Leone Government, they could not very well follow a policy contrary to that laid down by the Constitution, which prohibits discrimination on the grounds of race, religion, or creed. Again, the use of public funds to maintain religious schools and colleges is not an issue in independent Sierra Leone, for, as in Britain, the Church and the State have evolved a harmonious relationship in the matter of religious and secular education. Indeed it is on the grounds of religious education for members of their respective sects that the Churches could have objected to amalgamation of the teachers colleges. All the main religious bodies would be represented on the Board of Governors of each college, and religious education would not disappear from the amalgamated colleges. Denominational representatives would also have access to the colleges and to students who profess similar faith. This is the present position at Fourah Bay College which was founded by the Church Missionary Society in 1827 where there is a chaplain of the Anglican Church, a Methodist minister and a Roman Catholic priest to minister to the spiritual needs of students.

Non-Christian students are not neglected and there are plans to build a mosque for the use of Moslem students.

The government soon turned its attention to an examination of the facilities for the education of teachers for secondary schools. The decision was taken to discontinue the Diploma in Education Course at Fourah Bay College and the B.A. and B.Sc. Education Courses at Njala University College, and that Fourah Bay College should provide a four year B.A. and B.Sc Education Course.[6] The reasons given for the proposed changes are simple enough but, in the political climate of Sierra Leone, they have assumed sinister implications in the opinion of some people and the real merits and demerits of the proposals have, so far, not been publicly aired.

The Government's view is that it cannot afford to support at Njala University College a faculty or course of study for which facilities already exist at Fourah Bay College. Therefore all education courses (except agricultural education) at degree level are to be concentrated at Fourah Bay College to avoid unnecessary duplication. Further savings would be effected if all secondary school teachers followed a four year education course and not five, as in the case of some students at Fourah Bay College who follow a four year general degree course and then spend an additional year of post-graduate study for the Diploma in Education. (Students in Sierra Leone can enter the University either after passing the General Certificate of Education at the ordinary level at the end of the normal five year secondary school education or two years later after taking the

examination at the advanced level. Students with "O" level passes spend four years in a general degree course, while the students with "A" level passes spend three years or more depending on whether they take a general degree course or attempt work at honours degree level.)

In 1968 the Overseas Liaison Committee of the American Council on Education appointed a three-man team to study the institutions of higher education in Sierra Leone. The Committee in its report remarked on the high degree of rivalry which existed between Fourah Bay College and Njala University College. It stated that the rivalry was based on several factors which included

> location, Fourah Bay College being identified as the "city" and "Creole" College, while Njala is identified as the "provincial" College; the cleavage between "old" and "new"; and rather sharp differences in educational philosophy of the two Colleges; Fourah Bay College tending to follow the more classical British academic pattern while Njala tends to put more emphasis on the practical application of education, partly because of its strong agricultural emphasis. [7]

For most people in Sierra Leone, the rivalry between the two institutions also have political undertones. Njala University College, established as it was in 1964 during the regime of the SLPP Government, was seen by some people as an attempt to stifle the development of Fourah Bay College by diverting scarce financial support to another institution at a time when the college needed more money to expand. Others conceded that while a high quality agricultural college was essential in Sierra Leone, such an institution had no business with the education of teachers in arts and science, since there was already an institution performing that task. Members of the Opposition who had taken this view are now members of the Government which took the decision to close down education courses at Njala.

The situation has been further complicated by the clash of personalities and political affiliations of those closely connected with the institution. During the 1967 pre-election purge, when the SLPP government attempted to restrain some of its political opponents, one of those detained in prison on the grounds of subversive activities was a member of the staff of Njala University College. While he was held in detention, the Principal of the College terminated his appointment. Many people viewed this as a political move on the part of the Principal, but he justified his action on the grounds that he was effecting necessary economies on the advice of the governing body of the college. Soon afterwards the detainee was released, and because he was qualified and able (having been educated at Fourah Bay College, and at universities in Britain and the United States), the Principal of Fourah Bay College offered him a teaching appointment. While at Fourah Bay College, he stood for election in Bo (Southern Province) as an APC candidate. He lost but after the restoration of civilian rule in 1968, he unseated his opponent by a successful election petition. He was successful in the by-election which followed, was appointed Minister of External Affairs, and was therefore a member of the Cabinet which took the decision to remove education courses from Njala. Furthermore, the announcement about the education courses was made at a time when the Principal of Njala University College was out of the country. The Government intended that the changes should become effective as from October 1970, when no new students were to start at Njala and those already admitted for that year were to begin their courses at Fourah Bay College. Arrangements were put in hand

to provide the necessary accomodation for the extra students, though it was doubtful what kind of courses could have been structured during the three months between the announcement and scheduled implementation. The Principal of Njala returned before the start of the new academic year. Once again his action demonstrated the confidence of Sierra Leoneans in the impartiality of the country's judicial system. Since the authority of Njala University College to establish its courses was derived from the 1967 University Act of Sierra Leone, he promptly brought a suit against the Acting Attorney-General and the Principal of Fourah Bay College (in his capacity as Chancellor of the University) for proposing to act ultra vires.

> The plaintiff was asking the court to declare Government Press Release and Broadcast Notice issued by the Ministry of Education on August 28, as null and void. . . . The plaintiff's claim was for a declaration that the Government Press Release and Broadcast Notice issued by the Ministry of Education on August 28, 1970, particularly paragraph 6 of the aforesaid notice and Government Notice No. 961, published in Volume CI. No. 64 of the Sierra Leone Gazette of September 10, 1970, was an act by the Government of Sierra Leone to discontinue a Faculty or Faculties in the Njala University College, a constituent College of the University Institute, a Faculty or Faculties at Fourah Bay College, another constituent College of the University of Sierra Leone, powers which are not conferred on the Government of Sierra Leone Act 1967, i.e. Act No. 8 of 1967, or any other law in the State of Sierra Leone. The plaintiffs claim was also that the statement was ultra vires and therefore null and void and that the Gazette Notice was also ultra vires and therefore also null and void.[8]

The suit was eventually withdrawn and no changes have been implemented and will not be until (and when) the University Act has been amended by the Parliament of Sierra Leone, where one of the Ministers actively involved in the setting up of the Njala University College is now Leader of the Opposition.

The 1970 Commission on Higher Education in Sierra Leone was concerned about the independence and political neutrality of the University, since in the opinion of some people in Sierra Leone Fourah Bay College is identified with the APC, while Njala University is identified with the SLPP.

". . . There is nothing wrong with participation of faculty and other members of the University in the political life of the country," admonished the Report,

> but such participation must necessarily be on a personal basis, rather than on the basis of the University connexions of the participant. This is an important distinction, since the University is expected, indeed it is its duty, to assist any Government of the day, in any appropriate manner, to discharge its functions of administration and the development of the country. And, therefore, its position should not be compromised, in any way, by any close ties, official or other, with any political party. Such ties could damage the image, encourage political interference, impede the normal functioning and reduce the effectiveness of the University within the community.[9]

The fears of those who felt that the establishment and duplication of certain courses at Njala would severely strain the financial resources of the country and lead to competition between the institutions for the allocation of funds were not completely unfounded, and by 1968 Government had become rather concerned about the situation. The Commission described the situation thus,

> The practice of individual bargaining and pressure by the Principals of the three colleges (that is Milton Margai Teachers College and the two university colleges) for Government grants, especially for an increasing share of the grants - a frustrating enterprise, since this is impossible for each college at the same time - has entered a critical competitive stage at which the Government believes that something should be done to limit the demands made upon it by competitive institutional pressures, as well as to promote orderly financing and development of higher education in the country. The colleges also agree that something ought to be done to promote orderly financing of higher education and to end the mutual recrimination over the share of Government grants received by each. This is the situation which has led to the Commission being assigned the task of investigating the possibility of a Central Grants Awarding Committee.[10]

Government's decision appeared to have been based primarily on consideration of its limited financial resources. Given the physical situation and location of the two constituent colleges, there would appear to be sound educational reasons for removing the education courses from Njala to Freetown. In the education of teachers it is essential that students have easy access to secondary schools offering a wide range of subjects at high levels for the purposes of teaching

practice.[11] In the Western Area, there are twenty-two recognized secondary schools, and half of these are located within four miles of Fourah Bay College, many have their own library facilities, few have enrollments below 300 while some have over 600 pupils. On the other hand, there are twenty-six secondary schools in the Southern Province, in which Njala is located. The nearest of these schools is 7 3/4 miles away, while Bo, the nearest town is forty-two miles from Njala. Of the twenty-six schools approximately one third have no form higher than Form Three while ninety percent of those in the Western Area have no class below Form Five. Again the qualification of teachers in the schools used by students during their teaching practice is of some importance. The following table gives the number and qualification of teachers in secondary schools in the Western Area and Southern Province in 1970.

	Expatriate	Sierra Leonean	All	Grads
Western Area				
1. Graduates with Dip. Ed.	68	66	134	
2. Graduates without Dip. Ed.	58	33	91	225
3. Non-Grads Trained	31	155	186	
4. Non-Grads Untrained	13	118	131	
Southern Province				
1. Graduates with Dip. Ed.	58	11	69	
2. Graduates without Dip. Ed.	85	3	88	
3. Non-Grads Trained	13	59	72	157
4. Non-Grads Untrained	6	48	54	

From the above, it is clear that the Western Area has more graduate teachers, more trained graduates, more trained and fewer untrained

teachers; the Southern Province has fewer graduate teachers, fewer trained graduates, fewer trained and more untrained teachers. Thus there are readily available to student teachers at Fourah Bay College more developed schools in which to practice their profession under the watchful eyes of more qualified teachers. Moreover they would be operating from their home base, while those at Njala have to operate far from home over a wide area, and from temporary lodgings since it is impossible, in most cases, to commute from Njala to the schools in the Southern Province. Consequently, since accomodation is easier to come by in Freetown, Njala, during teacher practice, moves its base of operation to the capital, where the schools are easily accessible and accomodation more readily available, thus adding to its operational costs.

In addition to the location of schools and the qualification of teachers, there is at Fourah Bay College a library, acquired over the years,of books which the student teacher would find useful in lesson preparation and other related courses.

The provision that the four year degree course in education should replace the post-graduate Diploma in Education is open to question on educational grounds. The student studying education at undergraduate level has to study concurrently the professional subjects as well as the academic subjects he is later to teach. Consequently he does not spend as much time on his academic subjects as he would do if he were to undergo a three of four year course devoted exclusively to the study of his 'teaching' subjects. Such a teacher emerges relatively strong in professional ability and methods with

limited academic knowledge of his subject. This would pose no problem for Sierra Leone, if the country were committed to a lower level of secondary education. Indeed the Government rejected the suggestion of the Commission on Higher Education that "if however there is dire need for meeting serious manpower shortage, then the sixth form is an unnecessary educational adjunct," the reason being that

> a student who does a four year university course (without sixth form) saves a year and is able to contribute to the national economy a year earlier than his counterpart who spends two years in the sixth form, waits for nine months to enter a university and then follows a three-year course, making a total of six years before he can be absorbed into the national economy.[12]

In short a two year sixth form course replaces the first year at university. Nothing in the teacher education programme at undergraduate level suggests that such a teacher will be equipped with the necessary academic knowledge to undertake teaching at the sixth form level. In spite of the attractive economic argument against sixth forms (and they can be expensive to maintain, even where,as in Sierra Leone, only nine secondary schools do have such forms) the Government has no intention of abolishing sixth forms, only of rationalizing them in the interest of economy and efficiency, for where certain faculties and schools are missing from the University of Sierra Leone - medicine, sociology, business studies, veterinary medicine, public administration, and many branches of engineering -

> it is essential that our students continue to go overseas to qualify themselves in these fields, if our economy is to develope and diversify. The fact is that the best universities in the Commonwealth require 'A' levels for university admission.[13]

Not only is the capability of the teacher to teach his subject

at an advanced level limited, but better qualified recruits would be lost to the teaching profession. A student with "A" levels on entry to university opts to study for a general or honours degree in arts or science. The four year undergraduate course in education was not meant for such a student, who is generally served by the one year post graduate course in education. In the interests of its own declared educational policy with reference to sixth forms, the Government should give consideration to retaining a post-graduate course for people with honours degrees. It was also felt that an early committment to teaching, a feature of the four year undergraduate education course, would reduce later incidents of qualified teachers quitting the profession for other jobs. This early committment and the curtailment of options in the choice of jobs would probably in the long run prevent many young people from going into teaching.

Given the fact that Njala produced its first graduates in 1967, having admitted its first students in September 1964, there is at the moment no objective evidence that they are better prepared for the teaching profession than those who studied for the post-graduate Diploma in Education. While there may be subjective evaluations of their performance, three years is too short a time on which to base any such evaluation. In an important matter like the education of teachers such a profound change (in Sierra Leone) as making education a subject for undergraduate study, ought to be approached gradually, and only after the new system has been evaluated in comparison with the old. Even in this matter of evaluation, there

is no simple solution. For so long people have thought of education only in terms of classroom teaching that there is little appreciation that there are other professionally trained people whose job it is to help make the teachers job more relevant and meaningful. Consequently, training in other aspects of education has been ignored or neglected. Only one Sierra Leonean, educated at the Harvard School of Education, would have the necessary competence to undertake evaluation studies. He is in the service of UNESCO in Kenya.

The Supply of Teachers

There is a shortage of qualified Sierra Leonean teachers for both primary and secondary schools, but the shortage appears to be more acute at the secondary level. Out of a total of 1,202 secondary school teachers, in 1969, non-Sierra Leone teachers in the three categories of graduates with professional qualifications, graduates without professional qualifications and non-graduates with professional qualifications numbered 504, while Sierra Leoneans in the same categories numbered 433. Non Sierra Leonean teachers made up 43 percent of the entire teaching force, and those in the category of temporary teachers (Peace Corps/VSO etc.) 17.3 percent.[14] The situation is such that many of the secondary schools, particularly those in the provinces, would find it extremely difficult to function without the services of a large cadre of expatriate or non-Sierra Leonean teachers. These teachers can, generally, be classified into two groups. In the first group are the missionaries and lay teachers

who are members of the various religious groups which established educational institutions in Sierra Leone. There are the Anglican and Methodist teachers from Britain, Roman Catholic nuns and lay teachers from Ireland, United Brethren in Christ and other missionaries from the United States and in more recent times, Ahmadiya (Muslim) missionaries from Pakistan. Independence has not stemmed the flow of such teachers to Sierra Leone, but many of the secondary schools founded by them now have Sierra Leoneans as principals. Invariably they give a life time of devoted service, and thus constitute a core of teachers who provide a measure of continuity in a situation where there are frequent changes of teachers. For example, an Anglican missionary who taught the writer of this dissertation in kindergarten, and later in the secondary department of the same school (the Annie Walsh Memorial School, founded by the Church Missionary Society in 1849) retired from the staff of Bunubu Training College in 1968, after spending a total of thirty-four years teaching in Sierra Leone. The lay teachers recruited by the various schools through their parent missions, though holding contract appointments, tend to stay on for a number of years.

The second group of expatriates are classified as non-Sierra Leonean temporary teachers. Their appearance on the scene is a post-independence development, and is a response by some developed nations to Sierra Leone's request for help in expanding and maintaining its educational system. Voluntary Service Overseas teachers (VSO) come from Britain, Canadian Universities Service Overseas (CUSO) from Canada, and Peace Corps volunteers from the United States. The

latter form the largest contingent of non-Sierra Leonean teachers and number between 200 and 250 every year. They generally serve for a period of two years. Since schools in the Western Area find it comparatively easy to get Sierra Leonean staff, many Peace Corps teachers serve in schools in the provinces, which find it extremely difficult or impossible to recruit local staff. Many more of them, except where they are qualified in science or related fields, teach in primary rather than secondary schools for a number of reasons. In the first place, the difference in English usage is not considered crucial at the primary level, secondly where, as in the secondary schools, syllabuses are now more African (and West African Examinations Council) oriented, the Peace Corps teachers' lack of knowledge relating to the local and African aspects of their subjects is regarded as a handicap.

Valuable as the contribution of the Peace Corps and other expatriate volunteers has been to the expansion of educational facilities in Sierra Leone, the Government is fully aware of the fact that a system of education which depends so heavily on temporary personnel from foreign countries cannot attain the degree of excellence essential if the schools are to make their full contribution to the development of the country. Therefore the government has adopted a policy calculated to attract and increase the number of qualified Sierra Leoneans to the teaching profession. In the past disparities between the conditions of service of teachers and those of civil servants have been such as to make the Civil Service a more attractive proposition. In its recent White Paper on Educational Policy, the

Government re-asserted its intention to continue to improve the salaries and conditions of service of the teaching profession.[15] In April 1970, it was announced that the salaries of the lowest paid teachers would be improved by an interim award bringing them into line with those of the lowest paid civil servants.[16] In addition, Government is now studying the recommendations of the Joint Committee for Teachers for a general revision of teachers' salaries, which it is hoped would make it easier for the profession to recruit and retain qualified Sierra Leoneans. The Teachers' Pensions Act of 1966 gave teachers retirement benefits identical with those of Civil Servants. The "last remaining advantage" which Civil Servants had over teachers, that of obtaining advances of salary for the purchase of cars and for other specified purposes, has now been removed by the establishment of a finance company which will extend this facility to teachers as well.[17]

It could be argued that if teachers accept and enjoy conditions of service identical to those of civil servants they should also accept the obligations of civil servants. One of these is that a civil servant is obliged to work any where in Sierra Leone (and sometimes in Overseas Missions) and is liable to be transferred from one station to another at any time, thus ensuring an even distribution of qualified administrative and other civil service personnel. Were this to happen in the teaching profession, the concentration of qualified Sierra Leonean teachers in the Western Area would be reduced, and schools in the provinces and outlying areas would be able to get their share of qualified local teachers, and so reduce their continued

dependence on Peace Corps teachers. One solution would appear to be the National Teaching Service which the government set up in September 1969.[18] Since the Government recognized the fact that the goodwill of the teachers is essential to maintaining a harmonious and successful pupil/teacher relationship, the National Teaching Service was made voluntary. The nucleus was formed by the staff of the eight Government secondary schools (who anyway have always enjoyed the same conditions of service as civil servants). Only two assisted secondary schools opted to join, and they are two low status institutions which were established a few years ago. However attractive may become the conditions of service of teachers, they still would not be willing to serve in the provinces, as Peace Corps volunteers do, until the last real remaining advantage of civil servants is extended to them. A civil servant on transfer to the provinces has no problem about accomodation, because the Civil Service provides him with decent housing at reasonable rent. Indeed certain categories of civil servants can and do live in such subsidized housing in the Freetown area, where accomodation is relatively easier to obtain. Teachers, like civil servants and Peace Corps volunteers, are just as much "strangers" in the provinces and, very seldom, if ever, have any connection with the places in the provinces where they are expected to live and work.

Furthermore, Peace Corps and other short term teachers may be willing to work and live under very primitive conditions in outlying areas, since this is a temporary phase in their lives during which they are bouyed up by the knowledge that in serving abroad they are

also helping others, while enhancing the image of their country. Even if Sierra Leonean teachers were persuaded by government pressure and economic and patriotic considerations to take appointments in the provinces, they could not be expected to spend a life time teaching in such areas while living under relatively primitive conditions. Therefore to ensure continuity in their service, it is essential that decent housing be provided for all categories of teachers as is done for all categories of civil servants posted up country. This is an important consideration if married teachers are to make the move and stay in the service. All too often wives refuse to accompany husbands because of accomodation problems and husbands therefore are not willing to serve in outlying areas.

Over the years quite a number of qualified Sierra Leonean graduates have found their way into the Civil Service, rather than into the teaching profession, for which they had been educated at public expense, thereby accentuating the shortage of qualified Sierra Leonean teachers. Occasionally they have been able to do this because they had the right political connections. More often this has been due to the failure of the Ministry of Education to hold candidates to specific performance of their obligations under the terms of the award of their scholarships. A number of reasons contributed to this situation. Officials have, in the past, neglected to inform scholarship holders in writing of their obligation to enroll in the Diploma in Education course at Fourah Bay College after obtaining their degrees, thus qualifying as teachers, even though records in the Ministry of Education might indicate that the scholarships were

awarded so that the recipients go on to train as teachers on the completion of their degree courses in arts or science. Yet some of these students were later given approval by the Ministry of Education to teach as unqualified graduate teachers, while they were looking around for more lucrative jobs. Others were appointed to positions in the Civil Service by the Public Service Commission, which had no way of knowing that these graduates were evading their obligation to qualify as teachers. Some more of these found their way into quasi-government corporations. However during 1968/69 academic year, certain reforms were put into operation.[19] All recipients of scholarships had the terms of their awards stated precisely in writing, the principals of the more prestigious schools in the Western Area at their Conference decided to refuse to accept unqualified graduate teachers for appointment and consequently deprive such graduates of the sponsorship which would enable them to get the Ministry's permission to teach. A list of graduating students who were obliged to go on to train as teachers was also to be forwarded to the Public Service Commission and other Employing Authorities, indicating that they were not eligible for consideration for appointment. It is hoped that before long these measures together with improved conditions of service would appreciably increase the flow of qualified Sierra Leonean graduates into the teaching service, and with the provision of accomodation in the provinces, ensure that they are evenly distributed over the country and not concentrated in schools in the Western Area. Perhaps a slight change in the procedure for the award of teaching scholarships may help improve the distribution of qualified teachers.

This could be effected if a survey of the needs of the schools in different areas was carried out and scholarships were offered to meet those needs and tied to the particular schools. The schools themselves could help the recruiting drive by trying to get students to apply for specific awards.

The use of Peace Corps teachers in primary schools has demonstrated that university graduates can teach at that level. Before this, the use of graduates in primary schools was unheard of in Sierra Leone. The Commission on Higher Education (which included two Sierra Leoneans, one of whom had been a high ranking officer in the Ministry of Education) was of the opinion that this was so because of salary discrimination and recommended the removal of unnecessary disparities in salaries to allow for graduate teachers to teach in primary schools.[20] The fact is that teachers in Sierra Leone are paid according to qualifications and not according to level of teaching, and graduates have not taught in primary schools because they were considered more useful in secondary schools. The Government has now decided to induce graduate teachers to serve in primary schools in an attempt to strengthen this level of education, and the University (at Fourah Bay College) is to introduce degree courses in primary education.[21] Once again the implementation of this recommendation will either have to wait until Sierra Leonean graduates have received the necessary training abroad in elementary education or, as a matter of urgency, the Government will have to seek appropriately qualified staff from abroad, since there are no Sierra Leonean graduates with the qualifications to handle degree courses in elementary or primary education.

There are many reasons, economic and social, why Sierra Leone should increase its supply of qualified (Sierra Leonean) teachers at both primary and secondary levels by eliminating those problems which not only adversely affect recruitment to the teaching profession, but also the education and distribution of teachers. Some of these have a direct bearing on the question of national stability and political integration.

Notions of tribe, tribalism, chieftaincy, membership of secret societies and political parties and other matters arising out of local history cannot possible be adequately treated by foreign teachers. For example, the intense feelings and emotions aroused by the question of land tenure in the Provinces would be beyond the understanding of most expatriates. This is particularly true in the case of the Peace Corps teachers from the United States, where the dispossession of the native inhabitants was regarded as essential to settlement by immigrants from Europe. Such teachers may empathize with the descendant of settlers, who can never own land in the Provinces, but they cannot understand the African concept of land being vested in the tribe to be held in perpetuity and thus not to be sold to or bought outright by people from outside the area.

The free movement and location of qualified Sierra Leonean teachers all over the Provinces, to be made possible by providing them with suitable accomodation at reasonable cost as is done for civil servants, would help further national integration horizontally by increasing contact between people from different ethnic groups thus reducing cleavages along tribal and social lines.

The continuity achieved in the work of secondary schools through an increase in the number of qualified Sierra Leonean teachers would have the effect of improving the over-all quality of education in the Provinces. The expansion of educational facilities in Sierra Leone may have put education within the reach of many in the Provinces, and so, numerically, help reduce the wide gap in the provision of education between the former Colony and Protectorate, opened up during the colonial period. But the schools in the Western Area, with few exceptions, consistently perform better than those in the Provinces. In the Selective Entrance Examination for primary schools, the top places are consistently held by pupils from schools in the Western Area, thus guaranteeing them places in the more prestigious secondary schools. Again at the ordinary and advanced level examinations of the West African Examinations Council, secondary schools in the Western Area tend, on the whole, to perform better than those in the Provinces. (Of the nine secondary schools with sixth forms seven are in the Western Area and two in the Provinces.) Since success in these examinations lead to university and other scholarships as well as to the more attractive positions in both the public and private sectors of the economy, it means that there is still a barrier to the upward social mobility of many who attend school outside the Western Area. If this trend were to persist in independent Sierra Leone, then there is an inherent threat to democracy as well as to national stability, for there may very well come a time when people from all over the Provinces would demand a fair share of the more lucrative jobs, and could resort to violent and non-democratic

methods to get satisfaction. To ensure an equitable distribution of quality education in Sierra Leone so as to facilitate upward social mobility and help promote political stability it is necessary to get more qualified Sierra Leonean teachers to teach in schools all over the country.

The contribution of teachers already teaching in primary and secondary schools could be effectively enhanced by adequate in-service training. Such training should concentrate on providing the teachers with the knowledge and techniques which they would need to handle social studies education. They would need to know something about man's relationship with his fellow man, something about democracy and its meaning, and other social and economic factors which affect the stability of the state. Such knowledge would be useful when they attempt, for example, to discuss topics like tribalism, nationality, political parties and secret societies, and teach the history of Sierra Leone in order to enable their pupils to understand some of the factors which in the past have influenced and continue to influence events in Sierra Leone. In addition to knowledge relating to subject matter, teachers would need to know how to teach so as to leave the children with a set of skills and attitudes which would influence their handling of controversial issues and help them to take an active interest in matters affecting the state and the nation. It is to be hoped that both in-service and pre-service training for teachers would emphasize that examinations should follow the curriculum and not the curriculum the examinations.

In the final analysis, the methods of teaching and presentation

of materials to pupils determine the extent to which they will apply their learning experiences to future situations, a phenomenon which has been described as non-specific transfer and which, in the view of Bruner (1961), "is at the heart of the educational process."[22] Some of the methods of social studies education which would provide a basis for non-specific transfer of training by helping pupils to develope critical thinking and related skills essential to the survival of democracy, will be considered in the next chapter.

Footnotes for Chapter VII

1. The writer has been connected with Teacher Education in Sierra Leone as a member of staff of the Department of Education at Fourah Bay College since October, 1963. She acted as Head of this Department during 1968/9 academic year.

2. Report of the Ministry of Education for 1968 (Freetown: Government Printer, 1968), pp. 9-10.

3. Unpublished Mimeographed report of the Special Committee appointed by the Institute of Education to Study and report on the Training Colleges, 1969 in which material for this section is located.

4. White Paper on Educational Policy, op. cit., p. 5.

5. Sumner, op. cit., pp. 301-303.

6. White Paper, op. cit., p. 22.

7. American Council on Education (Washington, D.C.) Higher Education in Sierra Leone, Report No. c. June 1968, p. 19.

8. Sierra Leone Daily Mail, October 2, 1970, p. 1.

9. Commission on Higher Education in Sierra Leone Report, 1970, p. 34, A.7.

10. Ibid., p. 17, 34.

11. Material for this section is based on an unpublished paper "Background Data," prepared in 1970 by Professor T.L. Green of the Department of Education, Fourah Bay College.

12. Report on Higher Education, 1970, p. 4.

13. White Paper, 1970, p. 12.

14. Ministry of Education Report, 1969, p. 34, Table XVI.

15. White Paper, op. cit., p. 7.

16. Ibid., p. 12.

17. Ibid., p. 7.

18. Ibid., p. 7.

19. As Acting Head of the Department of Education, Fourah Bay College, 1968-69, the writer was instrumental in bringing about these reforms.

20. Commission on Higher Education, 1970, p. 33 A.2.3.

21. White Paper, op. cit., pp. 12 & 17.

22. Bruner, Jerome S. The Process of Education (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961), pp. 17-18.

CHAPTER VIII

TEACHING THE NEW SOCIAL STUDIES

Two decades ago, the Secretary of States for the Colonies appointed a sole commissioner to carry out a survey of the secondary schools in the Colony and Protectorate of Sierra Leone. In his report, published in 1950, he had this to say about methods of teaching.

> The methods of teaching are what might be expected in schools where so many of the teachers lack scholarship and the dominant aim is the passing of examinations. These two factors, together determine the technique, which is to fill the children's minds with the facts reported in books so that they may be able to reproduce them at the right time and so gain a certificate. The only activity required of the pupils is absorption, a dreary process, for teachers and pupils alike and one which cannot stimulate imagination, initiative or serious intellectual interests. If it were successful in even the narrowest sense of the word there might be something, though not much to be said for it, but it is not; the examination results of most of the schools are deplorable . . . for teachers, industrious and painstaking as they are, are so eager to cram too much into too many heads in too short a time that they forget that real understanding must be based on the pupil's own experiences and active investigations, and that teaching must take the pupils environment into account in proceeding from the known to the unknown.[1]

Much has happened in Sierra Leone during the intervening years. The country is now an independent state and educational facilities have been considerably expanded. Secondary schools have increased from 10 in 1950 to 72 in 1969, while the number of teachers in the secondary schools has risen from 125 to 1,202 in the same

period.[2] Yet the quality of teaching, judging from examination results, could hardly be said to have improved. The main aim of education for many teachers is still regarded as getting their pupils to pass examinations. As we have seen, at both the primary and secondary levels, examinations determine what is taught in the schools.

The following data indicate the progressively poor results of the General Certificate of Education (G.C.E.) Examination at both the Ordinary and Advanced levels for the years 1964-68.[3]

(a) G.C.E. 'A' LEVEL RESULTS

Year	Total No. Of Candidates	No. of Subjects Passed					2 And Above	
		0	1	2	3	4	No.	Percentage
1964	167	52	43	48	23	1	72	43.1
1965	152	33	45	46	27	1	74	48.7
1966	105	11	25	35	22	2	59	56.2
1967	122	45	35	25	16	1	42	34.4
1968	147	63	38	27	18	1	46	31.3

(b) G.C.E. 'O' LEVEL RESULTS

FOR CANDIDATES TAKING FOUR SUBJECTS AND OVER

Year	Total No. of Candidates	No. of Subjects Passed					
		4	5	6	7	8	9
1964	724	88	46	41	10	4	0
1965	931	108	93	40	26	4	0
1966	1347	112	88	39	16	5	1
1967	1960	135	77	50	23	8	2
1968	1983	140	95	35	18	6	0

Year	4 and Above		5 and Above	
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
1964	189	25.5	101	13.6
1965	271	29.1	163	17.5
1966	261	19.5	149	11.1
1967	295	15.0	160	8.2
1968	294	14.7	154	7.8

Since the curricula of the secondary schools in Sierra Leone "continue to be guided by the revised General Certificate of Education syllabuses of the West African Examinations Council," then the aim of education in such schools must be to pass the General Certificate of Education examinations set by the Council. Judging from the above data, they could therefore not be regarded as fulfilling even this limited aim, for not only is there a high rate of failure of candidates who attempt the examinations, but the quality of the results of some of those who are successful is not particularly outstanding, more so at the ordinary level.

Teaching specifically to a prescribed syllabus to ensure success in a prescribed examination is often done through the didactic, expository or "traditional" method. The teacher communicates facts to the pupils either verbally or by writing on the blackboard - the "talk and chalk" method, and gives out the data or finished knowledge contained in prescribed text-books to be memorized or learned by rote. The pupils are not active in the learning process but are mere recipients of facts compiled by others. Such a method by which a learner is expected to accumulate and retain a wide range of often unrelated facts depends for its success on the ability to remember and reproduce what has been stored in the mind, or memory. If anything, the somewhat poor results of examinations in Sierra Leone over the years demonstrate how low or minimal is the retention rate of "knowledge" acquired through the expository method.

Throughout this study the ultimate aim of the social studies education programme has been regarded as the inculcation of knowledge,

skills, attitudes and values which would help to foster national integration and political stability by making pupils (and citizens) aware of their rights and obligations in a democratic state. In order to achieve this aim, the learning process is calculated to influence subsequent and future behaviour - what is learned now is to be brought to bear on future situations of the learner. Thus pupil involvement more than the words of a teacher or data in a book is considered more crucial to effective learning. Through involvement the pupil gains or acquires experience which provides the basis for his future actions. The pupil comes to use his experiences in a future situation by searching out in his mind and trying to decide how best to reorganize the ideas he has acquired in the light of the new situation. This process of reorganizing experiences has been described as reflective-thinking, problem-solving or cognition.

Consequently the method of instruction considered appropriate to the declared aim of social studies education in Sierra Leone is one calculated to develope critical-thinking skills. Institutions concerned with the education of teachers would need to provide courses of studies which would enable teachers to experience and use methods relevant to the developement of critical thinking skills. This is to be done with two aims in view, the immediate aim being that the teachers should themselves acquire such skills to facilitate their education and so ultimately come to be the means they would use to develope similar skills in their pupils.

The Reflective Approach and Critical-Thinking Skills

As the pupil or student comes up against a problem to be solved, he attempts a solution through clearly defined phases which could be described as orientation, hypothesis, definition, exploration, evidencing and generalization. During the phase of orientation, the existence of a problem or problem situation is recognized. In schools and colleges this may arise either from texts or even from isolated facts. Next comes the attempt to solve the problem by making a general statement of explanation during which terms are clarified and defined. This statement or hypothesis serves as a guide to relevant evidence. The next step described as definition, is in reality a continuation of the first two since clarification, definition or even substitution is an essential process during the phases of orientation and hypothesizing, though the whole reflective process could be said to hinge on our attempts to define and clarify our thoughts and ideas. Definition is followed by exploration and is deductive in nature since an attempt is now made to further examine the hypothesis in terms of logical deductions and implications. If logical flaws are seen to appear in the hypothesis during this phase, then its reconstruction becomes necessary. The use of empirical data to support the hypothesis now follows, and this is the phase of evidencing. Based on all available evidence is the next phase, generalization, which by its very nature is tentative since it could be subject to change if and when further evidence becomes available. It should be noted that the reflective process does not

always follow a given order since its starting point may very well be a fact, hypothesis, inference or generalization.

In order to engage in reflective thinking with any degree of success, certain skills are regarded as essential to every phase of the operation. To get the necessary evidence to support a hypothesis or a generalization, skills in locating and gathering information are essential. Skills which contribute to problem solving and critical[3] thinking involve analyzing and evaluating information, organizing ideas, as well as skills in reaching a constructive compromise, for example, discovering compromise that enables progress to be achieved without endangering or destroying basic rights and institutions.

Reflective thinking as a method of instruction in the social studies developes not only knowledge, defined as "the recall of methods and processes, or the recall of a pattern, structure or setting," but also intellectual abilities and skills or "organized modes of operation and generalized techniques for dealing with materials and problems."[4] The development of attitudes and values characteristic of democracy is also part of the educational objective of social studies education. Since such values (e.g. respect for the individual) cannot be taught directly, it is necessary to identify them so that the curriculum is structured in such a way that the children would be brought into contact with situations involving relevant values and so be made aware of their existence. For example, a class or a group would be faced with a value issue by means of a carefully selected story from literature or history, or

even from the contemporary social scene; words or terms used or likely to be used are clarified so that pupils may understand what issue is involved, then the issue and its implications is carefully researched and finally by using comparisons and examples the personal and social consequences of the value at issue is discussed. In this way the pupil is also forced to a statement and re-examination of his personal values. Opportunities for interpersonal relations and group participation must also be provided so that pupils learn, for example, to develope courteous behaviour, learn how to disagree and how to lose, and generally how to get on with other people of different social background.

The Conceptual Approach

The conceptual approach is teaching through the development of concepts. These can be described as abstract ideas or mental images which someone has developed about certain groups of objects or even about non-material phenomenon. Concerned as social studies are with relationships, values and attitudes, many of its concepts are of the non-material type. Examples of these are concepts relating to government, democracy and citizenship. In so far as concepts relate to ideas and not words, then successful formulation depends on the experiences of the learner and not on the mere accumulation of words through rote learning or memorization. A concept which has been properly formed or developed in the mind of the learner serves as an aid to further learning, since he is able to apply his past experiences to future events or objects which bear some relationship to

ideas already in his mind. Bruner (1956) has asserted that through concept formation the learner reduces the complexity of his environment, is the means by which he identifies objects of the world around him, reduces the necessity of constant learning, provides direction for instrumental activity and permits the ordering and relating of classes of events.[5]

Since concepts are formed and developed out of experiences of the learner, certain instructional methods which provide him with meaningful experiences have been found effective in social studies education. Most of these are based on the most natural way of learning known to man - play. Putting pupils and students in a variety of situations, real or imaginary, provides the opportunity for them to make moral or ethical decisions as well as to inter-act and to develope empathy with others. As attitudes and values cannot be taught to others merely by telling them how desirable such attitudes and values are, pupils and students need to see and feel for themselves and then to decide just how desirable those values are. By using these methods the teacher is also trying to achieve and provide for non-specific transfer of learning through which the pupils and students would come to utilize earlier experiences in a new situation.

The word socio-drama conveys the idea of play in a social situation, and is a technique which provides training in human relations through the dramatization of a situation arising out of controversial and social issues. It entails acting out a real-life situation so as to provide an insight into the feelings (and motivations)

of others as these become apparent, while at the same time members of the audience re-act to the situation as it developes. The feelings and reactions aroused during the unrehearsed "play" afterwards become the subject of critical analysis and evaluation. Certain pre-conditions must exist if sociodrama is to be used effectively. Whatever situation is dramatized should have developed out of a class study of social issues or problems and the members of the class must be willing to participate in the dramatic situation. A certain amount of planning is necessary for the success of such a method, particularly in recording observations which would form the bases of later evaluation. In addition to recording their own reactions, individuals are assigned to observe and record the reactions of the participants.

Role-playing is another method used in the social studies to further the development of appropriate attitudes and values. In a socio-drama, the emphasis is not on the actors, but on the reactions to the situation as it developes around the actors. In role-playing however, the emphasis is on the actor and what he does in the situation, and it provides practice in how to behave in a prescribed situation.

A more sophisticated development of the play-way is the use of a simulation game or model. A simulation model attempts to present a rather complex phenomenon in a way in which it can be readily handled for purposes of study and research. Northwestern University pioneered in this field.

> Guetzkow illustrated the use of simulation in a study on international relations conducted at Northwestern University (Laboratory of the Program of Graduate Training and Research in International Relations) in

> which each student or pair of students, represented a given soverign state. On the basis of a list of rules students made foreign policy decisions, declared war, established diplomatic relations, and brought economic boycotts and tariff regulations.[6]

Already published is the Sierra Leone Development Project to simulate the economic problems of a developing nation, with some emphasis on the culture of the country. The economic and social situations simulated in this game are taken from problems discussed in the country's Ten Year Economic Development Plan now in operation.[7]

A technique which has now come to be widely used at all levels of social studies education is the case-study method, which is regarded as superior to most methods in stimulating critical thinking on controversial social issues. Drawn or based on reality as the case-method is, it forces the students to acquire the interrelated factual knowledge necessary to an understanding of the event, human behaviour, opinion or other social activity. Cases are used either to illustrate foregone conclusions or to stimulate discussion, debate and controversy on social issues for which there are no right or wrong answers or definite conclusions. The procedures for dealing with a case study are much the same as those involved in the problem-solving process. First comes the identification of the problem raised and clarification of any obscure point. This is followed by a factual analysis of the situation during which the relationships as well as the sentiments and beliefs of those involved are examined. The next stage is reached when members of the class attempt to formulate their views in tentative hypotheses. Finally comes the position when, under the leadership of the teacher,

principles and generalizations are reached. The teacher acts as a leader to guide the ensuing discussion and not to impose a right or wrong solution.

The use of socio-drama, role-playing, simulation, and case-study as effective instruments in the teaching of social studies should not lead to the neglect of other less elaborate techniques. Discussions and debates in class can focus on the moral dilemmas encountered by children and students. Thought provoking problems can be introduced, followed by the question - what would you do in a case like that?

Many of the procedural measures described above can be effectively used in social studies education in Sierra Leone. In teaching the concept of interdependence, for example, it would become necessary to discuss how essential this is not only at the local level of government, like the chiefdom, but also on the state and national level. In introducing such a unit certain facts would be stressed - people depend on the work of others (community helpers) for goods and services they cannot provide themselves and that people trade with each other to get the products they need. The objectives of a unit on interdependence would be to help students understand what we mean by interdependence, and emphasis would be on the dependence of one group or tribe on the other and the dependence of the state on all groups; what is involved in interdependence or national unity; what the factors are which shape interdependence in Sierra Leone to-day; that national unity in the circumstance may not

be easily achieved; the factors which contribute to tribalism, nepotism and other tensions which affect interdependence. Basic concepts necessary to an understanding of interdependence are these - that events of the past largely shape events of today and solutions to new problems of disunity and strife in Sierra Leone would have to take into account events following the arrival of the first settlers in 1787 as well as those attendant upon the declaration of a Protectorate in 1896; that impressions of those events are effected by the experience and culture of the people involved; human beings in Sierra Leone, as everywhere, take on the characteristics of their respective cultures; interdependence also exists on an international basis and nations form part of a world-wide interdependent system based on economic, sociological, cultural and political life. This last basic concept is necessary for pupils and students in Sierra Leone to enable them to discuss and analyze the present situation in the country where troops from neighbouring Guinea, following the attempted coups in March 1971, are now being used to guard the life of the President as well as strategic positions. Controversial social and contemporary issues or closed areas could thus be more easily introduced after considerations of similar phenomena in other countries.

Knowledge of two basic forms of evaluation would be needed for teachers to attempt an assessment of their success in getting across ideas of national unity as well as problem solving skills. The first could be used at any stage in a social studies education programme to determine the extent, if any, of class or group cleavage

along social, economic, tribal or any other lines with a view to reducing or eliminating such cleavage if necessary. The technique for this is known as sociometry. The sociometric test or inventory requires a pupil to choose, on a confidential basis, a number (generally five) of his classmates with whom he would prefer to work on an assigned task in a given situation. An analysis of the results would indicate who the isolates (unchosen pupils) are, as well as the neglectees (pupils who received only one choice). The teacher then has to find ways and means to minimize the cleavage thus revealed.

Given the emphasis on examinations in Sierra Leone, teachers and examiners need to know how to assess social studies outcomes on the basis of critical thinking skills. To do this, it would be necessary to identify those skills which together complete the critical thinking process, and assess pupils on how they perform on each. These are identification of critical issues, recognition of underlying assumptions, evaluation of evidence and reaching relevant or warranted conclusions. Questions are set to elicit responses in these four areas, and the marks given could then be averaged for examination purposes.

The classroom, as well as the school, is indeed a Human Relations Laboratory, and the pupils reflect many of the attitudes of the society. Therefore an attempt is to be made in the school to eradicate or minimize those beliefs and values which militate against national unity, and to inculcate those skills, attitudes and

values necessary for political stability and effective citizen participation in a democratic state. Given the history of Sierra Leone and its subsequent political development, it is now a matter of urgency that all avenues be explored to ensure the survival of democracy. An effective social studies programme would be a step in this direction. A recent editorial in the Sierra Leone Daily Mail, written a few days after the attempted coups, stressed the importance of stability thus,

> One of the responsibilities of this Government, like all other Governments, is to provide for the good of the nation.
>
> This can only be achieved when there is STABILITY.
>
> When there is stability in the country, economic and social planning can go undistrubed.[8]

Footnotes for Chapter VIII

1. Nichols A.E. Survey of the Secondary Schools of Sierra Leone, (Freetown: Government Printer, 1950), p. 6.

2. Ibid., p. 4 & 37; Ministry Report for the Year 1969, pp. 4 & 5.

3. Report on Higher Education, 1970, p. 2.

4. Bloom, op. cit., pp. 201, 204.

5. Bruner, J.S. "The Role of Concepts in Learning in Concepts" in the Social Studies, ed. by Barry K. Beyer and Anthony N. Penna, Bulletin No. 45, National Council for the Social Studies, pp. 39-41.

6. Massialas, B.G., ed. Cox, Benjamin C. Inquiry in Social Studies, (New York: McGraw Hill, 1966), p. 318.

7. Ingraham, L.W. Social Education (31st Year Book), January 1967, pp. 347-387.

8. Editorial Comment, Sierra Leone Daily Mail, March 29, 1971, p. 1. As was expected, Sierra Leone became a Republic within the Commonwealth on April 19th, and the country has since been in a state of upheaval.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

In this study the position is taken that the schools in the new states of (British) West Africa have, generally, not been consciously used to promote national integration and political stability.

As former colonies of an imperial power, Nigeria, Ghana (Gold Coast), Sierra Leone and the Gambia were for the most part, governed through the system known as Indirect Rule, which left behind a legacy fraught with dangers of social upheaval and political instability. The social foundations laid down during the period of colonialism were not adequate to support the structure of political institutions vital to the survival od democracy after independence. Not only did government through indirect rule exacerbate the emphasis on tribe, but, to a certain extent it also inhibited or retarded the spread of education. Consequently, in the former British West African Colonies, there was (and still is) disparity in education between the coastal areas and the hinterland which had been subject to indirect rule. On the attainment of independence, political leaders undertook the expansion of educational facilities to correct the imbalance and to facilitate social and economic development in their quest for modernization.

In Sierra Leone, the politicians also hoped that an over-all expansion would narrow the gap, opened up during the colonial period, between education in the former Protectorate and education in the

coastal area around Freetown, the capital. Though not formulated in such precise terms, education was to be an instrument of national integration. The consequences of educational expansion in Sierra Leone have, so far, fallen short of the aspirations of both political leaders and the people. The rate of modernization has been slow and national integration far from achieved. Secondary school places have not increased fast enough to meet the demands of the people, and the unemployment situation, particularly for primary school-leavers, has been aggravated rather than ameliorated. More important still, educational expansion may have introduced new inequalities thereby providing a basis for further social and political cleavages.

In undertaking the expansion of educational facilities, political leaders in the West African states acted "on the assumption that education is a correlate, if not a requisite, of a democratic order." Through education citizens would develope an awareness of their responsibility for government, thereby increasing their capacity for political participation. However, the schools, have so far done very little to prepare children, as citizens, to live in a democratic state. Because of the nature of its subject matter - man's relationship with his fellow man and his interaction with his environment - the social studies can and should provide the basis for education for citizenship through a well-planned programme.

Whatever programme is proposed or whatever syllabus is drawn up for implementation, the ultimate success will depend on the teachers who are to handle the new courses. The success will reflect the extent to which the teachers understand and sympathize with the

aims of curriculum planners. Unless they do understand and sympathize with these aims, their teaching is likely to be unaffected. Not one of the training colleges in Sierra Leone offers courses in social studies education to its student teachers. Rather history and geography are unrelated and the expression "social studies" is not used at this level. Yet the 1969 New Trial Syllabus which went into use in 1970 has devoted the largest number of pages to the social studies syllabus, just as many pages as are devoted to mathematics.

If the new syllabus is to be implemented at all, as it was meant to be, then training colleges must offer courses in social studies education. Unless this is done, teachers called upon to teach the new syllabus will continue to rely on the old chalk and talk method, and much of the impact of the new syllabus on children's attitudes and values will be lost. Not only will the teachers be required to teach, but also to evaluate the outcome of their teaching. Their training should enable them to do this. In addition to evaluation techniques, teachers will also need some help as to how to handle controversial issues. This will itself necessitate some training in logical induction and deduction. There are also proposals that, under a new scheme, secondary school curricula will be revised in four key subjects, namely science, mathematics, English and social studies. So far, there are no proposals to train secondary school teachers in social studies education. To avoid teachers in the classroom evolving a hit or miss method to cope with new subject groupings, teacher training colleges as well as university departments of education will have to restructure their courses to meet the demands

of the changes. In a country where many of the teachers are professionally unqualified, vacation courses as well as in-service training will have to be provided for those teachers who are already in the schools.

Not only in procedural matters or methods are teacher training programmes to reflect the new emphasis on social studies education, but also in content or subject matter. Those aspects of the social sciences - history, geography, sociology, anthropology, economics and political science, and African studies - which would provide background knowledge for teachers should also find a place in the curricula of training colleges and university departments of education. The teachers would need to know how to teach and what to teach.

The government of Sierra Leone attaches great importance to the teaching profession and is committed to improving the quality and quantity of its members. Consequently, a number of steps have been taken calculated to attract more qualified people into the profession by removing those disadvantages which made the Civil Service a more attractive proposition. The profession needs to attract to its ranks more and better qualified recruits if the country is to reduce or do away with the large number of expatriate (foreign) teachers who now work in Sierra Leone, either on contract with the government or with the Peace Corps or similar organizations. If this is done, the government will at least save itself the expenditure involved in employing contract teachers from foreign countries. The effect on the educational system will be beneficial since there would be no need to change teachers after a short period of time at the

expiration of their contracts or assignments, as in the case of members of the Peace Corps who serve for only two years. Moreover, a corps of Sierra Leonean teachers would bring to social studies education the special qualification of belonging to the society whose national integration and political stability is being promoted. They would also be able to deal openly with controversial issues and yet escape the accusation of meddling in the country's affairs, a charge which might easily be levied against non-Sierra Leonean teachers.

Sierra Leone has been fortunate enough to escape conflict in the field of education arising from mission schools in receipt of public funds pursuing policies contrary to those of the Ministry of Education. No pupil is likely to be denied admission to any school on religious grounds. In so far then that mission schools have been accepting pupils irrespective of religious affiliations, they have contributed, in some measure, to national integration. Pupils should be given an opportunity to develope and practice those qualities and skills which are needed to live in a democratic state. Social studies education should provide opportunities for pupils to plan together, make decisions and accept responsibility, but an important aspect of this education should be the development and application of problem-solving and critical- thinking skills to social issues.

It is by no means suggested that the political problems of West Africa are likely to be solved by social studies education. Rather the position is taken that the school's potential for political socialization or training for citizenship has generally gone un-

heeded. Since the expansion of educational facilities in a developing country is disruptive of national unity when there is disparity between achievement, expectation and employment opportunity, research is needed to determine the minimum quantity as well as quality of education needed to function effectively in a productive capacity.

APPENDIX A

SIERRA LEONE

List of Chiefdoms

BO DISTRICT

1. Badjia
2. Bagbo
3. Bagbwe
4. Baoma
5. Bumpe
6. Gbo
7. Jaiama Bongo
8. Kakua
9. Komboya
10. Lubu
11. Niawa Lenga
12. Selenga
13. Tikonko
14. Valunia
15. Wunde

BONTHE DISTRICT

16. Bendu Cha
17. Bum
18. Dema
19. Imperri
20. Jong
21. Kpanda Komo
22. Kwamebai Krim
23. Nongoba Bullom
24. Sitia
25. Sogbini
26. Yawbeke

MOYAMBA DISTRICT

27. Bagruwa
28. Banta
29. Banta Mokelle
30. Bumpe
31. Dasse
32. Fakunya
33. Kagboro
34. Kaiyamba
35. Kamajei
36. Kongbora
37. Kori
38. Kowa
39. Ribbi
40. Timdel

PUJEHUN DISTRICT

41. Barri
42. Gallinas Perri
43. Kpaka
44. Makpele
45. Malen
46. Mano Sakrim
47. Panga Kabonde
48. Panga Krim
49. Peje
50. Soro Gbema
51. Yakemo Kpukumu Krim
52. SHERBRO URBAN DISTRICT

KAILAHUN DISTRICT

53. Dia
54. Jaluahun
55. Jawi Lower
56. Jawi Upper
57. Kissi Kama
58. Kissi Teng
59. Kissi Tongi
60. Luawa
61. Malema
62. Mandu
63. Pejewa
64. Penguia
65. Upper Bambara
66. Yawei

KENEMA DISTRICT

67. Dama
68. Dodo
69. Gaura
70. Gorama Mende
71. Kandu Leppiama
72. Koya
73. Langrama
74. Lower Bambara
75. Malegohun
76. Niawa
77. Nomo
78. Nongowa
79. Simbaru
80. Small Bo
81. Tunkia
82. Wando

KONO DISTRICT

83. Fiama
84. Gbane
85. Gbane Kando
86. Gbense
87. Gorama Kono
88. Kamara
89. Lei
90. Mafindo
91. Nimi Koro
92. Nimi Yema
93. Sando
94. Soa
95. Tankoro
96. Toli

BOMBALI DISTRICT

97. Biriwa
98. Bombali Sebora
99. Gbanti Kamaranka
100. Libeisaygahun
101. Magbaiamba
102. Makari Gbanti
103. Paki Masabong
104. Pendembu Gowahun
105. Safroko Limba
106. Sanda Tenraran
107. Sanda Loko
108. Sela Limba
109. Tambaka

KAMBIA DISTRICT

110. Binle Dixing
111. Bramaia
112. Magbema
113. Mambolo
114. Masungbala
115. Samu
116. Tonko Limba

KOINADUGU DISTRICT

117. Dembelia Sinkunia
118. Diang
119. Foulassaba Dembelia
120. Kasunko
121. Mongo
122. Neya
123. Niene
124. Sengbe
125. Sulima
126. Wara Wara Bafodea
127. Wara Wara Yagala

PORT LOKO DISTRICT

128. Bure
129. Buya Romende
130. Kaffu Bullom
131. Koya
132. Loko Masame
133. Maforki
134. Marampa Masimera
135. Sanda Magbolonto
136. Tinkatupa Makama Safroko Dibia

TONKOLILI DISTRICT

137. Bonkolenken
138. Kafe Simiria
139. Kalansogoia
140. Kholifa
141. Kholifa Mabang
142. Kunike
143. Kunike Barina
144. Malal
145. Sambaia
146. Tane
147. Yoni

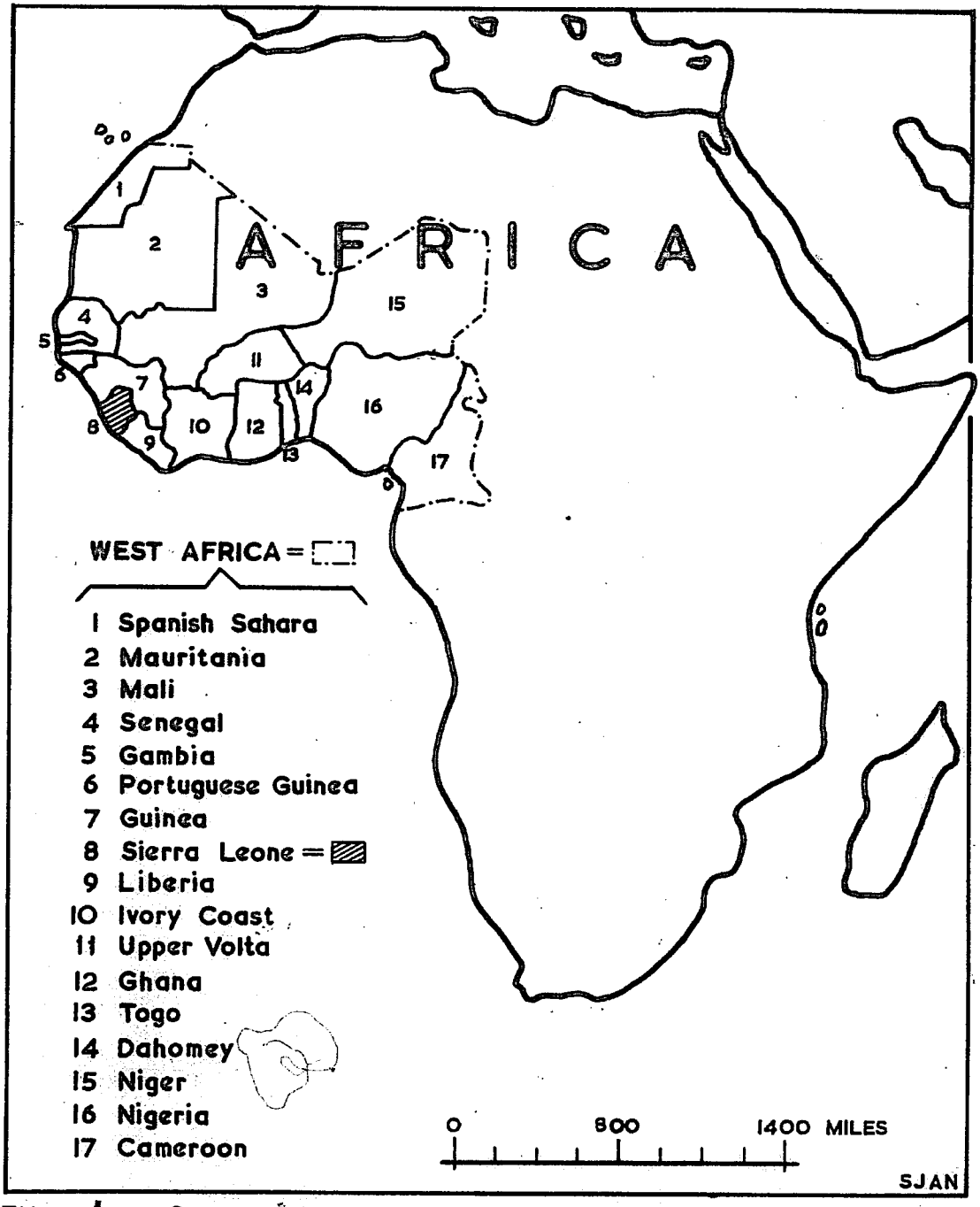


Fig. 1 Sierra Leone in West Africa

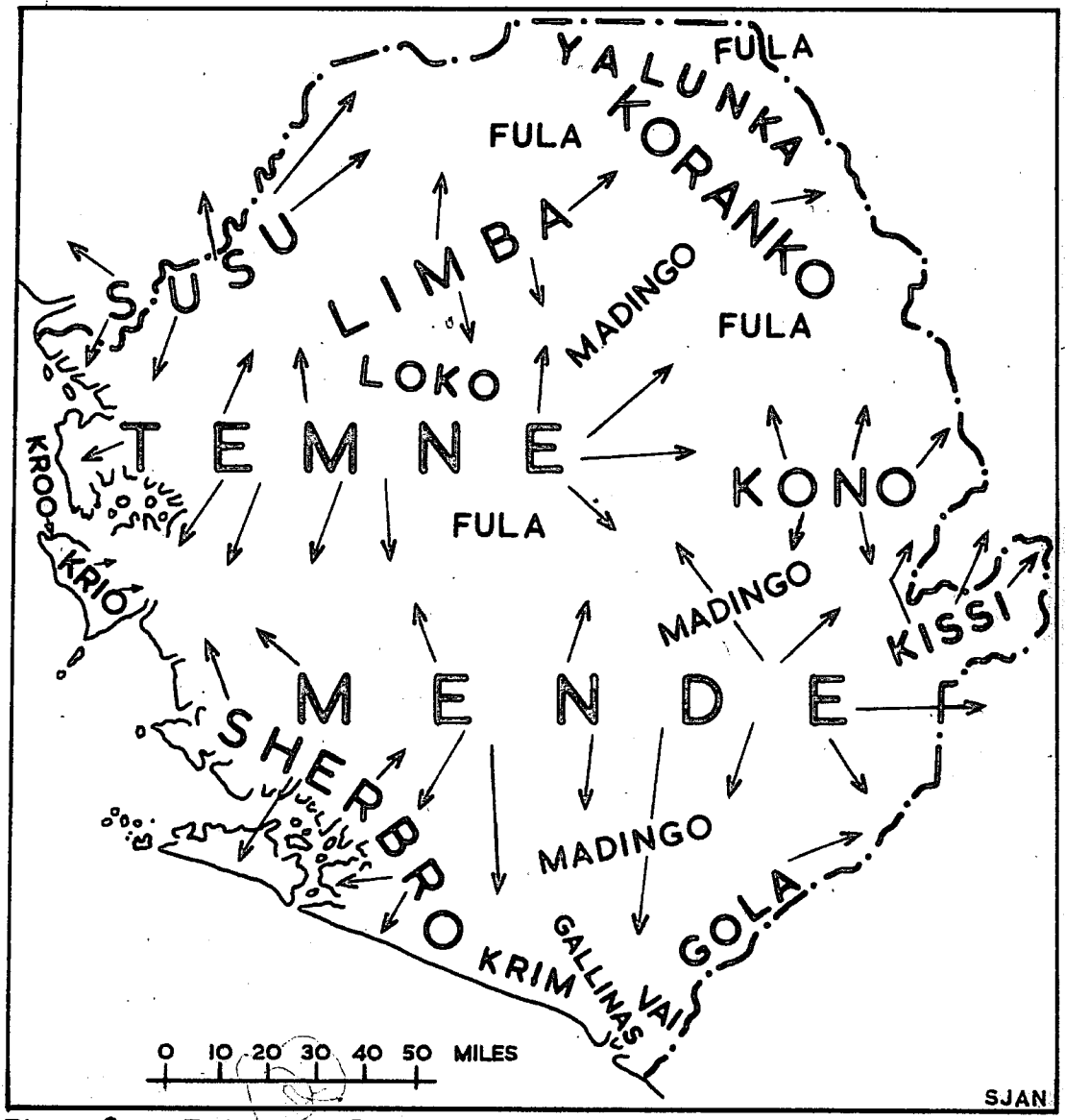
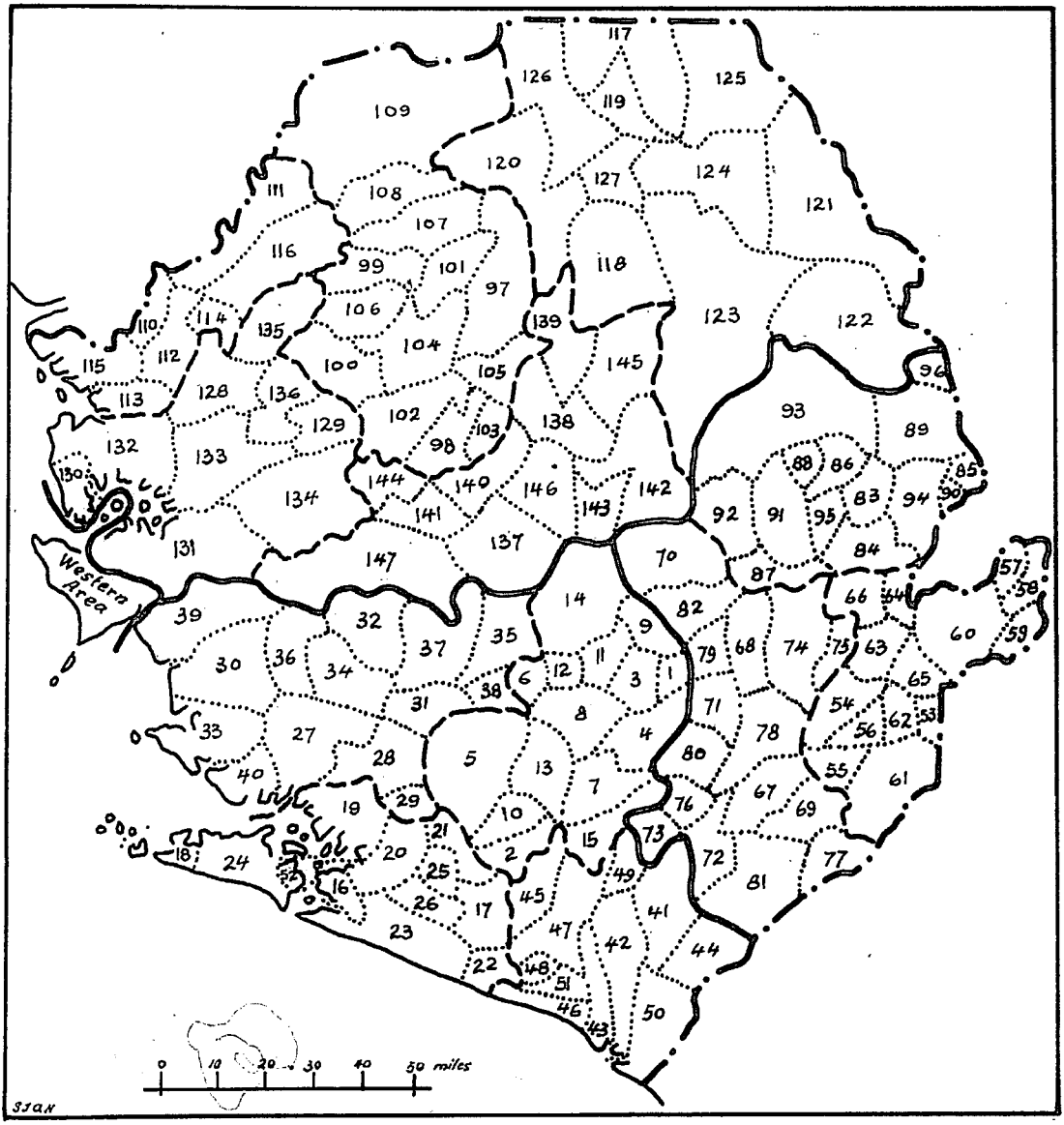


Fig. 2 Ethnic Groups


Western Area
0 10 20 30 40 50 miles
SJAN

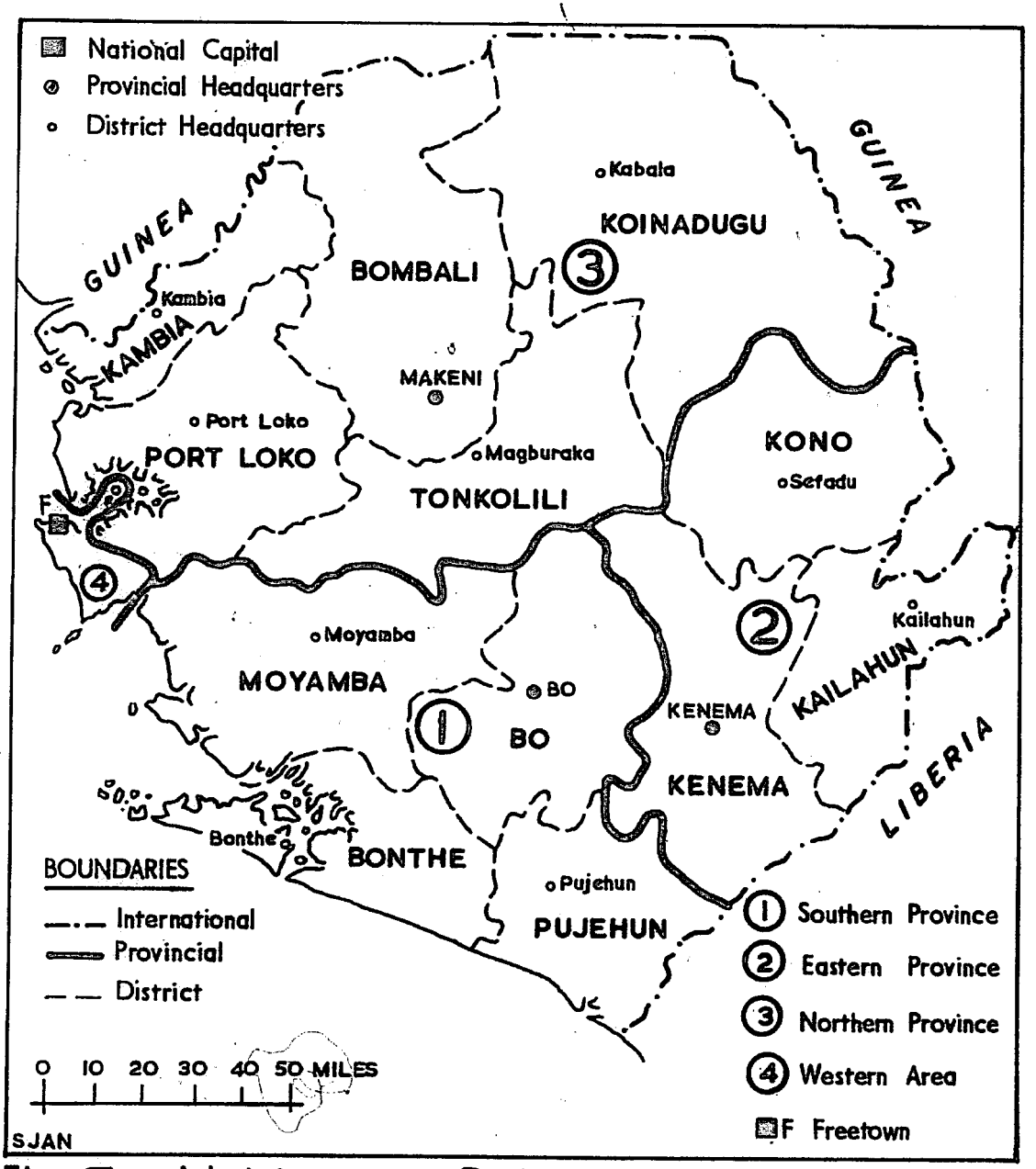


Fig. 3 Administrative Divisions

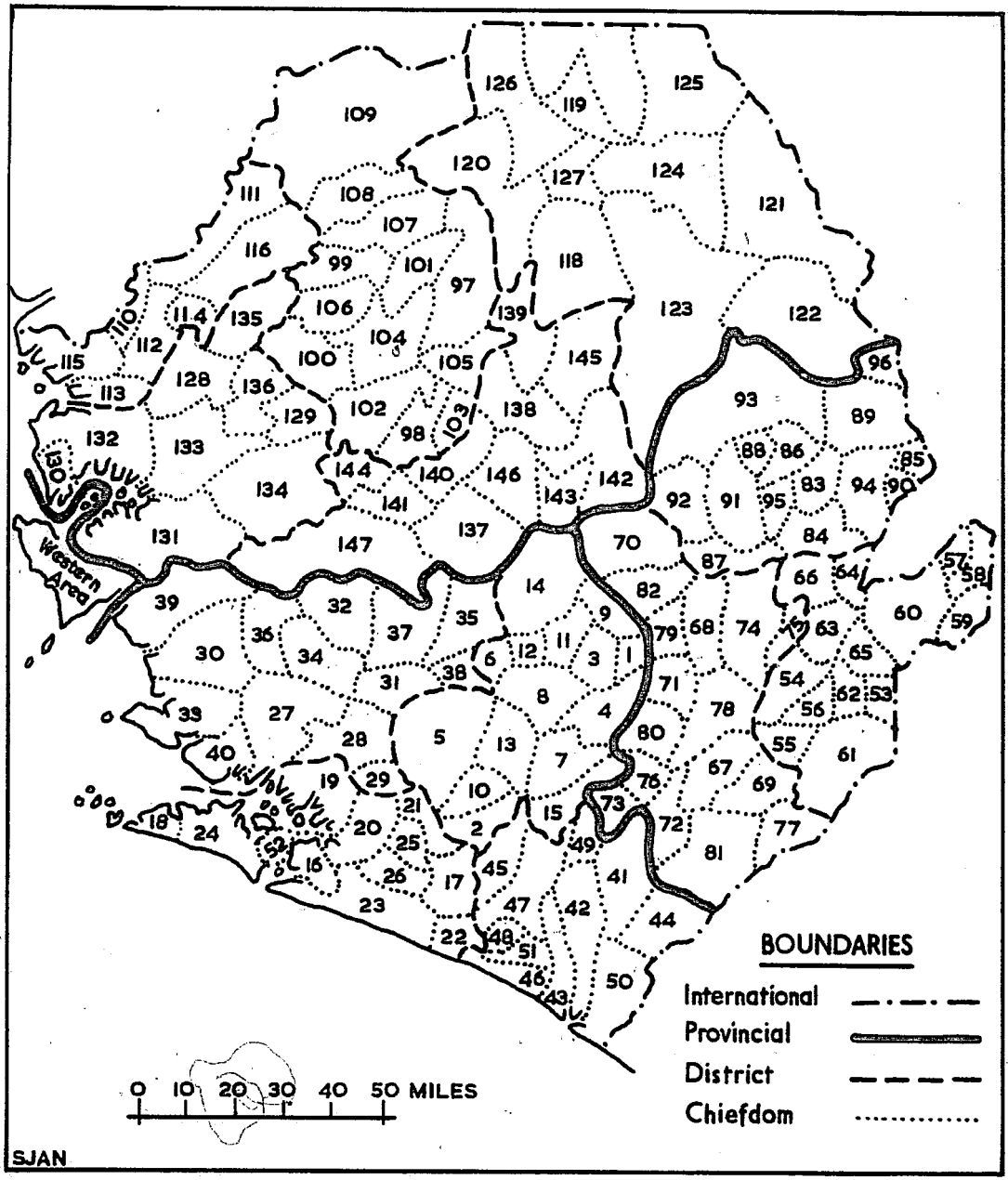


Fig. 4 Chiefdoms

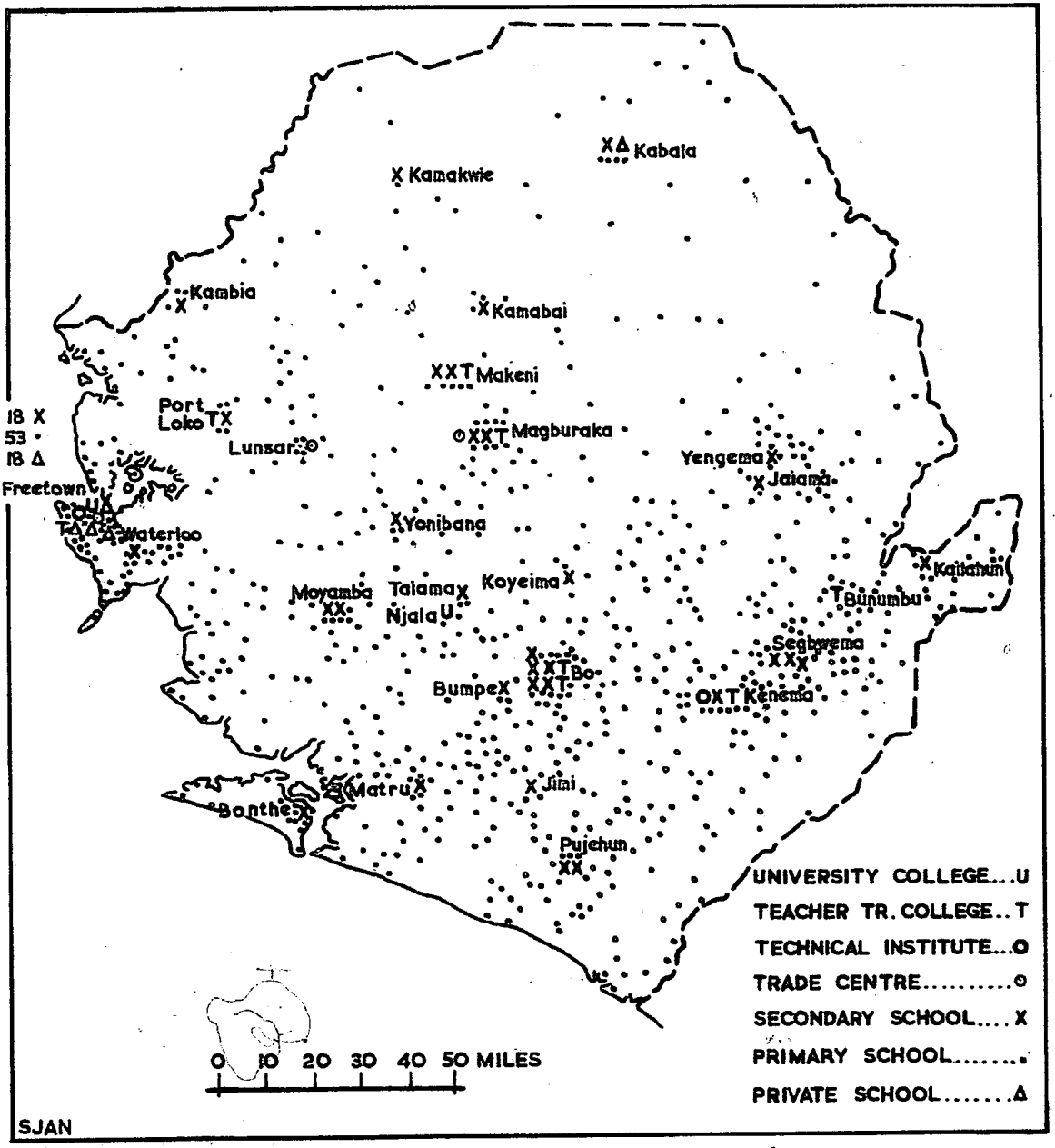
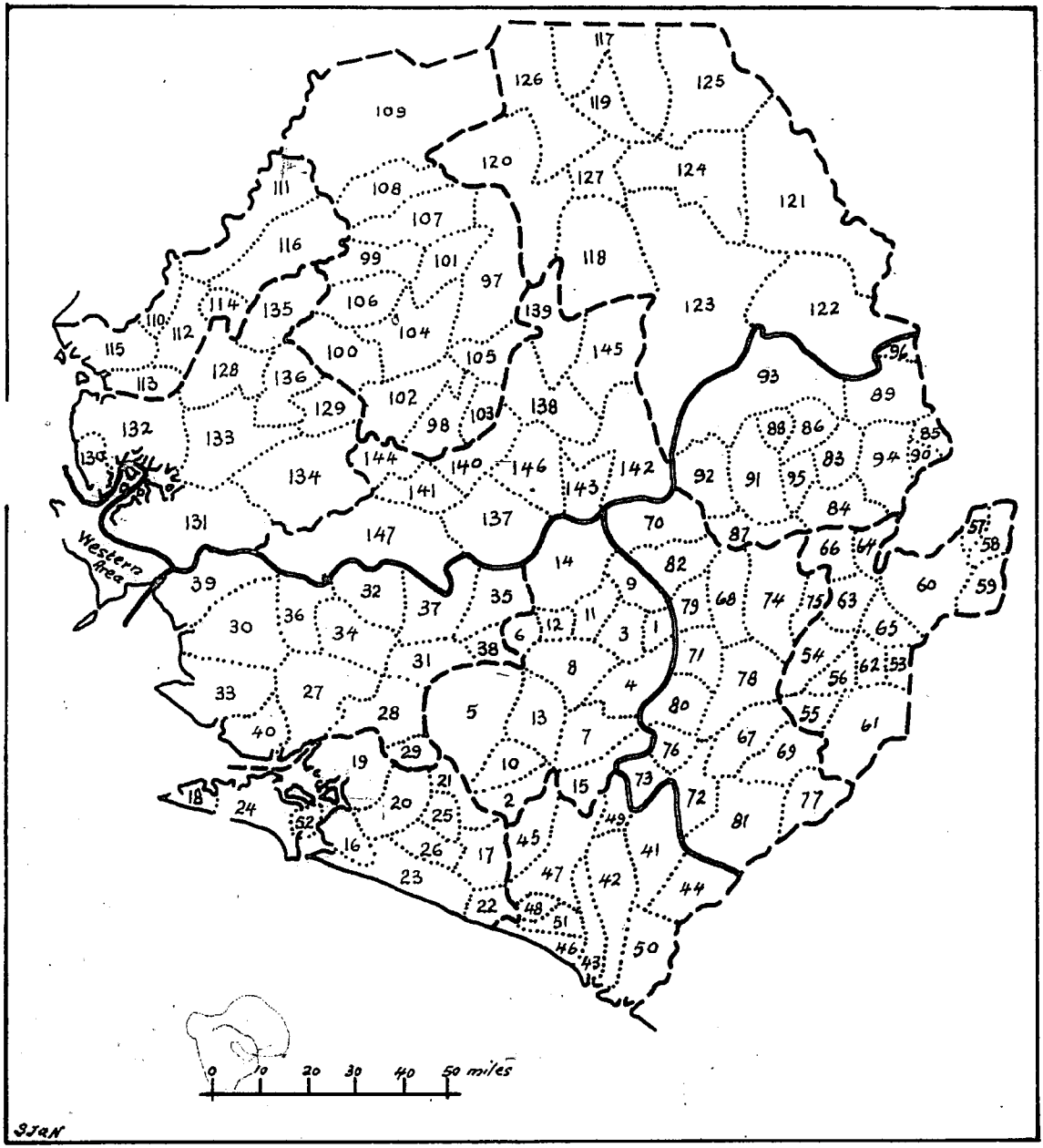


Fig. 5 Educational Establishment — 1964


Western Area
0 10 20 30 40 50 miles
SJAN

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