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EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL AND RESIDENTIAL

MOBILITY IN AN URBAN NIGERIAN COMMUNITY

by

David Wiley McDowell

Dissertation Committee:

Professor David G. Scanlon, Chairman
Professor Lambros Comitas, Acting Chairman
Professor Elliott P. Skinner

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
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under the Executive Committee of the Graduate
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1971

92

ABSTRACT

EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL AND RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY IN AN URBAN NIGERIAN COMMUNITY

David Wiley McDowell

This study is designed to further knowledge of the role of education in contemporary urban West African communities. Whereas previous studies have focused on problems of linkage between schooling and society in a variety of both specific and non-specific social contexts, there was recognition of a need for describing and analyzing the variety of educational processes--within and beyond the schools--in the urban community, particularly in a social context in which schooling is neither universal nor compulsory.

Two years of field work in the urban community of Ife (Western Nigeria), which has an estimated population of 130,000 and over 60 formal schools, has resulted in a description of a variety of educational processes beyond the formal schools. Field work was based on a methodology known within anthropology as "community study." This involved initially a comprehensive physical and social mapping of the community. The technique of "participant-observation" has produced case studies of individuals and

qualitative empirical data. This was supplemented by systematic interviews with heads of all formal schools over a two-year period, masters of apprentices in small crafts, teachers in Koranic schools, and individuals in other social forms with manifest educational processes; these interviews were conducted by research assistants, students at the University of Ife.

Two significant and unexpected findings were made in the early stages of field work: That there was extensive mobility of persons occupationally and residentially in the community, and that this mobility appeared to correlate highly with formal educational attainment. Such findings led to the empirical testing in further stages of the research of a hypothesis linking mobility with higher formal educational attainment. These stages included a comprehensive survey of all non-craft businesses employing three or more workers, the administering of over 500 questionnaires to all teachers in Ife formal schools and over 800 questionnaires to selected secondary school students, and a census sampling of two contrasting residential areas in the community. The testing of the hypothesis led also to a more systematic treatment of data collected throughout the two year period.

Empirical reference to the variety of educational processes within the community and to the network of occupational and residential patterns of community life has allowed an analysis of the functional role of education in the community. Attention to functional analysis as a

means of explanation has shown the logical necessity of concern with broader processes of education. Such empirical reference has provided new insights into aspects of certain problems recognized within the literature as significant linkages between education and society: the unemployed school leaver, the extensive rural to urban migrations, and too-rapid social change.

Results of the analysis have shown that the hypothesis as a means to relate formal educational attainment to mobility of persons is valid in relation to the general processes of the urban context, limited by factors of traditional patterns of occupational and residential selection, and the actions of certain social agencies--e.g., local school authorities--in requiring occupational and residential change. To explain the role of education in producing that mobility it is necessary also to examine the processes of peer and family socialization, and other extra-school educational processes.

The study has revealed an even more complex set of processes of urban mobility. Not only were the rural to urban migrations noted as anticipated, but also there appeared a high residential and occupational mobility of persons between urban centers and within the community. Such a model of reality has not been available in the literature on urban communities in this area.

INTRODUCTION AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis report is the result of field work in Ile-Ife, Western State, Nigeria, from September, 1967 to September, 1969. The basic objective of that work was primarily to learn more about the present variety of educational processes in the community of Ife and about their relationships to other community processes and its structure.

The report is organized to present the objectives, the theoretical basis of the study, the procedures of field work, a picture of the historical and sociological features of the community and its educational alternatives, and the results of testing a hypothesis linking education and mobility in the community. This hypothesis developed during the field work. Although a specific hypothesis was tested and has been reported here, it must be examined in the larger context of an ethnographic description of education and community life in this report.

I wish to acknowledge publicly that this report is the result of the efforts of many individuals. First, appreciation goes to my wife, Diane, for her love and understanding through it all; she is responsible for most of the typing as well.

I must thank the Oni of Ife, Sir Aderemi, for his permission to allow the research to be conducted.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	i
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iii
LIST OF TABLES	vii
LIST OF FIGURES	x
LIST OF PLATES	xi
 Chapter	
I. THE OBJECTIVES	1
Problems Related to Rapid Educational Expansion in Western Nigeria	4
A Need for Systematic Research Studies	9
The Objective of the Thesis	13
The Context Chosen for the Study	15
The Sequence of the Research	15
The Organization of the Thesis	17
II. THE METHODOLOGY OF A STUDY OF EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN A COMMUNITY CONTEXT	20
Functional Analysis	24
The Concept of Education in Comparative Analysis	29
The Use of the Community Study Method	39
The Inductive Approach to a Systematic Study of Education in a Community	43
Summary of Chapter Two	45
III. FIELD TECHNIQUES, PROCEDURES, ASSUMPTIONS, AND THE FORMULATION OF A SPECIFIC HYPOTHESIS	47
The History of the Research Formulation	48
The Use of Student Research Assistants	56
The Stages of the Research Project	61

	The Development of a Hypothesis	74
	Some Important Limitations	81
	Summary of Chapter Three	82
IV.	THE COMMUNITY OF IFE: THE HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND	84
	Climate	91
	Physical Features and Settlement Patterns	92
	Historical Development of Religious Patterns	107
	Social Organization	113
	Summary of Chapter Four	119
V.	EDUCATIONAL PATTERNS AND PROCESSES IN THE COMMUNITY OF IFE	121
	The Formal School System in Ife	121
	Technical, Secretarial, and Commercial Institutes	141
	Home Study Institutes	145
	Adult Evening Classes of the University of Ife	147
	Correspondence School Work	149
	The Apprenticeship Schemes in Ife	150
	Koranic Schools	156
	The Family as an Educational Unit	160
	Other Community Forms of Education	163
	A Summary View of the Educational Forms and Processes at Work in the Community of Ife	166
VI.	ATTRITION IN THE FORMAL SCHOOLS	171
	Attrition of Students During the Years 1968 and 1969	173
	The Attrition of Ife Teachers	185
	Summary of Chapter Six	190
VII.	OCCUPATIONAL AND RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY IN IFE	192
	The Hypothesis for Analysis of Mobility in Ife	193
	Mobility in the Teaching Profession	195
	Mobility of Apprentices	206
	Mobility of Workers in Other Businesses in Ife	217

Mobility of Persons in Contrasting Residential Areas	232
Summary of Chapter Seven	249
VIII. THE FUNCTION OF EDUCATION IN PATTERNING OF OCCUPATIONAL AND RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY IN LIFE	
The Method of Situational Analysis	255
Patterns of Physical and Ecological Expressions of the Community	256
Patterns of Social Expression of the Community	263
Patterns of Formal Educational Attainment	267
Educational Processes in the Patterning of Mobility	273
A Summary of Chapter Eight	301
IX. CONCLUSION	
General Results of the Study	306
The Need for Further Study	308
REFERENCES	311
APPENDIX	318
A. Stage One (Mapping) Worksheet No. 1	318
B. Stage One (Mapping) Worksheet No. 2	319
C. Stage One Summary of Points at First Meeting with R.A.'s	320
D. Stage One Instructions for Field Work	322
E. Stage One Response Sheet	324
F. Stage One Letter of Introduction	325
G. Stage Two (Schools) Interview Schedule	326
H. Stage Two Instructions for Field Work	328
I. Stage Two Response Sheet	331
J. Stage Two Letter of Introduction	332
K. Stage Three (Apprentices) Interview Schedule	333
L. Stage Three Instructions for Field Work (17.6.68)	335
M. Stage Three Instructions for Field Work (19.6.68)	337
N. Stage Three Response Sheet	339
O. Stage Five (Schools) Interview Schedule	340
P. Stage Five Instructions for Field Work	342
Q. Stage Five Response Sheet	345

R.	Stage Five Letter of Introduction for R.A.'s	346
S.	Stage Five Students' Questionnaire	347
T.	Stage Five Teacher's Questionnaire	353
U.	Stage Six (Apprenticeship) and Stage Seven (Business) Interview Schedule	358
V.	Stages Six and Seven Instructions for Field Work	360
W.	Stages Six and Seven Response Sheet	363
X.	Stages Six and Seven Letters of Introduction for R.A.'s	364
Y.	Stage Eight (Census) "b" (households) Interview Schedule	365
Z.	Stage Eight "b" Instructions for Field Work	366
AA.	Stage Eight "c" (sons and daughters) Interview Schedule	368
BB.	Stage Eight "c" Instructions for Field Work	369
CC.	Stage Eight Response Sheets	372
DD.	The Rationale for Excluding the University of Ife from the Survey of Education in Ife	373
EE.	Two Sample Family Systems in Ilode Quarter (Traditional Ife)	374
FF.	Four Sample Family Groups in Akarebata (New Layout)	375

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Enrollments in Schools in Ife, June, 1968	122
2. Primary Schools in Ife, June, 1968	126
3. Secondary Schooling in Ife, June, 1968	129
4. Technical, Secretarial, and Commercial Institutes, August, 1968	142
5. Small Crafts and Apprentices in Ife, June, 1968	152
6. Formal Koranic Schools in Ife, August, 1968	157
7. Change in Class Enrollments in Ife Schools, 1968-1969	173- 174
8. Student Enrollments in Western Nigeria, 1966 and 1967	176
9. Number of Students Not Promoted in Ife Schools, 1968 to 1969	179- 180
10. Students Estimated to have Left School During the Period 1968 to 1969	182
11. Reasons for Teacher Attrition, 1968 to 1969	186
12. Attrition of Ife Teachers by Sex, 1968 to 1969	187
13. Comparison of All 1969 Ife Teachers with Ife Teachers Who Left Their Respective Schools During 1968 to 1969	189
14. Place of Birth of Ife Teachers, 1969	196
15. Occupations of Teachers' Fathers (1969)	198

16.	Number of Schools Where 1969 Teachers Have Worked	199
17.	Number of Non-Teaching Jobs Previously Held by 1969 Teachers	200
18.	Per Cent Attrition of Iife Teachers, 1968 to 1969	202
19.	Number of Primary Teachers (1969) Residing in Quarter of Birth	204
20.	Occupations of Fathers of Apprentices (1968)	207
21.	Place of Birth of Apprentices (1968) by Present Residence in Iife	209
22.	Estimates of the Age of Entering Apprenticeship	216
23.	Distribution of Business Workers by Sex and Occupational Types, 1969	219
24.	Age Distribution of Workers in Iife Businesses, 1969	221
25.	Age Distribution of Business Workers by Types of Occupations, 1969	222
26.	Occupations of Fathers of Workers in Businesses, 1969	223
27.	Iife-Born Workers by Type of Occupational Role, 1969	225
28.	Formal Schoeeling Attainments of Business Workers, 1969	226
29.	Number of Years Spent Working at Present Business Expressed as the Percentage of Workers of Selected Educational Attainments, 1969	228
30.	Formal Educational Attainments of Workers Born in Iife Division Compared to Workers Born Outside Iife Division	229
31.	Age of Residents in Surveyed Iilode Compound	237

32.	Age of Residents in Surveyed Akarabata Dwellings, 1969	246
33.	Distribution by Quarter of Crafts with Five or More Apprentices, 1968	261
34.	Formal Educational Attainments of Apprentices in Craft Types	268
35.	Plans of Teachers to Remain at Their Schools	279
36.	Teachers' Plans to Remain a Teacher Until Retirement	280
37.	Plans of Primary Teachers to Remain in Ife .	282
38.	Prestige Rankings by Teachers of Areas of Ife, 1969	284
39.	Prestige Rankings by Teachers of Communities in Western Nigeria, 1969	286
40.	Prestige Rankings by Teachers of Occupations, 1969	288- 289
41.	Prestige Rankings by Students of Areas of Ife, 1969	292
42.	Prestige Rankings of Communities in Western Nigeria by Students	294
43.	Prestige Rankings by Students of Occupations, 1969	295- 296
44.	Comparison of Occupations Which Were Three or More Rankings Different Between Prestige Rankings by Students and Those by Teachers	297

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Distribution of Yoruba-speaking Peoples in Relation to the Western State of Nigeria	86
2. Major Yoruba Urban Communities Cited in the Text	87
3. Ife Roads and Areas Cited in the Text	89
4. Distribution of Schools in Ife	139
5. Graph of the Numerical Distribution of Students in Ife Schools, 1968	167
6. Graph of Numerical Distribution of Young People in Ife Educational Programs and Processes, 1968	169
7. Diagram of the Compound (<u>Ile</u>) Area Surveyed in Ilode Quarter, 1969	236
8. Diagram of the Area Surveyed in Akarabata Layout, 1969	245
9. Development in Residential and Occupational Use of Space in Ife, 1950 to 1969	258
10. Distribution of Major Businesses and Offices in Ife, 1969	259
11. Distribution of Apprenticeship Crafts, 1968	260

LIST OF PLATES

Plate	Page
1. Street Scene in Modakeke	101
2. Several General Merchandise Stalls in Irewo Quarter	101
3. Lagere Street Scene near Akarabata	103
4. Portion of Major Market in Ife, Irewo	103
5. Loading Kola-nuts onto a Lorry in a section of Sabe	115
6. Water Tap in Irewo Quarter	115
7. Primary School in Ilare Quarter	127
8. Science Laboratory in a Secondary Grammar School in Okerewe Quarter	127
9. Chemistry Student in a Secondary Grammar School	132
10. Primary School Headmaster in his Office	132
11. Shoe-maker Cutting his Materials from an Old Tire, Okerewe Quarter	154
12. Printer Apprentices at Work, Irewo Quarter	154
13. Apprentices and Master (center, standing) of Tire-repair Craft Business, Lagere Quarter, near Koiwo Layout	155
14. Family Portrait in a Traditional <u>Ile</u> , Ilode Quarter	162
15. Street Scene in Ilode Quarter, near <u>Ile</u> Surveyed	242
16. Street Scene in Akarabata Layout	242
17. Residential Area, Senior Staff Quarters, University of Ife	264
18. Library (left) and Humanities Buildings, University of Ife	264

CHAPTER I
THE OBJECTIVES

The proposition that education is key to the modernization process in society finds perhaps its greatest support in the developing world. Throughout the writings about and within Africa on the topic of education one finds reference to the need for formal educational expansion, universal primary education, more universities, and extensive literacy campaigns.

The public apathy and suspicion that greeted the first efforts to introduce modern education into Africa have given way to an almost mystical faith in education as the indispensable key to personal and national progress.¹

Such support is manifest in the resolutions of the 1961 UNESCO Addis Ababa Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa. These resolutions included the call for attainment of universal and free primary education for all children throughout the continent by 1980/81. The plan must be seen in connection with the fact that in 1960/61 the enrollment figure for primary age children in all of Africa was only 40 percent.²

¹Ruth Sloan Associates, The Educated African, ed. by Helen Kitchen (New York: Praeger, 1962), p. 3.

²UNESCO, Final Report, Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa (Addis Ababa: United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, 1961), Section II, p. 11.

The recent era of independence in most sub-Saharan African countries has revealed a massive expansion of schooling, illustrating the adoption of this basic proposition by the new leaders of independent African states. As early as 1952, when greater responsibility was handed to Nigerians by the British colonial government there, the newly appointed Nigerian Minister of Education in the Western Region announced plans for achieving universal primary education, and in 1955 initiated free primary schooling in the Region for all children beginning at the age of 6 years. Between 1952 and 1960 primary school enrollments in the Western Region increased steadily from 398,100 to 1,124,788 students.¹

The acceptance of the proposition that more formal schooling leads to more economic and social development is based on the assumption that the resulting changes which will occur within society will be more beneficial than detrimental to the general development of the society. These changes can be viewed both from individual and from organizational perspectives. Expanded educational opportunity can allow more individuals to attain literacy, learn useful skills, and develop new ways of solving problems

¹Western Region of Nigeria, Annual Report of the Department of Education (Ibadan: Government Printer, 1952); Ministry of Economic Planning and Community Development, Statistical Division, Annual Abstract of Education Statistics, 1955-60 (Ibadan: Government Printer, 1961); p. 17.

and dealing with people; yet it can also raise personal expectations beyond the means of society to satisfy them, can break down traditional habits and mores which have significant value within the social context, and can lead to a rejection of often meaningful personal relationships, such as those with parents and elders. Expanding educational opportunity can increase the range of social relationships, prepare individuals for increasingly differentiated roles in a changing structure of society, and make it more possible for government, business, and industry to expand and assist in developing the overall economy; yet it also can contribute to conditions which may result in political upheavals as a result of increased personal isolation, a rejection of certain traditional modes of action, and an ethnic imbalance in educational attainments, can put severe financial restraint on other high priority development programs, and, if balance is not maintained for the entire educational system, can contribute to large-scale unemployment and strains on the urban economy.

It has been assumed that once certain detrimental or undesirable effects have been identified and analyzed sufficiently it is possible to correct them through adjustments in the relationships between education and society. The steps of such a process of adjusting this relationship to meet certain social needs and to minimize the detrimental effects are: identifying and describing the effects,

analyzing these effects, and prescribing how to make necessary adjustments.

Problems Related to Rapid Educational Expansion in Western Nigeria

The developing regions of the world--developing in the economic sense, rapidly changing in the social sense--are faced with some particularly significant problems at the present time as a result of rapid educational expansion. In Western Nigeria, for example, three significant problem areas have been identified and have received great attention. These are the unemployed school leaver, too-rapid social change, and extensive rural to urban migrations.

The unemployed school leaver is the young person--male or female--who has attended some school, but is unable or unwilling to find employment. He is sometimes illiterate in any language, but more often is literate and has achieved some level of higher primary or even secondary education. Most often he has left school before completing a particular level of schooling. Indeed, in the period 1960 to 1966 in Western Nigeria there were more pupils who attended primary or secondary level schools but did not complete their courses than there were pupils who attended those schools and did complete their courses.¹ One recent

¹International Labour Office Mission, "Education in a Rural Area of Western Nigeria" (unpublished Interim Report, Ministry of Economic Planning and Social Development, Ibadan, Western Nigeria, March, 1967), p. 3. (mimeographed)

report has estimated that each year in Western Nigeria there are 200,000 school leavers who " . . . are beginning to over stretch the provision of traditional family support and may well empty onto the streets of the big towns in a disillusioned dissatisfied young Nigeria ready perhaps, to take by force what they have failed to find."¹ The Committee on the Review of the Primary Education System in the Western State of Nigeria, which met in 1967 and 1968, has noted that "there is . . . [an important] factor on the debit side which cannot be overlooked. Since the early sixties, the economy and society have been landed with the problem of thousands of unemployed primary school leavers."² They continue with an assessment of the implications this problem has for the school system.

A little reflection will show that there can be no question of laying all the blame for this state of affairs at the door of free primary education. A major contributory factor was that although the economy has registered a moderately high growth rate as far as national income was concerned, not enough new jobs were generated for the thousands of primary school leavers to be absorbed. Nevertheless, the magnitude of unemployment among primary school leavers does raise serious questions about the existing primary education system which need to be examined afresh. We refer in particular to the aims and objectives of primary education in the Nigerian context,

¹ International Labour Office Mission, "The Background and Conditions of Unemployed School Leavers in Three Rural Towns of the Western State of Nigeria" (unpublished report, Ministry of Economic Planning and Social Development, Ibadan, Western Nigeria, November, 1967), p. 3

² Committee on the Review of the Primary Education System in the Western State of Nigeria, Report (Ibadan: Government Printer, Western State, 1968), p. 2. (Herein after referred to as the "Taiwo Report.")

the adequacy of the curriculum, the school-leaving age and the place of education within the framework of general planning for social and economic development.

A second major problem identified in connection with the rapid expansion of the school system is the rapid breakdown of traditional ways of life which are deemed as valued--so rapid that there has not been time for the individual and for society to adapt to the changes.

British education in Nigeria has tended to be a superficial imitation of western methods. However, it has succeeded in uprooting the young Nigerian from his way of life without actually giving him a satisfactory tool of living. As a result, the educated Nigerian is left confused, without root either in his African culture, or in the culture of the West of which he is trying hard to be a part. Having been encouraged to rebel from his culture and people, he remains a fugitive in his way of life, for the educated Nigerian has not yet found a place either in the culture of Africa nor in that of the West in which to reintegrate his personality and make an effective contribution to his people and humanity.²

Another author has written the same argument in a slightly different way:

One needs only to go to the less privileged areas of larger cities to observe the disastrous consequences of a loss of social group identity upon many of the young! Healthy individuality and sound personality are not built by surrendering all group loyalties but by supplementing and overlaying old loyalties with new.³

¹ Ibid., p. 2.

² P. Uduaroh Okeke, "Education for Efficiency: Knowledge for Use," in Education in Nigeria, ed. by Okechukwu Ikejiani (New York: Praeger, 1965), p. 105.

³ J. W. Hanson, "The Nation's Educational Purpose," in Ikejiani, op. cit., p. 30.

The traditional practices of education which were used by the Yoruba in Western Nigeria before the British imported their types of formal schooling are still seen today as having some validity within the Yoruba context:

It is true the great value placed on education has not only remained but has grown to an astonishing height, but education is now of a completely different character, aiming in theory, at fitting men and women into their society but in practice, making them semi-Europeans. Here probably lies the root of the criticism of our present educational system which tends to make people look down on their culture, and fails to fulfil as central a function as the indigenous education. With the growth of nationalism, people are again looking back to see if some aspects of the good past can still be rediscovered.¹

The rapid changes which are taking place include significant modifications of the traditional ways of marriage affiliations, residence, settlement patterns, occupational selection and training, handling delinquency and crime, political control, and inter-ethnic relations. The traditional relationships between village and town, village and village, and town and town are changing significantly as economic emphases shift toward more modern technology and toward greater dependency on urban activities and processes. Educational expansion is widening the range of occupational opportunities for individuals, resulting in a shift from a family and kinship basis to a more achievement basis of occupational selection. And within various communities with increased schooling there is obviously a shift from

¹A. Fajana, "Some Aspects of Yoruba Traditional Education," Odu, III, No. 1 (1966), p. 28.

the traditional practices of education. Some of these changes are not necessarily detrimental. But taken as a system of interrelated parts, the changes may be observed to be rapid, widespread, and obviously significantly affecting changes in the attitudes of all individuals.

The third major problem which is identified commonly with rapid educational expansion and which is receiving current attention is the increasing migration of people, particularly the more educated youth, from the rural to the urban areas of Western Nigeria. Although approximately three-fourths of all Nigerians are engaged in agricultural activities and live in the rural areas, the urban centers have grown dramatically in the past few decades. Although urbanization itself is not a problem, the effects of the specific types of migrations on the rural and the urban societies are considered as problem areas.

Two crucial educational problems are inherent in the early stages of urbanization in Middle Africa. First, urban educational opportunity far exceeds that found in the rural areas. . . .

A second problem concerns the drift of young people from rural areas to cities. These persons usually have attended and possibly completed primary schools and seek escape from rural life and farming.¹

One recent analyst of the urbanization processes in Nigeria has reached some critical conclusions:

¹Don Adams and Robert M. Bjork, Education in Developing Areas (New York: David McKay, 1969), p. 57.

. . . it is easy to see that Nigeria may be described as 'over-urbanized' from two causes. First, having emerged with numerous urban centres, most of which are not industrial in the modern sense, the country is faced, even from the start, with many people living in urban places for whom no modern urban employment is available. In the second place, the effect of the social amenities provided by the colonial administration has been to lower the death rate everywhere in the country and to force up the survival rate of the people. . . . for the rural areas, the impact of this growth of population was staggering. It led to a sharp reduction of the fallow period and a significant decline in soil fertility. The result was a massive exodus of population from rural to urban areas. The influx of migrants into the urban areas has been aggravated in the last ten years by a new wave of unemployed and sometimes unemployable young school leavers from the numerous schools opened in the rural areas since 1955.

The same author continues with the statement that "Today there is no doubt that Nigeria's level of urbanization is inconsistent with its stage of economic development."²

Since it is true that those who usually migrate to the urban areas are those with some schooling, such an assessment has great implications for educational policy and planning.

A Need for Systematic Research Studies

The identification of these three problems, and many others not mentioned--such as an over-emphasis in the school curriculum on academic subjects and an under-emphasis on technical and vocational subjects--does not

¹Akin L. Mabogunje, Urbanization in Nigeria (London: University of London Press, 1968), pp. 313-14.

²Ibid., p. 314.

inherently reveal a prescription for change. What is still needed are a series of analytical studies of these problems in a variety of spatial and temporal contexts. Current practices and policies in education are often based more on guesswork than on detailed study and understanding of the complexity of the issues. This is true in many areas of the world; it is perhaps more important in the developing areas, such as Western Nigeria, where funds are limited for education, human and physical resources are meager, and the demands by the public for educational expansion and change are so strong. Even recent reports and critical studies of Nigerian education have recognized this need for more research.¹

There are few known studies which can be considered an adequate view of life and society in the context of an urban community in Nigeria. Ethnographic studies have been based usually on study in particular communities, but have examined more often the traditional model of life and society than the empirical reality of those communities. For example, Bascom's ethnography of the Yoruba of Western Nigeria was based upon his study of life in Ile-Ife during the late 1930's.² The same general tendency for reliance

¹See the Taiwo Report, op. cit., p. 4.

²William Bascom, The Yoruba of Southwestern Nigeria, Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology, ed. by George and Louise Spindler (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969).

on traditional models characterizes Krapf-Askari's study of urban Yoruba society.¹ These portrayals of the Yoruba culture have been critically challenged elsewhere as static views:

Hoping, therefore, for fresh interpretation or at least stimulating introduction to an ethnic group of ten million members, we find instead mainly cataloguing. Needing insight into the complex process that has moved a people from the greatness of empire . . . to eminence in a major modernizing state . . . , we find instead static pictures.²

The student of Yoruba life and society normally is directed also to older studies by Schwab and Forde, the latter especially considered the classic work on Yoruba ethnography.³ Yet in each of these two works, one is unable to find evidence of social life which differs from the traditional patterns of kinship and residence which they portray.

Other, more recent works, written (perhaps significantly) usually by Nigerian scholars give one a greater insight into the dynamics of community life today. These would include books by Ojo, Mabogunje, and a composite

¹Eva Krapf-Askari, Yoruba Towns and Cities: An Enquiry into the Nature of Urban Social Phenomena (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).

²Dan Aronson, book review of Bascom, op. cit., and Krapf-Askari, op. cit., Africa Report, XV, No. 6 (1970), pp. 38-39.

³Notably the following: William B. Schwab, "Kinship and Lineage among the Yoruba," Africa, XXV, No. 4 (1955), pp. 352-74; Daryll Forde, The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples of South-Western Nigeria, Ethnographic Survey of Africa, ed. by Daryll Forde, Western Africa, Part IV (London: International African Institute, 1951).

selection edited jointly by Lloyd, Mabogunje and Awe.¹ These go far beyond (and below) the abstract models of kinship and residence, for example, to the physical, ecological, social and value systems and changes so apparent in present-day Yoruba communities, and provide more empirical reference for analysts of contemporary Yoruba society and its changes.

Also for the study of education in Yoruba society today, there is a deficiency in empirical reference. Most studies of education have focused attention on the schools and their impact on society.² Those which have gone beyond the schools provide useful insights into the varieties of non-formal educational processes.³ Yet these latter studies have been the result of examination of particular inquiries into specific problems or processes, without specific contextual reference. There is need, in short, for an examination of education in Yoruba culture within

¹P. C. Lloyd, A. L. Mabogunje, and B. Awe, The City of Ibadan: A Symposium on its Structure and Development (Cambridge: At the University Press, in association with the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, 1967); Akin Mabogunje, op. cit.; and G. J. Afolabi Ojo, Yoruba Culture (London: University of London Press and the University of Ife, 1966).

²L. J. Lewis, Society, Schools and Progress in Nigeria, in the series Society, Schools and Progress, ed. by E. J. King (Oxford: Pergamon, 1965); Ikejiani, op. cit.

³For example, see the following: James A. Majasan, "Yoruba Education: Its Principles, Practices and Relevance to Current Educational Development" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Ibadan, 1967); Archibald Callaway, "Nigeria's Indigenous Education: The Apprentice System," Odu, I, No. 1 (1964), pp. 62-79.

the context of a specific time and space.

The Objectives of the Thesis

It is to fill this gap in the coverage of studies of education in Yoruba culture, with reference to a specific time and space context, that this thesis is directed. As far as can be determined, there is no similar study of education in a specific urban context throughout the literature of education in sub-Saharan Africa. Hopefully, therefore, this study will fill an even larger gap in the study of education in Africa.

The motivations for the field work which provided the empirical data for this thesis included the desire to learn more about the three previously identified problems in education in Western Nigeria. Rather than begin with a theoretical position of testing a specific hypothesis which would attempt to explain the factors of the unemployed school leaver, the too-rapid social change, or the rural to urban migrations of school leavers, it was believed that the larger goal of achieving a detailed study of education and social life in an urban community in Western Nigeria would provide a greater understanding of each of these problems. At least, it was believed, it would provide some new perspective on these problems. It was also believed that such specific empirical reference would provide a basis for a greater understanding of the range of other problems--some identified, some latent--which are

associated with education in an urban context.

The first basic objective for this study, therefore, has been to provide a description of educational processes and forms within an urban context. The urban context was chosen on the premise that urban life is where the most significant economic and social developments are taking place in Western Nigeria and, indeed, throughout the world. The significance of these developments is fairly well documented by the attention that urban phenomena are receiving in current literature.

The second basic objective has been to relate these educational processes to patterns of, and changes in, the social context in which they are identified. Specifically, there has been an attempt to learn more about the three basic problems, and their interrelatedness, within one context.

A third basic objective has been to fill a large gap in the ethnographic literature on the subject of education. Whereas most ethnographic and social surveys of life in the Yoruba cultural setting are detailed in their descriptions of kinship, residence, economic processes, and religious practices and beliefs, there is little information on the current description of forces which are affecting change in these patterns and processes. Attention to processes in formal schooling and in other educational processes may supply some of this vital information.

The Context Chosen for this Study

The study was conducted during a twenty-four month period beginning in October, 1967. The community chosen was Ile-Ife (sometimes identified simply as Ife), an urban community of 130,000 population according to the 1963 Census. All of the approximately 10 million Yoruba in Western Nigeria claim Ife as their "ancestral home."¹ Ife is one of the oldest permanent settlements of this area of Nigeria, and hence in some ways can be classified as a "traditional" Yoruba center. The study was conducted while the researcher was Lecturer in Education at the nearby University of Ife, located about 5 miles from the residential boundary of Ife.

The Sequence of the Research

The field work began as a descriptive study of education within the community. This required an operational definition of the community and of its education. To facilitate this, a methodology commonly known within anthropology as the "community study method" was utilized, which allowed an empirical definition of these concepts to be developed. The study was therefore directed initially toward the processes and patterns of community life, from which an empirical definition of its educational processes

¹See Bascom, op. cit., p. 9.

and patterns could be abstracted and analyzed.

During the course of the field work in the first year, two particular patterns of behavior within the community emerged from the data as being particularly significant and worthy of detailed study. It was found that there was a very high turnover of staffing at the schools. During other phases of the research, it was noted that this occupational mobility extended to other occupations. Secondly, it was found that with this mobility was a high rate of residential or geographic mobility within and through the community. Whereas this was to be expected for certain individuals, as part of the general trend of migration of peoples from the rural to the urban areas, as documented in other studies, it was not expected to also include an extensive mobility within the community and between it and other communities of comparable size. This occupational and residential mobility also seemed to correlate highly with formal educational attainment.

On the basis of this preliminary analysis of the data, a hypothesis was formulated for further testing of the relationship between educational attainment and this occupational and residential mobility. This further testing was considered to be heuristic, in that it would provide a more systematic examination of the data collected throughout the field work, and would provide greater insight into various factors related to the particular problems chosen for original consideration.

The Organization of the Thesis

The organization of the thesis report does not parallel the sequence of research work, as will become evident in Chapter Three. Chapter Two examines the methodology of the entire study. The process of formulating a methodology for the study of education in an urban community preceded the field work; but obviously refinements and the development of a specific hypothesis grew out of a continuing relationship between the overall theoretical approach and the accumulation of empirical evidence.

Chapter Three presents the sequence of field work and details the techniques of data collection and analysis. It also presents the details of the methodology and techniques of testing the hypothesis. It is felt very strongly that too often theses and comparable research findings do not spend adequate time and space detailing procedures, problems, pit-falls, dead-ends, triumphs, successes, and personal reactions of the field researcher. The evaluation of one's own work is never a completely objective exercise. The reader, both at present and in future, may be a better judge of the reliability of the data-gathering processes and of the validity of the analyses, if these aspects of the research are given in substantial detail.

Questionnaires, interview schedules, and other major documents used in field work, as well as certain tables of data, are in the Appendix.

Chapter Four contains historical and social information on the community of Ife, including references to ethnographic and other related material on the Yoruba and on Ife. Beginning with the ecological and other physical characteristics, this survey continues into morphological and demographic features of present-day Ife. A brief outline of the history of Ife is interwoven with a descriptive view of the patterns of the community and of the life of the people.

Chapter Five links the previous Chapter and the one to follow. It is a descriptive view of the varieties of educational forms and processes. Thus it indicates descriptively additional features of the community, and also provides the background for Chapter Six which is devoted to the features of mobility and attrition within the educational system.

Chapter Seven is devoted to the reporting of the investigation of the specific hypothesis linking education and occupational and residential mobility. This Chapter describes the extent of this mobility.

Chapter Eight synthesizes and analyzes the information presented in the previous Chapters, and thus concludes the examination of the hypothesis. Although this analysis could have been presented as part of the previous Chapter, it has been more convenient to separate the description of the mobility from the analysis of it.

Chapter Nine concludes the thesis report with a

summary of findings as they relate to the initial concerns and specific hypothesis investigation. The implications of the findings are presented, concluding with recommendations for further study.

CHAPTER II

THE METHODOLOGY OF A STUDY OF EDUCATION AND
SOCIAL CHANGE IN A COMMUNITY CONTEXT

Foster has suggested that for most of the colonial areas, the transfer of educational institutions from the metropole to traditional social environments occurred with ". . . minimal changes in structure but maximal shifts in social function."¹ By viewing the schools as merely one type of educational institution and the educational processes taking place within the schools as only some of the more general processes of education, however, one may postulate the following: As a direct result of the colonial presence and activity in the traditional social environment, although the function of education in its broader meaning changes minimally within the defined social environment, the forms (structures) of education change maximally.

These two postulates are not contradictory, but complementary. Examination of the conceptual meaning of terms reveals the usefulness of each statement methodologically for the study of education. In the first postulate, educational institutions are those social forms

¹Philip Foster, Education and Social Change in Ghana, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965), p. 7.

which missionaries, and later others, going to traditional social environments assumed to be the most appropriate for the teaching of literacy; modern industrial skills, and western social mores and customs. What was taught was what was felt to be needed for a civilized, Christian, and commercial society, both in these traditional social environments and in the metropolitan environments. The social forms were the schools in the metropolitan societies; these were assumed necessary, therefore, for the traditional societies.

The structure of these social forms was basically a set of relationships between a teacher and a group of young people, nominally in a ratio of about one to twenty or thirty, assembling in a given place at regular intervals and for regular periods of time, for certain stated purposes agreed upon by most of the participants. There were evaluation procedures which led over a period of time to the granting of diplomas or other written documents which certified the attainment of certain skills and attitudes agreed upon by the participants as normative.

The effect of these processes, structured as they were in this form, was to be known, in this first postulate, as their function. This effect could be discerned in the social context in which the processes took place:

In the metropole itself formal schools were generally functional in terms of the maintenance of a traditional system of social stratification and diverse

patterns of behaviour in various aspects of life. They facilitated social mobility for certain groups and individuals and yet at the same time controlled mobility in such a manner as to maintain the viability of the system. These same institutions were dysfunctional in terms of the particular type of social structure found in Ghana.

Thus, whereas the basic social form (structure) of education (what took place in the schools) remained essentially intact in the transfer to the traditional social contexts, the effect on (its function within) the society was distinctly different.

This first postulate can be useful for the study of the western form of education, the schools, commonly examined in the literature of comparative education. Indeed, such a relationship helps to analyze the impact of schooling in different social environments--in the metropole and in the traditional societies under colonial rule. Moreover, in social contexts where there is extensive formal schooling, the effect of school educational processes on society is sufficiently evident to encourage deductions about the role of such education on the formation, continuity, changes, and specific problems of society. Such deductions have led to useful hypotheses and, through their study in several specific social contexts, to the development of useful taxonomies and classifications of educational forms and processes, educational issues, and effects on society of education cross-culturally.

¹ Ibid., p. 7.

These classifications to be truly valid cross-culturally must be applicable to all social contexts. Yet it is evident that this is not the case. Anthropologists have empirical evidence to indicate that societies can exist without these formal educational structures. They have shown that societies can change without these structures. And they have shown that many of the same educational effects--such as skill training, political socialization, concept formation, and social class formation--can be the result of processes taking place within other social forms, such as apprenticeship or the family. Therefore, although the validity of the first postulate cannot be questioned on logical grounds within the context of its conceptual meanings, its relevance to the study of education cross-culturally can be on the basis of empirical evidence.

The first postulate is said to lead to the analysis of the relationship between education and social change. Such an analysis, as is commonly practiced in social science, is an attempt to explain the phenomena being studied--in this case, education and its role in social change in a traditional social context. It has been claimed that such an attempt to explain this relationship can be termed a functional analysis.¹

¹Ibid., pp. 6-10.

Functional Analysis

Functional analysis within the realm of social science has been based on an analogy with functional analysis within the biological sciences. The latter method of explanation of biological phenomena assumes that one can explain the relationship between a part and the whole of an organism if the effect and the purpose (function) of the part can be logically established in the maintenance or life of the whole organism. The function of the heart, for example, is to pump blood containing nutrients, oxygen, and other vital elements necessary to maintain the life of the organism. If the heart were removed or ceased to operate, then the organism would die, unless something could be substituted to perform this pumping process. By such an analysis of the purpose of the part in the maintenance of the organism as a living entity, one could explain the part in relationship to the viable organism. Such functional analysis of various organisms and their parts has contributed significantly to the understanding of biological activity. Through the comparisons of such analyses in various animals, it has been possible to classify the animals, their structures and processes, and their various parts, in a branch of biological science known as comparative anatomy and comparative physiology. Taxonomies of animal life have

resulted, based on empirical observations and analyses using functional analysis. And the formulation of hypotheses for further study has extended the utility of these taxonomies. The same is true for the fields of botany.

Functional analysis was adopted by sociology and anthropology for the study of relationships between various institutions or processes and the society in which they are empirically studied. Malinowski claimed that society was analogous to a biological organism, and went so far as to explain certain customs and cultural processes in terms of their satisfying certain needs of society, just as certain organs and processes of a biological organism satisfied certain needs of that organism. If these needs were not satisfied, then culture or society would change.¹

Durkheim previously had alluded to the parallels between society and organic life, and even wrote of the "organic solidarity" of a society.²

Radcliffe-Brown criticized the functional analysis of Malinowski for his having left out of the theory of

¹Bronislaw Malinowski, The Dynamics of Culture Change: An Inquiry into Race Relations in Africa, ed. by Phyllis M. Kaberry (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), pp. 62-63.

²Emile Durkheim, The Rules of Sociological Method, ed. by G. E. G. Catlin, trans. by S. A. Solovay and J. H. Mueller (New York: The Free Press, 1966), p. xlvi.

culture and cultural change the significant role of the structure of society itself. No part, said Radcliffe-Brown, could be explained except with reference to the maintenance of the structure of society or to changes in that structure.¹

Merton distinguished between manifest and latent functions of aspects of society. The manifest functions of a social element or process were those recognized by the participants within the society. To explain social phenomena it was necessary also to discover the latent functions, discernable only to the observer.²

Comparative education has attempted to draw upon the sociologist's adoption of functional analysis. A primary concern of comparative education is the study of education and society (or social change), first through a series of area studies in particular societies employing particular hypotheses, and second through the formulation of classifications and taxonomies through the comparative analysis of several social areas.³

It is perhaps natural that the utility of studying social phenomena employing such area studies, testing of

¹A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, Structure and Function in Primitive Society: Essays and Addresses (New York: The Free Press, 1965), p. 12.

²Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (2nd ed.; New York: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 19-84.

³George Z. F. Bereday, Comparative Method in Education, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964), pp. 8-10.

hypotheses in various social contexts, and the attempt to formulate cross-cultural comparisons through functional analysis in sociology and anthropology be attractive to comparative educators. It has been posited in one recent book that there are two major methods of explaining education and society or changes in society in comparative education: The historical method and the functional analysis method.¹

It is not easy to challenge the usefulness or even the general validity of functional analysis, either in its use in sociology and anthropology or its adoption by comparative education. Nevertheless, there are some useful questions and challenges which have been forwarded by the philosopher of science, Carl Hempel, and which demand attention here. Hempel does not challenge the validity or utility of functional analysis as it has been borrowed from the biological sciences to test hypotheses about specific social phenomena in specific societies under specific conditions. This can lead to important knowledge about various societies. But the step from these tested hypotheses to taxonomic systems and to their comparative utility is not deductive, but is won only through the accumulation of extensive empirical evidence. He points out that one can not deductively formulate valid

¹Andreas M. Kazamias and Byron G. Massialas, Tradition and Change in Education: A Comparative Study (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965), p. 13.

taxonomies of conceptual relationships involving society, social change, social patterns, and social problems. These classifications, categories, or taxonomies can result only after extensive investigation of the same hypothesis in a wide variety of social contexts and under a wide variety of conditions. Comparative anatomy and physiology, for example, have been based on results of detailed studies--some experimental, which are difficult to perform in social contexts--of individual organisms or species, and have not been based on deductive reasoning. Similarly, postulates on the evolutionary nature of society and on classifications of societies, social problems, and social change can not be the result of logico-deductive reasoning, but are preliminary, hypothetical conclusions based on knowledge already gained through study of only a few individual societies.¹

Hempel's discussion of the concept of "functional equivalents" has been useful. If it is found that in a society a particular cultural process or item can be substituted or found empirically to function in the same way, these can be termed functional equivalents within the society. In this way, a school could be said to be functionally equivalent to the family in particular socialization

¹Carl G. Hempel, "The Logic of Functional Analysis," in Readings in the Philosophy of the Social Sciences, ed. by May Brodbeck (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1968), pp. 179-210.

processes. Hempel has pointed out that, where such equivalents are empirically evident, the term function can not be used in the same sense as in biology or the other natural sciences, where the function of a specific part is said to be the necessary process to satisfy a condition for the maintenance or survival of the organism. Since the supposed utility of functional analysis as a means of explanation is in its logical nature of indicating necessary and sufficient cause, this ability to explain is lost when equivalents can be discovered empirically. By utility also is meant the ability to develop meaningful comparisons of structures and processes through taxonomies of the relationships of social forms and processes based on these explanations of social phenomena in the widest possible range of social contexts.

The Concept of Education in Comparative Analysis

Socialization processes may be defined as the formative processes of society; and enculturation processes may be defined as the formative processes of a culture. These definitions have been employed by certain sociologists and anthropologists in their study of human society and culture. These studies have encompassed a wide range of societies: from traditional, transitional, to modern; from primitive to civilized; large-scale to small-scale; folk societies to urban communities; and a variety of other classifications based on various economic, political,

and social criteria. In brief, they have ranged across nearly all types of social contexts. There are some notable works in this area of social science, works that are of interest to educators and educationalists, since they have involved the study of these processes in traditional, non-western, and small-scale societies of the world.¹

Comparative education, on the other hand, traditionally has referenced a smaller range of social contexts. This has normally included European or European-influenced societies, in which formal, western schooling has been the primary focus. Basic texts in this field have confined their attention largely to those societies. Recently, some texts have included traditionally non-western societies, but have continued to focus on the formal, western schools and their effects.²

Much of the vocabulary, concepts, and methodology of anthropology has had an impact on other comparative

¹See for example the following: Otto Baum, Chagga Childhood (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940); Margaret Read, Children of Their Fathers: Growing Up Among The Ngoni of Nyasaland (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959); and Margaret Mead, Growing Up In New Guinea (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1930).

²See for example the following: John Francis Cramer and George Stephenson Browne, Contemporary Education: A Comparative Study of National Systems, (2nd ed.; New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1965); Kazamias and Massialas, op. cit.; Edmund J. King, Other Schools And Ours: A Comparative Study For Today (3rd ed.; New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967).

disciplines, notably political science.¹ This impact came after the interests of these other disciplines shifted beyond the western to the non-western societies, and after the realization that the concepts, theories, and methodology used for the study of western societies were not sufficient to explain the existence and purposes and effects of specific processes within non-western societies. The validity of the concepts and methodology within anthropology could not be challenged as easily, since they had been developed in wider social contexts.

It has been indicated above that classifications and taxonomies for comparative analysis can be achieved not through logico-deductive reasoning, but only through the application of hypotheses in the widest possible range of social contexts. It is obvious that comparative education can not draw upon the results of many of its studies in western societies in which schools are in such evidence, in order to validly explain phenomena of education in societies in which schools do not exist. For the same reason, it is not valid to use this same methodology for the study of education in societies in which the schools are not universal or account for only some of the processes of education. There are, therefore, reasons for re-examining the entire body of theory of comparative education, to

¹Notably, Gabriel Almond and James S. Coleman, The Politics Of The Developing Areas (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960).

reconcile its attempts to be truly cross-cultural, meaningful for the full range of social contexts.¹

Since the concepts of enculturation or socialization as defined above can apply to all social contexts, and since the concept of schools as defined and used commonly does not apply to all social contexts, there is heuristic value--a relevance to taxonomies being developed within comparative education--in expanding the concerns of education studied in all societies to those encompassed in the concept of enculturation. Although for the study of schools and school processes current taxonomies within comparative education are often useful for the study of processes in societies in which schooling is extensive, these taxonomies may not apply with precision to those societies where schools are not universal or are not present at all.

In one sense, education may refer to the ". . . inculturation in each generation of certain knowledge, skills, and attitudes by means of institutions, such as schools, deliberately created for this end."² Here the focus of inquiry would obviously be on the institutions which have manifest educational goals as the criterion of definition, "educational goals" referring to desired changes in manifest or

¹See particularly, Jules Henry, "A Cross-Cultural Outline of Education," Current Anthropology, I (July, 1960), pp. 267-305.

²George F. Kneller, Educational Anthropology: An Introduction (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1965), p. 7.

latent behavior of individuals within those institutions. It is this use of the terms which can be employed in studies of the processes of initiation into secret societies, of learning to be an apprentice, or of becoming a good soldier in a military camp. The conceptual limits lie beyond the processes of the school, extending to the broader interests in institutions of society in which certain processes are seen to be operating. Recently there have been a few studies of the educational processes in Koranic schools¹ and in the Yoruba family and community.² Since institutions (defined here as social forms) are usually easily identifiable, they provide a convenient beginning for any study of educational processes.

An even more comprehensive concept of education includes every process, except the genetic, that helps to form a person's mind, character, behavior, or physical capacity.³ There is no specific reference to institutions, such as the school or family, but a focus on the individual and the changes in his potential to act. These changes are described in terms of manifest or observable behavior:

¹Basirū Tukur, "Koranic Schools in Northern Nigeria," West African Journal of Education, VII (October, 1963), pp. 149-152.

²Majasan, op. cit.

³Kneller, op. cit., p. 11.

Taking education in its widest sense, we see readily that it is a process which lasts through life. Every new status which an individual acquires, every new condition of life, such as marriage, parenthood, maturity, and old age, have to be learned, in that the individual has to adjust gradually and by the acquisition of new attitudes, new ideas,¹ and also new social duties and responsibilities.

In this sense, education as a concept includes the general process of the transmission of culture. In this sense, every society supervises (implicitly and explicitly) the education of its members:

Education, then, belongs to the general process known as enculturation, by which the growing person is initiated into the ways of life of his society.²

This concept lends itself well to comparative analysis of education, since it makes it possible to compare educational forms, processes, problems, and effects in any and all social contexts--whether or not schooling is absent or extensive.

Using the broader concept of educational processes without reference necessarily to particular institutions, it is possible to study the overall set of relationships between education and society, and claim that this validly explains the relationship. It can be posited that such a relationship may be considered functional, in the same sense as its use in the biological sciences.

¹Bronislaw Malinowski, Freedom and Civilization (London: Allen and Unwin, 1947), p. 141.

²Kneller, op. cit., p. 12.

The analogy of this form of analysis begins with the treatment of concepts. As an organism can be treated as an entity, a society can be treated conceptually as an entity. This entity need be neither static nor unchanging; it is merely a conceptual entity for analytical treatment. A living organism is constantly in a process of change; this involves the decay of certain cells and the production of others. It is the concept of the life of the organism which is examined by the analyst. Similarly, a society is constantly undergoing change; this can be with respect to its component parts or its structure or its processes. The society is defined empirically through a set of procedures of observation and definition. The analogy is not with respect to the structural or processual differences--these are the result of the analytical procedures of concept definition (developing operational definitions), observation (providing empirical referents), and the abstraction of the conceptual entity (the treatment of the empirical reference data).

A component part of this whole or entity may be isolated conceptually for particular study. The heart, the circulatory system, or other organic part may be a detailed object of attention. Similarly, a school, a church, economic system or other aspect such as a particular learning process may be isolated from the whole for attention.

Within the biologist's use of the functional

relationship between a part and the organic whole, or aspects of the whole within which one examines a specific part, the critical operation is the way one conceptually treats the part. It is not the specific structure or form of that part which "functions." In the above example, artificial hearts may be substituted to allow the maintenance of the whole as a living organism. Rather it is the behavior of that part which functions. If it can be said that the heart functions to circulate the blood, thus allowing the organism to live, it is the process by which the circulation takes place which is the functional link to the life of the organism. Similarly, it is not the schools which function to educate members of the society, thus allowing the society to exist over a period of time (including across generations), but the processes taking place within the school. The family, apprenticeship, or other systems or parts of society may exhibit processes which can (and in some societies do) perform these operations or produce these same effects. It is the processes of education which are the functional links to the society. These may be, or may not be, school processes, but must be empirically defined within the specific context.

Any focus of inquiry into the process whereby a society is structured, is changing, is existing, as a viable entity, therefore, must illumine the overall formative processes of the society. A study of the schools, or of Koranic schools, or of apprenticeship,

not only must focus attention on the 'processes' taking place within those institutions, but must also include reference to other educational processes possibly taking place outside these institutions within the social context being examined--that is, if any functional analysis is to be attempted, and if any valid explanation is to be claimed. It is not sufficient, for example, to inquire into the functional relationship of the processes of political socialization in schools to the voting patterns of the society, if such socialization can be found, or might be found, also operating within the institutions of the church, the family, mass media, or peer group relationships, or even more informally. It is not sufficient, for example, to examine only the relationships between the schools' processes and the formation of occupational status if the formation of occupational status is also the result of processes taking place outside the schools.

Moreover, a focus on processes within institutions may not be sufficient to explain certain other social processes or patterns in a functional analysis. If a society is viewed merely as a composite system of institutions (i.e., political, kinship, economic, religious, educational), then such a sufficient relationship can be claimed as valid. But if by institutions is implied social points of assemblage or forms of social relationships

which are peculiar to a given social context, there is a danger of not seeing relevant processes at work outside those particular institutions.

The latter point is stressed for the study of education in a non-western social context. In societies in which the formal school system is not comprehensive, but is only one type of institution (used in the second sense above of particular social points of assemblage or forms) operating in the society, it is not valid to claim that these school processes function to produce social differentiation and the distribution of political and economic status. Neither is it valid to claim that structural-functional analysis of schools in their relationship to processes of elite formation, social differentiation, and the distribution of political and economic status "explains" the phenomena being investigated.¹

This is the theoretical basis for a study of education cross-culturally. First, it focuses on educational processes rather than institutions or processes within institutions exclusively. This focus on processes is essential to any functional explanation. Second, it demands more careful attention to the boundaries of the social context being examined, so that all processes within that context may be examined for their possible relevance to the processes being studied.

¹As has Foster. Foster, op. cit., pp. 6-10.

In summary of this discussion, the following may be postulated. First, only a study of education in its broadest conceptual meaning of enculturation or socialization processes may be used in a valid study of a functional relationship between education and society or social change. Second, a study of the processes of education, rather than the structure or forms of education, is necessary to establish functional relationships-- although these must be made with reference to the structure or form of these processes or of the personnel interactions in which they are observed.¹ Third, functional analysis may provide useful knowledge within the field of comparative education, when it is used in studies in widely differing social contexts.

The Use of The Community Study Method

There is a valid relationship between the above theoretical framework and the community study method. This method, more recently elaborated in works by Arensberg and Kimball, and by Vidich, Bensman and Stein, has grown out of the study of society and social problems in a widely varied set of social contexts: The modern industrial state, transitional societies (undergoing rapid social

¹Reference to the structural aspects of education is necessary to provide the understanding of the organization of these processes. But the structure in this sense is an abstraction of empirical processes, and gives no clue inherently to the processes taking place in the real world. See Radcliffe-Brown, op. cit., pp. 9-14.

change, perhaps due to the impact of acculturation), and small-scale rural societies.¹ The community study method is not simply the study of a community, in the colloquial sense. Rather it is a method for the examination of social or cultural behavior and interaction. It assumes an empirical reality--an on-going set of behavior which can be observed and examined for its patterns and interrelationships of its parts. A discussion of the reality of the "community" is epistemological, and does not require any more than the assumption of its existence. For the analytical treatment of this behavior, therefore, the community is a conceptual entity, the result of a method of observation and analysis of empirical reality, whether it be large-scale, small-scale, self-contained, or a part of a larger segment of social reality. Within this methodology, the community is both an object and a sample.²

The community as an object for study begins with the empirical definition of the ecological and spacial dimensions. A community is located in a given area and over a given area. The definition continues with

¹Conrad M. Arensberg and Solon T. Kimball, Culture and Community (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1965). Also see Arthur J. Vidich, Joseph Bensman, and Maurice R. Stein, Reflections on Community Studies (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1964).

²Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., pp. 7-27.

reference to the people who congregate and disperse, within the spatial context.¹ The factor of time enters into the empirical definition, in terms of the rhythms and patterns of social life. In this way social organization and processes are identified and defined. Doing a community study reveals the ". . . systems comprising interactional regularities and cultural behavior in an environmental context."² The community as an object is a focus of inquiry in which its limits, as well as its structure and processes and patterns, are defined by empirical reference.

This treatment is accompanied by a process of defining the community as a sample of larger reality. A particular place of time or group of people must be identified in relationship to other places, times, and groups. Here Arensberg and Kimball suggest that any study must satisfy the questions of representativeness, completeness, inclusiveness, and cohesiveness. Which community should be studied? What relationship does it have to others nearby or similar to it? How similar? Is the community an entity which can exist independently of others? In what ways can it not? If it is representative of a larger social context, in what ways does it contain features which

¹The reference to the individuals may precede the establishment of the spatial aspects. Their relationships do not require that one precedes the other.

²Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., p. 4.

replicate the larger context or other sections of the larger context? How integrated is it? In what ways do the sections or different aspects of it interrelate? These are questions for empirical definition within a chosen context, and provide aspects of the total definition of the community as both object and sample.¹

What this signifies is that the community study method can be used for inquiry into a problem:

Community study is that method in which a problem (or problems) in the nature, interconnections, or dynamics of behavior and attitudes is explored against or within the surround of other behavior and attitudes of the individuals making up the life of a particular community. It is a naturalistic, comparative method.

In short, what the method ultimately allows is a set of data which can assist in defining the nature of the setting in which a study is to be made, and in defining the limits of the setting and the ties which it has to a larger context. Further, it allows for a detailed analysis of a particular problem or set of problems.

A tie to the previous discussion of the theoretical basis for the functional analysis of education and society is fairly obvious. For any meaningful study of a specific problem involving education, there must be careful attention to the total processes of the social context-- that is, if a valid functional analysis is to be claimed--

¹ Ibid., pp. 13-14.

² Ibid., p. 29.

and such a social context may be defined through the community study method. Such a study requires reference to alternative educational processes whether or not they are institutionalized or more informal. It requires reference to these within the whole context of the study. And it requires reference to ties to processes outside the context. The community study method provides this rigorous treatment, allowing a more valid set of deductions.

Thus the methodology not only begins with the process of defining the structure and processes of the community, empirically, but also allows for the determination of educational processes and forms. For a study which rejects a focus on the institutional processes of schools as sufficient for a study of education, this method provides a natural link between theory and field techniques.

Specific communities (or social contexts for study) have their own alternative educational forms and processes. Many of these have been empirically identified in a variety of contexts. The specific set of alternatives of a given community must be established empirically, however.

The Inductive Approach to a Systematic Study of Education in a Community

There is often cause for the postponement of the study of a specific hypothesis until after field work has begun. The community study method can often lead

44

to the development of a more empirically valid model of community life and patterns. And it can often lead to the formulation, therefore, of a more empirically relevant hypothesis for the study of a particular context:

Anyone who studies a community is as much changed by his work, even while in the midst of it, as the community he studies. During the research and his personal experience of it, the investigator is led into interests and problems that were initially outside the scope of his imagination, so that only with the passage of time does his own work inevitably become fairly sharply defined.

Such an inductive approach to the study of society and social problems assumes that significant, relevant problems and patterns may be discovered in the course of field work, through constant examination and re-examination of the data obtained. This examination is made with constant reference to the basic objectives of the study. Although this approach is perhaps more time-consuming (and often more frustrating), it can often lead to more relevant results. Perhaps the statement which expresses this approach best is the following:

The empirical, inductive method must deny itself the tidy constructions used so frequently and with such good results by those with logico-deductive reasoning. The models it creates are not derived from the use of logical rules which govern the manipulation of symbols, as in mathematics, but are won from raw data themselves, as knowledge of their inter-connectedness and processes unfolds from the facts gained in observational research. In this sense they are "living" models rather than logical ones. Hence those who use

¹Vidich, Bensman, and Stein, op. cit., p. vii.

hypotheses as the basis for testing speculations about any phenomenon largely lose their advantage in unknown social territory. The researcher must often learn within the field situation itself the questions he must ask.

Reasons for formulation and testing of a specific hypothesis are strong. It provides for a more systematic organization of the field data. It facilitates comparisons later to results of testing in other contexts or at other times. And it often assists in a more complete analysis and in the drawing of more meaningful conclusions.

As will be discussed in the next chapter, the data obtained in the early phases of the research were examined and led to the proposal and testing of a specific hypothesis for further study. It is evident that this testing did provide a more convenient and systematic organization of the field work data.

Summary of Chapter Two

This chapter has developed a methodology for the study of education in a specific social context. The study of education which focuses merely on the schools is rejected as being valid for any functional analysis of the relationship between education and society or its patterns and changes, whether or not the schools are the main concern of the study. A review of functional analysis as a method

¹Arensberg and Kimball, op. cit., p. 5.

of explaining such relationships has revealed that such a study requires attention to educational processes, whether they be within certain institutions of a particular social context or informal processes within that context. Functional analysis as a valid instrument of explanation requires particular attention to the definitions of the limits to, as well as to the structure and processes within, the social context.

The community study method provides the basic approach necessary for establishing both the overall social processes and patterns of the community which may be examined abstractly in terms of their educational aspects, and the conceptual limits to the social context required for a functional analysis. This method also allows for the development of a more empirically relevant model of the community (the social context) being examined, a model which, upon analytical treatment during field work, can reveal more relevant hypotheses for a systematic study of the original problems under investigation. This inductive approach is believed to produce a more relevant set of conclusions than the more limiting study of testing an original hypothesis.

CHAPTER III
FIELD TECHNIQUES, PROCEDURES, ASSUMPTIONS,
AND THE FORMULATION OF A
SPECIFIC HYPOTHESIS

Based on arguments already presented, if a valid use of functional analysis is to be attempted in an urban social context, the task is at least formidable, if not entirely impracticable. First, it is formidable because the necessarily broad survey of educational processes would require the identification and study of all the ways by which individuals learn from their environment--that is, the ways by which all individuals in a given social context (the community) learn from that context. This would require attention to all facets of community life, in reality an impossible task for the observer.

Second, it is formidable because it requires observation of behavior over an appreciable period of time. Particularly if changes are to be discerned, a dichronic study is imperative. Societies may be undergoing rapid structural or processual change; but even a synchronic study requires field work which takes time for completion, in most ethnographic studies a period of many months or even years.

Third, it is formidable since a community having a

population of over 130,000 and spread over an area of several square miles can not be surveyed, much less studied in detail, easily or quickly. There are simply too many activities, events, and interactions to allow a comprehensive study. Ife, moreover, has over 60 formal schools with more than 15,000 students; even meaningful coverage of the formal school processes demands many months of study.

It is clear then that if a reasonable approximation to the stated model of the study of education in a community is to be attained, there must be special attention to procedures of field work and to assumptions about what is and what is not to be studied in detail. This chapter is devoted to details of these concerns and of the testing of the specific hypothesis chosen for detailed examination.

The History of the Research Formulation

The study began with the decision to carry out a survey of education in an urban community context in Western Nigeria. This researcher had previously spent two years teaching Physics in a secondary grammar school in the Ijebu Province of Western Nigeria, 1961-63. This school was located on the periphery of a community of about 20,000 population, which could be classified as a small urban center. This town offered the researcher a model of an urban community in which to perform the study as the research design was formulated.

After completing course work at Teachers College, Columbia University, the researcher obtained a position as Lecturer in the Department of Education, University of Ife, Nigeria, for two years beginning in October, 1967. Research grants could not be obtained for full-time research in Nigeria. It seemed practical, therefore, to accept the position as Lecturer. This was based on several other reasons. The position allowed for part-time research activity. The role and status of Lecturer, particularly in Education, was highly respected by almost all Nigerians, thus allowing entry, and usually a warm acceptance, into most aspects of community life. The researcher would also be able to be of some service to Nigeria.

The civil war (in "Biafra" and neighboring parts of Nigeria) was known not to have affected Western Nigeria in dramatic ways, either economically or structurally, and certainly did not appear to affect significantly the nature of the educational system or most parts of community life there. It also did not appear to affect the field work in recognizable ways.

The assumption upon arrival in Nigeria was that the University of Ife, located temporarily in Ibadan, would be sufficiently close to a community of the size 20,000 to 50,000 to allow frequent field work. Upon arrival, however, it was discovered that the Department of Education, established during the month of that arrival, was to be located at the new campus outside Ife, not in Ibadan.

During the first month (October, 1967) a decision was reached that the study would be of the community of Ife. Examination of distances, conditions of roads, and types and distribution of nearby communities of various size indicated that there would be major problems of travel and time for such a survey. More importantly, Ife appeared to be a reasonable choice, in spite of its much greater size than planned. A major factor was the discovery during the first month that the University's Institute of African Studies was planning an interdisciplinary study into the history and culture of Ife. Discussions with the acting Director revealed his keen interest in including a survey of educational alternatives, particularly that of traditional forms of education, within the "Ife Research Scheme." The Scheme was to include study into the archaeology, history, religious practices, economy, and traditional social organization of Ife. Thus the problem of the size of Ife was counterbalanced by the attractive aspects of coordinating research efforts with specialists in several relevant fields, particularly those of history, economics, and social anthropology. Moreover, funds were available through the Institute for research work.

The criteria for the selection of Ife extended beyond the advantages of work within the Scheme. First, Ife was truly representative of a traditionally urban Yoruba community, a focal point for all Yoruba-speaking peoples (See Chapter Four). Some written information about Ife before

the first visits by Europeans in the nineteenth century was available, extending back to the sixteenth century. Archaeological work revealed that it had built town walls at an even earlier date. The population according to the 1963 Census made it the sixth largest town in Western Nigeria. It should be noted that in 1963 there were over 64 towns in Western Nigeria with populations over 20,000 (See Chapter Eight).

Second, its ecological, morphological, and demographic features were seen to be similar to other Yoruba communities approximately the same size. The layout of its streets, the location of its markets, schools, churches, mosques, commercial establishments, and strangers' quarters, and the relationship to its surrounding farm land suggested most other Yoruba cities in Western Nigeria.

Third, its layout and organization did not present any significant problems for observation. All parts of the community could be reached fairly easily from the University, allowing the researcher the opportunity to spend time free from University responsibilities at various times of the day and during any day in the week.

Fourth, it was clear that the impact of the University would be significant in future years. The University had moved the first of its Departments and Faculties to Ife only a few months prior to the research. It would be therefore interesting and useful in later years to have the "ethnographic present" preserved before this impact becomes

more appreciable.

During the months October to December, 1967, plans for the study were formulated. Beginning with the first month, a journal was kept in which entries were made after each trip into Ife, describing events and impressions. The journals, totalling three volumes throughout the entire two-year period, remained a vital part of the study throughout the two-years, providing easy reference to the development of the research design, details of the techniques and procedures of field work, and the testing of various theories and speculations about events which had been observed or about written material which had been examined.

During the early months, journal entries reveal that (a) contacts were established with several chiefs, local businessmen, police and governmental officials, workers from Ife at the University, teachers and headmasters, as well as other members of the Ife Research Scheme; (b) several trips into Ife were made to determine the basic morphological and social features of the town; (c) the learning of Yoruba continued in an advanced class given for University staff by the Institute of African Studies (The researcher had learned some greetings and basic vocabulary in his previous two years. Yoruba was used not as a language for field interviews and discussions, as much as a means to establish quick rapport with people in the community. Nevertheless, a degree of speaking proficiency was achieved); (d) a preliminary proposal applying for a grant from

the Institute of African Studies was drawn up and submitted; (e) a proposal was submitted to the Institute to obtain maps of the community or to have them prepared (the only map of any use was drawn in 1952, and was quite out of date, and, in many cases, incorrect) for participants in the Ife Research Scheme; (f) three Nigerian newspapers available in the town daily were examined, and articles relevant to education in Nigeria and life in Ife were clipped and placed in the journal.

The original objective in this preliminary stage was a comprehensive survey of the community, undertaken by a process known within anthropology as the method (perhaps better described as a set of techniques) of participant-observation.¹ This method of observing the social context assumes that the researcher plays a particular role in that context, and that this role may be analyzed as one aspect of the social context. Through contact with individuals at the University and within the community a view of the community was shaped--its demographic, economic, political, educational, religious, and other social aspects, as well as its physical attributes. Particular events in the community, even including driving

¹Howard S. Becker and Blanche Geer, "Participant Observation: The Analysis of Qualitative Field Data," in Human Organization Research: Field Relations and Techniques, ed. by Richard N. Adams and Jack J. Preiss, Published for the Society for Applied Anthropology (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1960), pp. 267-89. Also, Benjamin D. Paul, "Interview Techniques and Field Relationships," in Anthropology Today: An Encyclopedic Inventory, prepared under the chairmanship of A. L. Kroeber (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1953), pp. 430-51.

through the town, were recorded in the journal as soon after they occurred and as completely as possible for further analysis later. Event analysis as part of the range of methods available to anthropologists has received attention elsewhere.¹ Perceived reactions of those with whom the researcher had contact, recorded also in the journal after the various visits to the town, helped to delineate the role of the researcher.

In general, the initial phase of the research during the first few months involved becoming familiar with--and hence defining--the community through the establishment of strong, personal relations with individuals living in the community and at the University, and through a mental mapping of the community. This process, or set of processes, was supplemented with reading of ethnographic, demographic, and historic materials.²

The operational definition of educational processes during the field work was simply any process by which the individuals studied were subject to deliberate attempts (even if latent to the participants) at behavioral change by certain individuals or a set of individuals.

¹See the following: Robert H. Guest, "Categories of Events in Field Observations," in Adams and Preiss, op. cit., pp. 225-39; Conrad M. Arensberg and Solon T. Kimball, Culture and Community, op. cit., pp. 281-89.

²Forde, op. cit.; Bascom, op. cit.; Schwab, op. cit.; S. Johnson, The History of the Yorubas (London: Routledge, 1921); and Frank Willett, Life in the History of West African Sculpture (London: Thames and Hudson, 1967).

This tended to focus on activities of young people in pre-vocational roles. This wide definition was used to avoid a focus on particular institutions. In this manner, it was found that many interesting processes were relevant to a study of education. In the context of life, this included the young child accompanying his mother to the market, the reading of correspondence school printed material by clerks in various offices, classes in private home-study institutions, the re-diffusion radio speaker in nearly every home, the newspapers being read, and others. Obviously a particular concern in the research focused on the schools, apprenticeship training, and the Koranic schools. These forms were highly visible and had been studied by others previously. The broad operational definition allowed the community to reveal its various educational processes and forms to the observer in a more comprehensive and complex way than perhaps most research work elsewhere.

By January, 1968 a more detailed outline of the steps of the research had been developed. A total of eight stages of the research were planned (see below). The Institute of African Studies made available some funds for the study of aspects of traditional education, an examination of the relationship of formal schooling to apprenticeship training. The study included concerns beyond that of traditional education, however.

The formidable task of surveying the entire community in a rigorous manner produced two imperatives: a detailed

and up-to-date map, and the use of Research Assistants (to be indicated in the remainder of the thesis report as R.A.s). The financial aid from the Scheme made both of these possible.

The Use of Student Research Assistants

A significant aspect of the data-gathering procedures in this study was the use of R.A.s. It has been a traditional field procedure of most anthropologists to undertake a community survey on an individual basis, employing the services now and then of informants. For a survey with any depth in an urban community, however, it was essential that this individual activity by the researcher be supplemented by assistants working on several aspects of data-gathering. Schwab employed assistants in field work in an urban community (Oshogbo) 30 miles north-west of Ife, and has written of the set of techniques he used.¹ Such a procedure seems very appropriate to the urban Yoruba context.

The R.A.s were drawn primarily from students within the University of Ife's Department of Education; in later stages of the research, students from the Faculty of Social Science were employed. Some were native of Ife, more had spent a few years in the town as students or teachers, but

¹William B. Schwab, "An Experiment in Methodology in a West African Urban Community," Human Organization, XIII (Spring, 1954), pp. 13-19.

most were strangers to the community. Almost all during the first stages of research were Yoruba-speaking; during the last few stages, all were. The majority of the R.A.s were male.

A fundamental concern in the employment of R.A.s to conduct field research was the reliability and validity of the reporting. This is extremely important for social science research in foreign social contexts. Consequently, a significant aspect of the research design was ensuring that the data collected was done so with a high degree of reliability and validity. Printed questionnaires, interview schedules, and standardized sheets for mapping were used extensively, using normally specific questions--i.e., not "open-ended." In each stage of the research and with each set of questionnaires, interview schedules or standardized sheets were issued printed instructions. They were discussed extensively with the R.A.s in several meetings prior to each field trip. Discussion followed each trip. These discussions normally were held as a group. Overlapping assignments in some cases were deliberate, in a few cases inadvertent. These afforded opportunities for checking further the validity of the work of individual R.A.s. Those who were found to have done a poor job were excluded from further participation.

R.A.s were told in some detail the objectives, assumptions, and problems which were present in the research design. The purpose here was to eliminate, as much as

possible, incorrect assumptions which they might have about the work and to check incorrect assumptions of the researcher. In a research situation so dependent upon cross-cultural communication, this was considered a necessary device to minimize misunderstanding. R.A.s were invited also to attend several lectures given by qualified individuals on aspects of the research: one given by the researcher's wife on social science research techniques (she was trained in anthropology, and was a part-time Lecturer in the Faculty of Social Science at the University), another given by the Local Education Officer for Ife Division on the topic of his responsibilities in the Division.

Built into each stage of the research were important elements of feedback to the research director. This was first done using training periods in simulated contexts. A trial-run mapping of a street on the University compound was required for all R.A.s before attempting a comprehensive mapping of the town. Preliminary phases ("pre-tests") were built into certain stages, after which discussions were held prior to the main portion of the field work of that stage. For example, there was a preliminary phase of 100 randomly selected interviews with masters of apprentices before attempting the more than one thousand interviews throughout Ife. R.A.s were also de-briefed immediately after their return from the field.

The use of standardized forms deliberately created a closed set of field operations. Specific questions were

to be asked as they were written on the forms, and detailed instructions were to be followed, specified on instruction sheets handed out and discussed prior to field work. To supplement this, R.A.s were asked to comment on unusual events, reactions, or impressions, using special "response sheets" prepared for completion after each field trip. On these were to be placed the R.A.'s name, the date, area visited, and responses to several multiple-choice and some open-ended questions on the perceived validity of responses of informants, and other data. Margins of response sheets were used for comments by the research director during the de-briefings of R.A.s. Also, R.A.s were given a small notebook and a ball-point pen when they were employed.

Partly to suit the Yoruba principle of seniority to the social organization of the research design, as well as to increase the efficiency of the research project, the eldest of the R.A.s was chosen as a special assistant. This traditional seniority principle briefly states that in Yoruba cultural settings, the eldest of a group demands the greatest respect.¹ Its use was not completely preplanned, it should be emphasized, since the student chosen (aged 35) was an exceptional peer leader whose capability was based on far more than his age. He was given the responsibility for checking the completion of data and response sheets, assisting in the distribution of assignments, handling the

¹William R. Bascom, "The Principle of Seniority in the Social Structure of the Yoruba," American Anthropologist, XLIV (1942), pp. 37-46.

calculation of wages each R.A. earned or required for transportation, and assisting in some detailed field work--including conducting all interviews at Koranic schools. The special assistant was born in Western Nigeria outside Ife Division, and had not lived in Ife previously.

The number of R.A.s involved varied with the requirements of the various stages, the availability of funds, and the availability of R.A.s. This will be discussed in greater detail below when specific stages are described. The maximum number used at one time was thirty.

The research director participated in most stages of the R.A. field work, to check further the validity of questions asked on the standardized forms, to examine possible problems only discernable in the field context, and to observe the behavior of R.A.s and reactions of community informants.

Interviews with individuals in the community were often tape-recorded and later transcribed. The research director attended ceremonies and special events in the town. Contacts with various school, government, and business officials were made. And through business work in connection with responsibilities within the Department of Education, the director established meaningful, personal relations with individuals in the town. Each contact, whether formal or informal, planned or unplanned, was taken as another means of checking assumptions, of testing work of the R.A.s, and of learning more about the community life and patterns.

As will be indicated below, the use of R.A.s in the quantitative and comprehensive surveys of the community, using highly structured interview and survey techniques, did not begin as a major element of the field work until sufficient cause had been established for these procedures. A more qualitative survey always preceded the use of R.A.s. The role of participant-observer in the events and life of the community and in a general survey of the social and physical organization of the community was the backbone of the research design, against which the body of quantitative data would be developed.

The Stages of the Research Project

During the year 1968, in addition to the qualitative survey of the community through the process of participant-observation, there were four main stages involving the use of R.A.s in detailed studies. Stage one involved the mapping of the community, physically and socially. Stage two consisted of detailed interviews with principals and headmasters of all schools in Ife. Stage three involved interviews with all masters of small crafts identified in stage one. Stage four included several studies of formal educational activity outside the schools; this included those of Koranic schools, home-study institutes, adult education classes, and secretarial institutes (see Chapter Five).

A prolonged illness after August, 1968 postponed the continuation of major stages of the research until almost

June, 1969. During this period, there was an examination of the data already collected, and a continuation of the more qualitative study--although at a limited pace. In June, 1969 stage five began, a second set of interviews of principals and headmasters of all schools in Ife, conducted again by R.A.s. This stage also included giving questionnaires to all teachers in Ife schools, and to selected students in the variety of secondary institutions. Stage six involved interviews with a few masters of apprentices, to be used to check developments over the previous twelve month period. Stage seven was a survey of all non-craft businesses in Ife employing three or more people in commercial, governmental, and private establishments. And stage eight was a censusing of two selected areas of Ife, chosen for their contrasting social, economic, and historical features. This censusing included gathering of information on persons residing in, and persons who have family affiliations but have moved away from, these two sections of Ife. These later stages concluded in August, 1969.

Since emphasis must be placed on the validity and reliability of the work of the R.A.s in the quantitative surveys, some attention will now be given to the specific procedures, aims, and problems of each of these stages.

An announcement was made in a class in the Department of Education in February, 1968 of plans to conduct a survey of education in Ife. Thirty students offered to

assist. Several meetings were held to explain objectives and procedures, and to discuss possible problems which might be encountered. Based on information from a 1952 Federal Survey map¹ and frequent visits, Ife was divided into 46 parts approximately equal in anticipated difficulty of coverage. Thirty-eight of these parts were assigned to the R.A.s. The remainder, outlying areas, were covered by car by the research director. Assignments were handed out on small maps indicating the boundaries of the area to be covered, along with two types of worksheets on which were to be indicated the names of streets and landmarks and types of all buildings and spaces. Worksheet 1 was to be used for buildings and spaces along roads; worksheet number 2 was to be used for buildings and spaces within road boundaries. A preliminary survey for practice was conducted within the University compound. After each assignment, the R.A. was required to complete a response sheet. (See Appendices A through F)

The major difficulties involved map reading and drawing map revisions. Some R.A.s surveyed larger areas than their assignments. This allowed inadvertently a cross-check on the work of several R.A.s, revealing certain errors of labelling and positioning of buildings and landmarks. Where major errors of judgment were noted, the

¹Map of Ife, compiled by Survey Department, Lagos, Nigeria, 1952

entire area was reassigned to another R.A. In later months when a detailed physical map was drawn by the research director, it was checked in the field by driving over all roads and spot-checking this first stage work. Some initial suspicion by local residents in certain areas was allayed by explanations of intent by the R.A. (hence the written set of instructions and the meetings to discuss objectives), and the presentation of a letter of introduction from the research director. This letter indicated that the director had discussed this project with the Oni of Ife (head chief in Ife) and had obtained his approval for the entire study. Some assignments required too much time to complete; second assignments were given to those completing their first assignments quickly.

Using data from stage one, it was possible to do the following: (a) draw an accurate map of Ife with the local names of all roads; (b) compile a list of all formal school buildings (including a few abandoned ones); (c) compile a list of all potential craft businesses where apprentices might be in training; (d) compile maps with all churches, mosques, shrines, and historic sites; (e) make lists of all government, private, and commercial businesses in Ife; and (f) learn more about the residential and commercial areas of Ife. Driving the streets to check the accuracy of the detailed map in future months confirmed a great deal about the residential, commercial, and social patterns of the community determined from the first stage.

Stage two took place between April and June, 1968, and involved R.A.s interviewing headmasters and principals of all schools in Ite. The list from stage one was checked against a larger list of schools in the Division available from the Local Education Office, confirmed by consultations with the officials there. Again, meetings were held with the R.A.s prior to the interviews to discuss procedures, give assignments, and discuss possible difficulties. Response sheets were required after each school interview to ascertain reactions to the interviews. Twenty-one R.A.s participated, some doing more than others--the average number of interviews per R.A. was three. Data was obtained on the history, organization, and curriculum of the school, student enrollment, staffing, and other aspects of the school. (See Appendices G through J)

The major problem encountered was a combination of unreliable data available to the principals and mathematical checking by the R.A.s. In several cases, interview schedules were returned to the research director with sums of boys and girls in a given class not equaling the total figure given in a different column (The main reason for asking for total boys, total girls, and totals for both sex on the interview schedule was to check for these types of problems). Explanations offered by R.A.s indicated that figures for page one and page two were often from different sources within the school--class registries and those records in the principal's office. It was found also that

in some schools, according to the reports of R.A.s, actual class size was far above the figures quoted by the principals and the teachers--in some cases, official records were deliberately incorrect. In certain problem cases, follow-up interviews were done informally by the director to determine the most accurate statistical figures.

Some schools initially were difficult to locate. A few with small enrollments met in some church buildings, and one school compound contained both a primary and a secondary modern school in the same set of buildings. Two schools were divided, with some classes at other locations. Some residents were unable to direct R.A.s to nearby schools; according to the R.A.s, this was due more to ignorance than to deception.

After University exams in early June, 1968, students in the Department of Education were available for participation in stage three, the interviewing of masters of apprentice craft businesses. These interviews were prepared in English, translated into Yoruba with the help, independently, of two Yoruba-speaking University Lecturers. Translations of these back into English were checked in the meetings with R.A.s prior to a preliminary--pre-test--phase of the work. Ten R.A.s, all of whom had worked on previous stages, participated in the preliminary phase of interviewing approximately 100 masters distributed throughout the different areas of the town. A meeting after these interviews was held to discuss

difficulties, misinterpretations, suspicions, and to gauge the time needed for the estimated 1,000 interviews--determined in stage one. Interviewing was standardized by the use of interview schedules, instruction sheets, and meetings. (See Appendices K through N)

During the preliminary phase, interviews were held at about 65 per cent of the craft businesses visited. This success rate ranged from 55 per cent for one R.A. to 91 per cent for another. Reasons why interviews could not be held included the following: (a) many masters were not available, being out on business, and their apprentices or journeymen usually refused to supply information without the master's approval; (b) there was initial suspicion of the research, associating it with tax assessment (As word of the survey spread, however, there were much fewer resistances to the interviews); and (c) many of these businesses had no apprentices.

The basic purpose of this third stage was to determine the purposes, work, organization, and size of these businesses. The questions included those on the education, training, and home background of the master and all of his workers. This information is thus supplementary to the various case studies collected by the research director.

In stage four, other educational forms were surveyed. Koranic schools were identified, and interviews were held with the Mallams and other instructors there, using the same interview schedule as that for the formal schools.

Visits to commercial and secretarial institutes involved more informal discussions on the purposes, facilities, staffing, and students; no specific interview schedule was used, to allay some suspicion of the purposes of the interviews. These institutes are not recognized by the government, and many of them are more businesses run for profit than service institutions. Most interviewing was conducted in June and July, 1968, but follow-up visits were made through August, 1969.

Stage five did not commence until June, 1969. This included repeat interviews with all heads of formal schools, designed to collect information on attrition during the 1968 to 1969 period. Some questions were modified from the previous year to seek answers to questions on staffing changes, promotion of students, and evaluation procedures. Again, R.A.s used interview schedules, instruction sheets, and response sheets; and all R.A.s attended several meetings to discuss procedures and problems. As in stage two, the major problem encountered was that of invalid statistics and poor mathematics by the R.A.s checking the results during the interviews--several interviews had to be repeated. There was definite cooperation on these return visits, perhaps aided by the fact that R.A.s carried to each principal or headmaster a map of Ife showing all schools and a list of all schools with 1968 statistics, prepared by the research director for this purpose. (See Appendices O through R)

A second part of stage five involved the handing out of questionnaires prepared for each teacher in formal schooling in Ife. This questionnaire was designed to gather information on home and educational background, plans for the future, and attitudes about selected areas of Ife, towns in Western Nigeria, and selected vocations. These attitudes were to be expressed in terms of responses to multiple-choice prestige rating scales, similar to, and partly designed to compare with, questions asked by Foster of secondary school students in Ghana.¹ Follow-up visits by R.A.s and the research director resulted in a return rate of about 95 per cent of all teachers in Ife.

A third part of stage five involved the administering of over 800 questionnaires to students in selected secondary schools. This included three secondary grammar, three secondary modern, and the one technical school in Ife. All students, male and female, in classes one, three, and five in these seven schools were given this questionnaire, administered by one or more R.A. in the classrooms. The questionnaire was designed to examine the background, plans, and attitudes of these students, in a manner deliberately similar to that for the questionnaires for teachers. (See Appendices S and T)

In the case of the student questionnaires, the cooperation of the heads of schools was obtained with no difficulty.

¹Foster, op. cit., p. 268.

Time was allotted during class hours. R.A.s supervised the completion of these questionnaires, by checking the results during the time they were being completed. In spite of this, there were some students who could not understand the procedures required, and some invalid responses were obtained. In the case of the teacher questionnaires, the major difficulty was in obtaining a high return rate, particularly for teachers in secondary grammar schools. Some schools had to be visited three or more times. There was some resistance by some teachers. Their reasons were perceived irrelevance of the questions, no time available, and some outright hostility toward anything connected with the University (Interestingly, the greatest hostility and lack of cooperation came from University of Ife graduate teachers, and from a few who had been failed by the University of Ife in recent years). At one school, the cooperation of the headmistress could not be obtained, for reasons which extended much further than feelings about this specific project.

Stage six was originally designed to be a comprehensive re-examination of the small craft businesses, to determine turn-over of apprentices and changes in the number and type of businesses. Additional financing could not be obtained, however, so a re-examination was not possible. Nevertheless, data obtained during a comprehensive survey of larger businesses (stage seven) included some for these small crafts, and this is presented in terms of stage six.

Some of this was inadvertent, since instructions for stage seven were meant to exclude most types of small crafts; stage seven focused on "non-apprenticeship" type businesses involving the employment of more than three persons, to include governmental, commercial, and private business. The interview schedule for stage seven--and, hence, for stage six--was designed to be similar to that of the interview of masters of apprentice training (stage three). There was therefore utility in examining the few results from stage six and comparing the results to those of stage three. (See Appendices U through X)

Stage seven consisted of a comprehensive survey of larger businesses than apprenticeship crafts. Only a few gaps in the coverage can be noted. The research director hesitated to delve into the size, backgrounds, and organization of the Nigerian Police in Ife, due to the delicate political picture during those months. Information on this activity is confined to information from personal relations with some policemen, often gleaned from giving "lifts" to some of these men. And information on taxi-drivers and lorry-drivers and lorry-apprentices has not been systematically collected, due to the highly mobile nature of that type of occupation.

Stage eight was originally designed to be a survey of households in four or five areas of Ife. Limited funds to support activity of R.A.s, however, forced a decision to chose two contrasting areas of Ife for investigation of the

personnel residing in and descendent from particular households. One ile (compound, or residence) in the traditional area of Ilode and one set of six adjacent two-story buildings (the nearest for comparative purposes to an ile) along one street in the newer layout area of Akarabata (See Chapters Four and Seven for an explanation of these terms and areas) were canvassed in two ways. First, R.A.s chosen from students in the Faculty of Social Science (working in the Demographic Study Unit there) were assigned the task of interviewing heads of households in these two areas, to determine who lived (slept) there at the present time (August, 1969). Home background and formal educational attainment, age and sex, and any possible kinship affiliation to the head of the household was sought through the use of a standard interview schedule. These schedules did not specify in Yoruba the questions to be asked; but the categories of the spaces on these schedules, defined conceptually through several meetings with R.A.s prior to field work, and checked during a pre-test period in another part of Ife, attempted to achieve high reliability. (See Appendices Y through CC)

Second, during the interviews, questions were asked about the sons and daughters of those resident in the households, whether or not those sons and daughters were still alive or were still resident in the household. The objective here was to determine who had moved away from the household and why. This was to be examined later in relation to responses to questions on formal educational attainment.

These interviews took place at an inopportune time in the Western State. There were concurrently riots in a few other cities of the same size on the issue of enforcing tax collection. Ife experienced no riots during the entire two years of field work (although it was reported that in another large Yoruba community about fifty miles away several dozen persons were casualties in tax riots there); nevertheless, there was some tension on this issue between governmental authorities and people within the community, and any enforcement of collection of taxes in Ife probably would have resulted in rioting. There was consequently a great deal of suspicion initially about the questions of number of persons living in households, age and occupation of sons and daughters, and similar personal questions. Attempts to overcome this suspicion included visits to chiefs and head chiefs of the traditional areas concerned, to explain the purpose of the investigation. Rapport already developed with many of these people, especially with some of the elders, helped greatly. The research director met twice with chiefs of the traditional area of Ilode, at their regular (monthly) meeting periods, and cooperation seemed to be obtained. Nevertheless, there was one chief who later refused to cooperate, even when the first interview was held with him--this was felt necessary in this cultural context. Another chief in a nearby compound expressed great cooperation when approached, and data was obtained comprehensively for his file. As far as

can be determined from the two sets of data for these iles, there were not significant differences in the people of the iles of these two chiefs.

There was almost no opposition to the census work in the more modern layout area. There the major problem was that interviews with heads of households had to be held in the evenings after the heads returned from work in other parts of Ife or at the University. This itself was an interesting fact which shed a great deal of light on the nature of the differences between these two contrasting areas of Ife (See Chapters to follow for a more complete analysis of these differences).

The Development of a Hypothesis

The greatest challenge for this study during the entire research period was not technical. The community could be defined as an entity, primarily aided by the contrasts between the residential and commercial areas and the surrounding farmlands. The University could be excluded in a fairly definitive conceptual manner, based on this physical fact-- the University was physically separated from the residential and commercial boundary of Ife. Strangers' quarters, especially Sabo and, perhaps, Modakeke, were included due to their incorporation within this physical boundary. This physical boundary allowed research to focus on defining the community in social relationship terms, and to inquire into the social links to the University and communities elsewhere. The

processes of gathering data, while elaborate, were not technically difficult, due to a general cooperation of individuals within the community, a fact that was both noteworthy and most gratifying to the researcher. No major obstacles were encountered in most of the work of describing the community.

Instead, the greatest challenge was to advance beyond the descriptive stage to a more meaningful analysis. The basic aim of the study was to examine education in an urban community context, in order to learn more about special problems studied by others elsewhere in a variety of contexts. Throughout the first stages of the research, the methodology led to empirical definition of education in relation to the community as a whole, to serve as a background for a more specific inquiry into these problems. The task then became trying to find a way to employ this descriptive information in an analysis from this urban community perspective of these problems, assuming that such an analysis would be useful.

The significance of the problems was never questioned. Neither was the utility of an urban perspective, since none in this area of the world had been made previously which had focused on educational processes.

During the first year, a series of potential hypotheses were examined tentatively, hypotheses which might bring more structure into a basically descriptive study of education and the urban community. Among these, it was posited that

the formal educational processes were changing significantly the pattern of traditional educational processes, such as that of the Koranic schools and apprenticeship training.

The significance might be perhaps with regard to formal educational entrance requirements into these several traditional forms, or perhaps with regard to the social or pedagogical processes themselves. Another hypothesis was that the non-school educational processes were able to satisfy needs (both individual wants and objectively-determined requirements for social and economic development) of the community which were being neglected or, inadvertently, inadequately served by the formal school system. Still another was that the problems resulting from high attrition in the formal school system were being counter-balanced by processes of vocational training and other educational objectives within the non-school educational forms. While each of these hypotheses might be useful to investigate, they did not really begin to answer questions proposed originally within the overall research design.

On examination of the data obtained during the first year in the field, it was striking to note that the attrition in the Ife schools, which was as high as the attrition for the whole state in recent years, was only one important aspect of mobility within the school system. Just as critical a problem in the classroom and individual schools was an extremely high turn-over of teachers. Part of this could be explained in terms of transfers ordered by higher

authorities. But the reasons were also linked to desires of teachers at all levels to seek higher degrees, higher pay, different types of jobs, and demands to go to different communities.

Moreover, although the unemployed school leaver problem was not studied directly in this research in terms of examining unemployed migrants from rural areas, it was apparent from examination of the backgrounds of apprentices in training, that the majority of these apprentices came not from Ite, but from other areas--and not only rural areas. This seemed to be true within crafts with low educational entrance requirements and those with high. It appeared, therefore, that there might be a more complex process operating than the rural to urban migrations. And linked to this was the fact that many of those working in one area of Ite were born in another area of Ite. Obviously the migration within Ite and between Ite and the outside was a complex set of processes which required careful examination

And again, there was little evidence within the larger, more traditional areas of Ite to suggest that unemployed school leavers were coming from rural areas to stay with members of extended families there. In fact, few children not born in the traditional areas could be found there. Associated with this was the discovery, confirmed elsewhere recently, that Ite was becoming a town of a traditional core, with little industry or commerce, surrounded or counter-balanced by the newer, more industrial and commercial areas.

These latter areas were where strangers tended to reside, where new businesses were located, and where, apparently, even individuals affiliated with compounds in the traditional core area were working and even residing.¹

As noted above, moreover, there appeared to be a high mobility of persons in various occupations and activities. This was seen in Ibe in the data on teachers, many of whom were leaving to teach in other schools. It was seen next in the craft industries. It was also noted in various business activity. This occupational mobility was sometimes between jobs of a given professional activity, and sometimes between different types of activity.

There appeared to be a high correlation between these occupational and residential mobilities and formal educational attainment. There was enough of an indication of this in the qualitative data obtained in the first year of field work that a decision was reached to examine a possible relationship here throughout wider economic and social sectors of the community. This decision preceded stage five, and framed questions asked throughout that and later stages.

This decision was based on the feeling that, in such a study, important links would be discerned to aspects of the original problems under consideration. This is not to suggest that through the study of this hypothetical

¹For a discussion of this phenomenon in Ibadan and Lagos; see the following: Mabogunje, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 205-237.

relationship between formal educational attainment and residential and occupational mobilities it would be possible to explain the causes of the unemployed school leaver problem, the rapid social changes in society, or the rural to urban migrations. But it was felt that some new perspective could be useful.

The specific hypothesis stated that the higher the formal educational attainment, the greater the tendency for mobility occupationally and residentially. Formal educational attainment would be the number of years of formal schooling successfully completed. An occupation would be primary activity in which one earned a living. Mobility would be the movement or migration of an individual from one place to another over some sustained period of time.

If this hypothesis were valid, then one would expect to find that (a) the number of different occupations or activities held by those with higher schooling would be greater than the number held by those with lower schooling, (b) the number of shifts from occupation to occupation would be greater among those with higher than those with lower schooling, and (c) those with higher schooling would be more likely to reside at locations away from the homes of their birth or homes of their parents.

Clearly, the proof, rejection, or modification of this hypothesis as a result of testing it in a specific social context is a heuristic exercise. Its relevance to the problems under study may result more from its investigation than

from its proof. It has been assumed that the analysis of this tie between formal educational attainment and occupational and residential mobility may shed light on the nature of these problems.

It was also evident at the time of the formulation of this hypothesis that there were other processes affecting the choice of residence and occupation. Certainly there were factors of the availability of these residences and jobs. This will be discussed in later Chapters. But it was also felt that the relative prestige ratings of the available choices would be relevant, in fact partially determining, factors influencing the decisions of individuals. Assuming that one would prefer to seek occupations and residences which have high prestige, it should be possible to predict that mobility choices would be governed also by the high relative prestige of those choices. Thus, whereas higher formal educational attainment would produce a greater tendency for individuals to be mobile geographically and occupationally, the actual choices would be further governed by the relative prestige ranking of those choices.

It is assumed that the shaping of attitudes toward various occupations and areas are learned, through a variety of processes which are not confined to those of the school. Some attention will be given to this in later Chapters. It is also assumed that these attitudes can be discerned through asking individuals for their ratings of several occupations and areas on a scale of prestige. The relative prestige

rankings of these occupations and areas can be determined from this data.

Some Important Limitations

This was in essence a new type of study of education in an urban community context. Some of its approaches require a quantitative reference, which has been achieved. But any strengths in its methodology, field techniques, and conclusions are in reference to overall trends, general processes, and basic forms of social reality within the context of life. There are some significant gaps in its coverage, which require attention here.

First, a quantitative survey of important aspects only of medium- and large-scale businesses, of formal schools, of Koranic schools, and of the physical mapping of the community was achieved. There was no comprehensive survey of unemployment, individual or small-scale economic activity--such as petty-trading, marketing, or farming--or school leavers who have migrated from the community. This was partly due to lack of time and resources. It was also partly due to the fact that the study, particularly in the later stages, tended to focus on the emergent, modern sectors of the economic and educational systems, and on the perceived duality of the residential patterns of life.

Second, there was attention to the broader aspects of formal schooling, such as enrollments, curriculum, staffing, attrition, locations of schools, and others. Exhaustive

study of class-room activity, day-to-day developments, textbooks or teacher aids was not attempted. Only more qualitative assessments of these aspects have been made.

Third, although reference to studies elsewhere on Yoruba kinship or social structure is made, only a brief sampling of two contrasting areas on these topics was accomplished. Care should be taken that the results of these limited samples are not believed to be completely representative of much larger areas. The aim of this sampling was to study the qualitative aspects of contrasts within Ife, examined particularly with reference to occupational roles, residency, and educational attainment. In this regard, it should be noted that the Ife Research Scheme did not involve, as originally planned, the work of a social anthropologist. This was assumed early in the research; and the results of such an addition to the Scheme would have contributed greatly to this research project.

The overall purpose of this study has been, therefore, to break new ground in approaches to the study of education in an urban community, particularly in a non-western social or cultural context. The purpose has not been to provide a new methodology for such a study, as much as to provide illustration of its relevance to the literature on the subject of education and society in a developing region.

Summary of Chapter Three

The study of education in an urban context required a

combination of a qualitative study of overall social processes and forms and of a more quantitative set of surveys of selected aspects of forms and processes. The qualitative study provided the basic framework against which could be placed the body of more quantitative data gathered in the large-scale surveys involving R.A.s. Through contacts with people within the community and participation in and observation of activities in the community, assisted by the use of journals and tape-recorded interviews, this basic survey was achieved. The reliability of the work of the R.A.s was sought through multiple orientation meetings, printed sets of instructions, pre-tests, standardized interview schedules, questionnaires, map worksheets, and response sheets. Cross-checking of results and overlapping assignments helped to ensure a high degree of reliability. R.A.s were involved with interviews with heads of all schools, masters of small craft industries, larger-scale business personnel, and persons selected in contrasting areas of life. They also participated in mapping the entire community layout.

The hypothesis chosen for specific study late in the research was tested partly through the extension of a previous study of schools and apprenticeship to a broader study of occupations and residences within the community, and partly through the use of questionnaires for all teachers and students in selected secondary schools.

CHAPTER IV

THE COMMUNITY OF IFE: THE HISTORICAL
AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND

Ife-Ife is the birthplace of all mankind. Translated, it means the home (Ife) of the spreading (Ife). It is from this place that all races of the world came. The Oba (king) of Benin is believed to be a spiritual descendent of the Onis (paramount king) of Ife. All Yoruba-speaking groups today continue to pay spiritual homage to Ife as the ancestral base of their various traditions.¹

Ife is believed to have been the center of a famous civilization or empire several centuries ago. Sections of the Ife town walls have produced evidence that they were built as early as 1000 A.D. Portuguese soldiers and Dominicans who visited the great Benin civilization during the early sixteenth century wrote of the existence of a great center far to the north, called Ife. Some traditions hold that Christianity reached Ife soon after, and that one of the Onis was converted; these traditions also indicate that Christianity did not long survive there. The extent of the Ife empire is not well determined, but its influence could be noted through the wide

¹Bascom, op. cit., pp. 7-12.

spread of the Yoruba language and traditions (see Figure 1).

The great Oyo empire flourished during the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries, reaching its zenith in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and overshadowed the political importance of Ife. The Oyo empire's influence extended as far south as the Ijebu, as far west as the Egba, and as far east as the Ekiti peoples--all of whom were and are Yoruba-speaking. Although the Alafin (local title of the Oba) of Oyo was said to be the supreme political head of the Yoruba during the period of the empire, the Oni of Ife has remained throughout history the ultimate symbol of spiritual power for all Yoruba.

Following the Fulani Jihad (holy wars) in the Hausa-speaking states to the north in the early nineteenth century and the strong penetration of Islam religiously and militarily into the northern Yoruba groups soon thereafter, wars between the Yoruba groups eroded the cohesion of the Oyo empire. Political allegiance focused increasingly on the heads of communities and groups of communities among the Yorubas: primarily the Ekitis, Ijebus, Oyos, Egbas, and Ijeshas. Not until the colonial occupation of the entire area by the British in the late part of the nineteenth century did the Yoruba wars come to an end.

During the nineteenth century, several new urban centers were created by settlements of refugees from various war zones. Included among these are Ibadan and Abeokuta, both founded in the 1830's (see Figure 2).

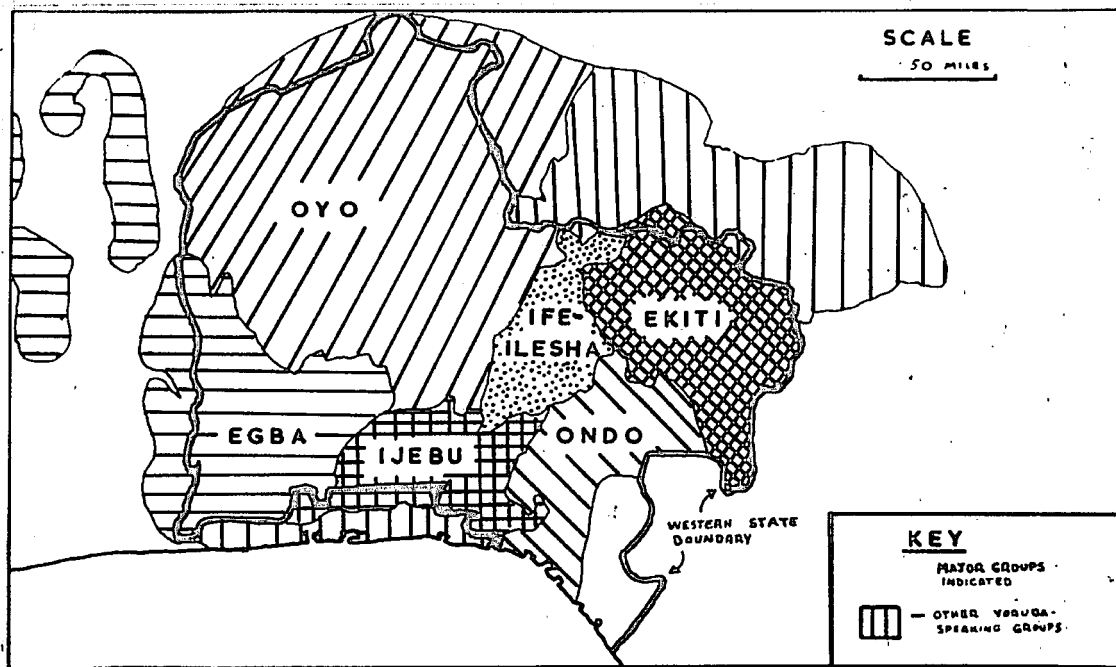


Fig. 1.--Distribution of Yoruba-speaking peoples in relation to the Western State of Nigeria (based on map in Forde, *op. cit.*, opposite p. 102.)

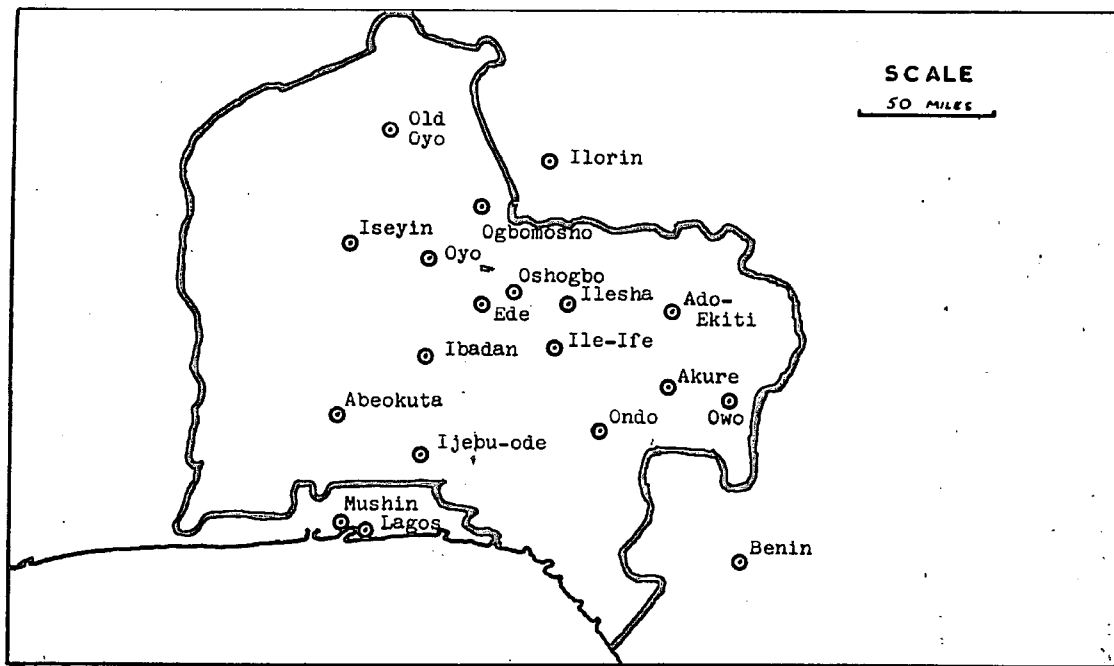


Fig. 2.--Major Yoruba urban communities cited in the text

Other refugees settled in various urban centers. Many of these refugees were from Old Oyo (center of the old Oyo empire) which was sacked in the early nineteenth century. Some Oyo refugees settled in Ife, and by 1849 had come in such numbers that the Oni, Adegunle Abeweila, allowed them to establish their own town on farm land adjacent to Ife. There was friction between the people of Ife and this new community, called Modakeke, throughout the ensuing years. The Modakekes drove the Ifes into exile for several years in the early 1850's, and again in the period 1881-1894. Based on the peace treaty at Kiriji in 1886 and the return of the Ifes, Modakeke was disbanded in 1909. In 1922, the people of Modakeke were allowed to resettle there (see Figure 3).

Emigrants from other areas have migrated to Ife in much smaller numbers. They have tended to settle in various areas of Ife, but have never claimed, and have never been granted, their own land. Exceptions to this are the several Hausa-speaking groups who have lived in one section called Sabo (short for the Hausa sabon gari, or "strangers' quarters").

As an indication of the respect accorded the Oni of Ife by all the Yoruba-speaking peoples, as well as by the Beni people (descendents of the Benin empire) in the present Mid-West State, when the Western Region was created in 1952, the first and since then the only head of the

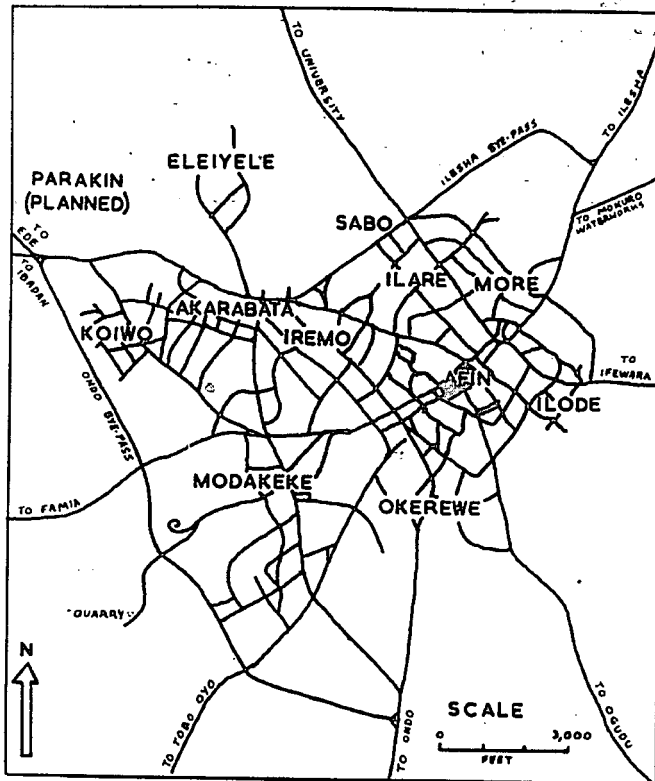


Fig. 3.--Ife roads and areas cited in the text

Western Regional House of Chiefs was the Oni of Ife.¹

It is perhaps also significant that the Regional (now State) University in Western Nigeria is located at Ife.

The origin of Ife as an urban community pre-dates written history. The oral traditions maintain that Ife was originally the amalgamation of 13 hamlets which joined together for mutual protection. The several phases of construction of town walls indicate a basically concentric and expanding community through the centuries,² and reveal evidence of military conflict which perhaps stimulated this amalgamation. The development of Ife as an urban center is linked to the developments of other Yoruba communities, since the Yoruba are traditionally an urban-oriented people:

The Yoruba are among Africa's ethnographic anomalies. Other ethnic groups have had higher densities of population and yet live in dispersed settlements; others again have had more highly developed political systems yet the capitals of their kingdoms have been small. Several existing Yoruba towns were in existence before the first Portuguese visits to West Africa--Ile Ife and Ijebu Ode are proven examples.³

Ife is an urban settlement in the midst of rolling farmland, in an ecological zone that can be called tropical rain-forest, yet near the edge of the savannah a few miles to the north. The settlement occupies the bowl-shaped area

¹The Mid-West Region--now the Mid-West State-- was created out of part of the older Western Region in 1963.

²Paul C. Ozanne, "A New Archaeological Survey of Ife," Odu, VI (April, 1969), pp. 28-45.

³P. C. Lloyd, "Introduction," in The City of Ibadan, ed. by Lloyd, Mabogunje, and Awe, op. cit., p. 3.

between several hills, but has several smaller hills (oke) on which are located important landmarks or residences in life. Residential settlement is quite compacted, and contrasts vividly with the greenery of surrounding tropical forests and cleared farm lands. Several hills nearby are sacred, and are connected through the oral traditions to the story of the birth of mankind.

Climate

Rainfall in this area averages about 60 inches per annum. Temperatures vary slightly throughout the year, from 65 to 85 degrees Fahrenheit. Humidity, except for a few weeks in the year, usually remains above 75 per cent. Seasonal variations can be classified as the hot (November to March) and the rainy (April to October) seasons, except for a usually brief period of dry weather in mid-August. The relatively dry and sometimes cool winds of the harmattan in late December blow from the Sahara far to the north, and contrast with the usual humid and hot prevailing winds from the Gulf of Guinea over one hundred miles to the south and south-west.

The effect of this climate on the patterns and types of farming is pronounced. There are two basic cultivation seasons, one major (after November) and one minor (near July). Citrus fruits can be grown with little or no attention, especially near March and November. Cocoa, kola nuts, and some rubber are cultivated extensively, and account for

the dominant cash crops of the area; Ife is at the center of the cocoa growing area in Nigeria. There is also vegetable, tobacco, and cotton farming. Nearby forest areas are exploited for timber, especially mahogany and iroko.

The dominant activity in this area is farming. It has been estimated that over 70 per cent of all people in this area of Western Nigeria can be classified primarily as farmers, and many more are involved in associated activities, including marketing, processing, and transporting these raw farm products. Many others involved in crafts and trades may be owners of farmland, or may supervise that farming jointly with others within their family groups. Much farming is conducted using hired labor, often from other areas of Western Nigeria or beyond. It should be noted that every traditional family in Ife claims the use of particular neighboring farm lands.¹

Physical Features and Settlement Patterns

Settlement patterns in Ife are similar to those in many other communities in Western Nigeria. Throughout the State can be found urban settlements dotting the farmland

¹G. J. A. Ojo, "Some Observations on the Geographical Studies of Journey to Work with Particular Reference to Yorubaland," paper presented at the Department of Geography Colloquium, University of Ife, February 21, 1968. (mimeographed) This paper reported results of research on farming patterns in Ife.

and tropical rainforest land every ten or so miles in any direction. There are 64 settlements in Western Nigeria with populations above 20,000 according to the 1963 Census.¹ Ife then had a population of just over 130,000. Each of these urban settlements can be characterized by several distinguishing cultural features: They are separated fairly uniformly with respect to each other, as noted above; they are surrounded by farmland used by their inhabitants; they have similar patterns of residence based on family or kinship compounds; they are highly compact in the use of community residential space; and they can be divided fairly definitively into quarters which are based on common historical and kinship ties. These are, it must be stressed, the traditional patterns.

The indigenously urban orientation of most Yoruba-speaking people is best illustrated by reference to the high residential density of settlement. The delineation between these "city-villages"² and the surrounding rainforest and farmland is very marked, as can be seen distinctly in aerial photographs.³ There is little dispersed

¹Federal Census Office, Population Census of Nigeria, 1963, Western Region, Volume II (Lagos: Federal Census Office, 196).

²P. C. Lloyd, "Introduction," in The City of Ibadan, ed. by Lloyd, Mabogunje, and Awe, op. cit., p. 3.

³An aerial photograph of Ife--circa 1950-- is found in K. M. Buchanan and J. C. Pugh, Land and People in Nigeria, (London: University of London Press, 1955), Plate XV. For comparison, an aerial photograph of Ilesha is found in Mabogunje, op. cit., plate 9.

permanent settlement within the whole of this language area. Whereas the majority of inhabitants here are engaged in farming, with many of these in near-subsistence farming, they live within the confines of these urban or hamlet settlements and commute to their farms daily or otherwise regularly.

The practices of farming have been examined in some detail elsewhere.¹ There are some important aspects of the pattern of farming which require particular attention here. Farming cannot be characterized as merely the daily dispersal to farmlands and the regular reassemblage within the urban areas at night: some farmers may commute for much longer periods to outlying farm land, assembling at night for sleeping in clusters of small rural hamlets. Reassemblages at regular intervals during peak farming periods into the urban settlements link strongly to patterns of urban religious or political events. An example of the latter would be meetings of heads of families in councils to discuss family problems or problems of the larger quarter; in Ife, this would usually occur monthly. An example of religious events would be the weekly assemblages at Christian churches (Saturdays or Sundays) or Muslim mosques (Fridays). There are other festivals or events, such as harvest festivals in late October, or traditional events connected with chieftaincies

¹Ojò, Yoruba Culture, op. cit., pp. 51-79.

or the Oni. During non-peak farming periods, populations in urban centers are higher. The patterns of these regular and periodic reassemblages are tied to the patterns of farming indicated, and reveal the relationships between the urban concentrations, the several hamlets used purely for farming purposes, and the forest and farmland. Each urban settlement thus is linked to the surrounding farmland; and repetitions of this urban-hamlet-farmland pattern may be seen throughout this region.

Within the urban communities, one may discern a number of large sections. First, some of these sections may be based on traditional kinship ties, each headed by a patrilineal chieftaincy. Ife has five traditional quarters, each headed by an Oba; the quarters are Ilode, Ilare, More, Okerewe, and Irewo. Each quarter has its several related patrilineal groups, each represented in councils of the respective quarters by Bales (chiefs).¹

Second, some of these sections may be the results of migrations in recent history by peoples from other areas of the region or of Nigeria. Such migration might have been due to inter-Yoruba wars or due to economic

¹The special role of the Oni in Ife as the spiritual head of all Yoruba is illustrated by the fact that most communities in Western Nigeria are traditionally headed by Obas or by Bales. In no other community than Ife is there a higher authority than an Oba, or more than one Oba. The term Bale is derived from the Yoruba oba ile, or head of the patrilineal residences (iles). For a diagram of Yoruba towns with crowned Obas, see Ojo, Yoruba Culture, op. cit., Figure 19.

factors. In the former case, such a migration from the old city of Oyo, as indicated above, began with settlement throughout the five quarters of Ife and finally resulted in settlement in one outlying (farmland) area of two particular quarters, Irewo and Okerewe. This settlement in Ife of Oyo migrants is known as Modakeke, and, in some references to Ife, may even be termed a separate city. In the case of economic determinants to settlement of "strangers," one can cite the example of the area of Sabo. Sabo in Ife is defined as being a "temporary" quarter, in a part of Ilare quarter. The Hausa-speaking peoples there are engaged in a variety of activities, linked more strongly to their respective communities and areas in Northern Nigeria than to Ife. The major activities in Sabo are the packaging and transport of kola nuts to the northern States of Nigeria, woodcutting, manual work such as carrying heavy market goods throughout Ife, and farm laboring.¹ These settlements of strangers in specific urban Yoruba communities may be seen in many other parts of Western Nigeria.

Third, some other sections of Ife are the newer settlements of strangers from throughout the State and Federation. These may be classified "sub-urban" areas, since they have all been located on the fringes of

¹In a survey of Sabo by Ojo, over half of those employed in Sabo were engaged in the kola nut trade. See Ojo, "Hausa Quarters of Yoruba Towns," paper presented at the Congress of Africanists in Dakar, December 11-21, 1967, (mimeographed), p. 9.

traditional settlements, and contain predominately middle to high income groups usually engaged in commercial or civil-service type occupations. These suburban settlements are located in Ife, as in Ibadan¹ and Oshogbo,² either immediately adjacent to newer thoroughfares or in newly designed "layouts" set up by the Town Planning Authority. In Ife, these include Koiwo, Akarabata, and Eleiyele Layouts, and the future Parakin or University-side Layout. There is very little evidence of ethnic or other groupings in these areas of Ife; there is certainly no chieftaincy or larger kinship system operating there.

These larger sections may be subdivided in several instances. Within the traditional five quarters of Ife one can usually see groups of houses joined physically to form what are known as iles or compounds. Indigenously these have been places of patrilocal residence of patrilineal groups. These groupings are still important elements in the patterns of marriage, descent, and residence characteristic of Yoruba culture.

Compounds do not appear to exist in some of these traditional quarters where the influence of modern architecture and greater affluence have produced multi-storied buildings in place of one-story dwellings--which, prior

¹Mabogunje, Urbanization in Nigeria, op. cit., pp. 224-25.

²Schwab, "An Experiment in Methodology in a West African Urban Community," op. cit., p. 16.

to the twentieth century, were thatch-roofed mud-brick buildings, and which, more-recently, have been those of corrugated-iron-roofed mud-brick or mud-brick with a thin concrete veneer. Nevertheless, there is still evidence of a compound system in a few of these multi-storied buildings, characteristic uniformly of the Layout areas. Sabo has a mixture, but contains predominately mud-brick and one-story buildings. Modakeke exhibits both types, but tends to have mostly multi-storied dwellings reflecting much less of a patrilocal residence system with patrilineal descent. Oyo migrants tended to arrive in nuclear family units; nevertheless, patrilocal residence patterns of patrilineal groupings can be found in older areas of Modakeke.

The network of roads within Ife is also representative of most urban settlements in Western Nigeria. Less than half the roads in the community are paved. All but a few are twisting and very narrow. Some reflect the traditional paths used before the appearance of motor vehicles, especially those which cut through the community from the outskirts. Many of the minor roads which link these main thoroughfares appear uniformly to separate some individual compounds from others. Certain larger compound areas are bounded by these roads. On the outskirts, most major roads lead along traditionally used paths to outlying farmland and neighboring villages and hamlets. Some recent additions have been made, notably the two bye-passes:

Fajuyi Road--formerly called the Ilesha Bypass--built after 1950, and the broad and only excellent road in Ife, with a strong crushed rock foundation and a multi-layered asphalt covering, the Ondo Bypass, completed in 1967. Although one can see readily pie-shaped wedges created by the several major thoroughfares radiating out from the traditional center of Ife at the Afin, these wedges do not correspond to major social divisions of the community; and the five major traditional quarters are not delineated by these major roads.

Along the paved roads are located all major commercial and governmental activity. Whereas some small crafts may be seen some distances from major roads or within compound areas, most are easily seen immediately adjacent to the thoroughfares. Lorry and taxi parks (for travel to other urban areas) are usually on the shoulders of major roads. The two major lorry parks in Ife are on a cross-street linking the two major roads which lead to the important nearby cities of Ondo and Ibadan. (On Figure Ten later in the report, these two lorry parks, adjacent to each other, are shown as one lorry park.)

Along both sides of many of the major roads can be found a profusion of small shops and businesses. The newcomer to this area of Nigeria is struck by the duplication and multiplicity of cloth-selling, small hardware and plastic goods, appliance, and trinket-selling stalls. These number in the hundreds in Ife, with dozens of each

of the above types. (See Plates 1 and 2)

Along these roads is a profusion of shops operated by tailors, seamstresses, photographers, printers, barbers, hair-dressers, shoemakers and shoe-repairers, bicycle, motorcycle and auto repairers, carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, and similar craftsmen. These are easily identifiable in most cases by prominent and colorful signboards (in English or Yoruba or both).

There is no railroad linked to Ife. The one railroad cutting through the Western State from Lagos through Ibadan to the northern States passes closest to Ife through Ede, 22 miles to the north-west. All commercial traffic is therefore carried by lorries or Peugeot taxis on the major thoroughfares. The most heavily travelled of these are the paved ones, to Ibadan, Ede, Ondo, and Ilesha. Other roads, unpaved, leading from the community serve as links to farmlands, hamlets, and a few neighboring villages. Along these unpaved roads, and to a lesser extent on the paved ones, it is possible to see large numbers of people on bicycle or on foot going to and from their farms and the markets, particularly very early in the morning and late in the afternoon.

Within the community can be found hundreds of automobiles, lorries, bicycles, and pedestrians often competing for space on the narrow roads. Hundreds of Morris Minor taxicabs provide relatively efficient and cheap means of

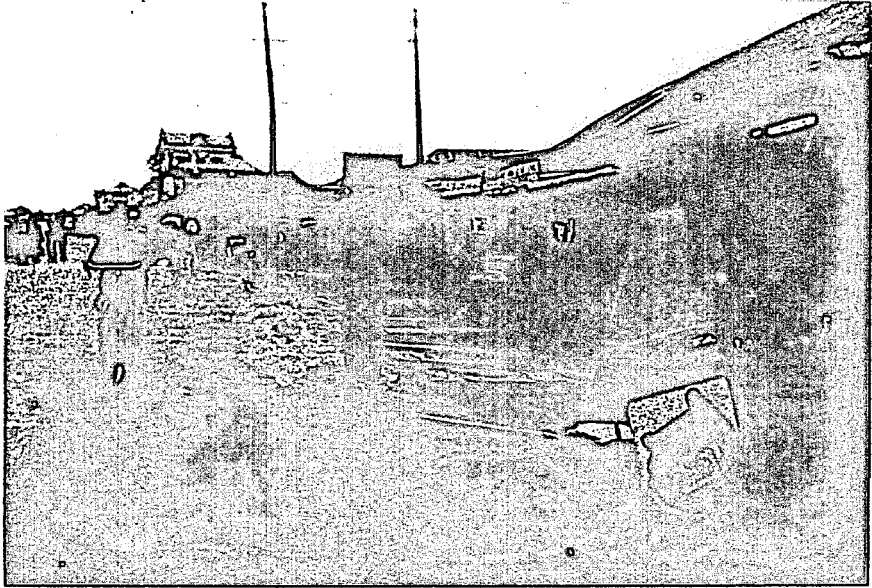


Plate 1.--Street scene in Modakeke

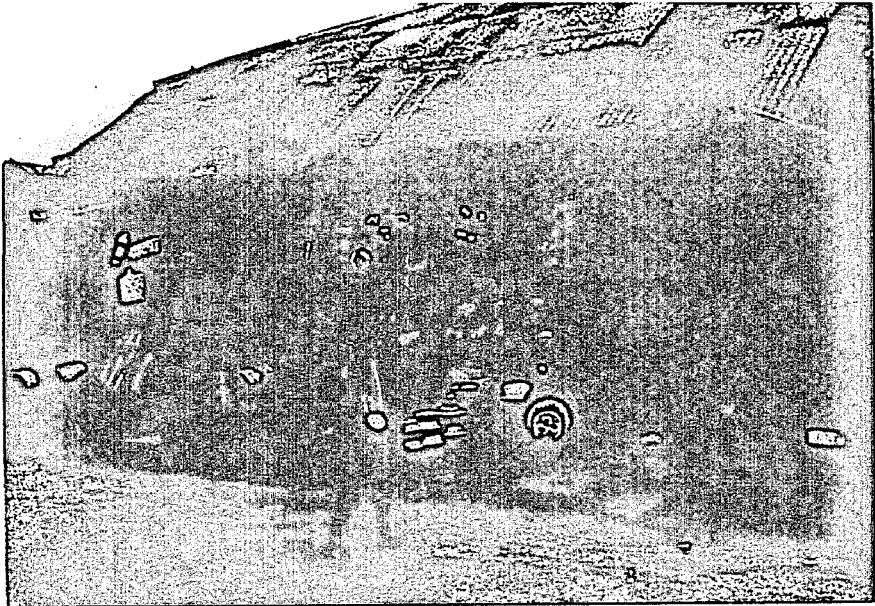


Plate 2.--Several general merchandise stalls
in Ireemo quarter

travel within the community, and between it and the university campus several miles away. For longer distances, Peugeot taxis and mammy wagons (lorries for passengers) periodically arrive from and depart to nearby urban centers.

Private automobiles are owned by most graduate teachers, upper civil service employees, successful businessmen, barristers, solicitors, several traditional chiefs, and only a few others. (See Plate 3)

The market system is based partly on the traditional pattern of regular rotation between various market centers in the different quarters of the town. Each quarter has had traditionally at least one market. Rotation was based on five-day and nine-day cycles, in which markets assemble in one location every five or nine days, rotating regularly between markets.¹ This is said to have been the basis of the traditional market system in Ife. The system is based now partly on the newer practice of daily markets in particular locations. This modern practice is due to the continuous demand for certain goods, particularly foodstuffs, special herbs, and spices; it is also due in part to the convenience of the centralized location. The largest market in Ife is the Irewo market. Another important one is the oja ife market near the Afin

¹ In Yoruba communities, a "five day" market rotation takes place every four days--the day of the market being counted as the first and the last day of the five day cycle. Hence the "nine day" market rotation takes place actually every eight days.

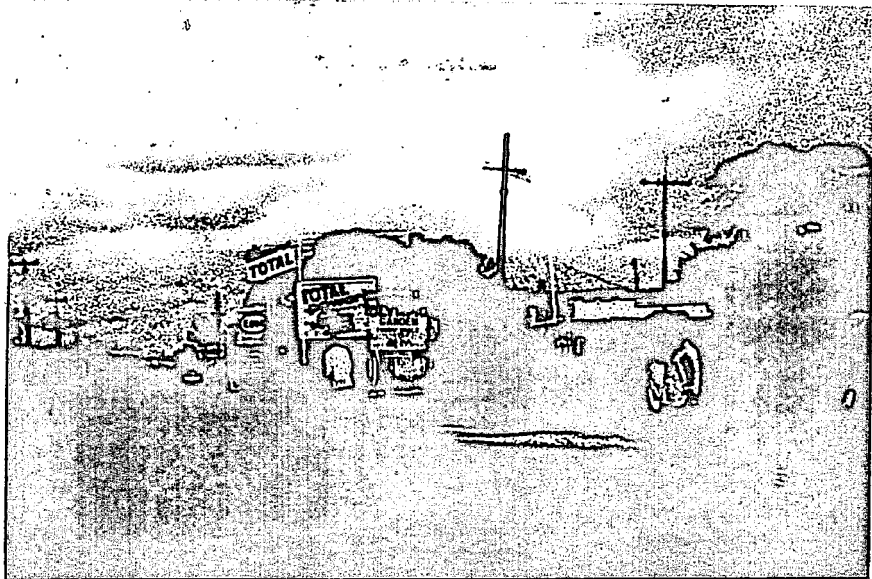


Plate 3.--Street scene near Akarabata



Plate 4.--Portion of major Ife market, Irewo

(palace) of the Oni of Ife. These operate daily. The other markets apparently retain the traditional pattern.

Traditionally, Yoruba markets have been located near the residences of chiefs.¹ This explains in part the fact that smaller markets are located in the various quarters of the town, as well as explaining in part the location of Oja-Ife market. Nearing completion in a previously vacant area (swampland only partly reclaimed) is the first modern market designed to be the major one for all of Ife. This has been designed by the Town Planning Authority, with the hope that such a location and modern design will alleviate some of the massive congestion and hygienic problems now characteristic of the other markets in the area. The location of it seems to be based more on these criteria and the availability of space than on any traditional criteria. (See Plate 4)

Commercial activity within Ife is predominately non-industrial. There are no major industries, and certainly none with any great effect on the occupational structure of Ife. Four lumber mills are located on the edge of the community; several smaller mills and plank-selling areas can be found. A rock quarry to the west employs very few personnel, being highly mechanized, and is linked in only a peripheral way to the economy of Ife. Several hundred workers on construction projects at the

¹Ojo, Yoruba Culture, op. cit., p. 140.

University live in Ife. But the majority of University senior staff and many junior staff live at the University. The impact of those living in Ife will undoubtedly increase in coming years, however. Except for those few activities, most business is geared toward the distribution and sale of farm commodities (many cocoa warehouses where cocoa from farms is examined, graded and stored for eventual shipping to Ibadan and Lagos; kola nut sorting and transportation) and of products manufactured elsewhere (shops such as G.B.O., Singer Sewing, Coca-Cola and Nigerian Tobacco Company distributing agencies, Bata shoe, Nigeradio, and several others). A few shops sell food, cloth, paints, automobile parts, and drugs. The majority of personnel in commercial activity are employed either in these relatively large businesses and in the profusion of smaller shops and stalls.

Civil-service and public-service activities constitute a large sector of the wage-earning sector of the community. In addition to the several hundred residents who work in various subordinate (junior staff) capacities at the University, there are the employees of the two hospitals (General Hospital and the Seventh Day Adventist Hospital), a Police Barracks, the several customary and magistrates' courts, District Council Offices, Office of Social Welfare, Office of Community Development, the Ministry of Education Inspectorate Office, Town Planning

Authority, several Post Offices, the Ori-Olokun Cultural Center (established in mid-1968, operated by the University of Ife's Institute of African Studies), the Ife Museum, Motor Licensing Authority, the Community Centre, and the Afin. There is a large number of barristers employing staff. The two hospitals employ the largest number of workers of all businesses in Ife, except for the University (see Appendix DD).

There are now four main banks (Barclays, Cooperative, National, and the new African Continental Bank), and several hotels (notably the Mayfair, Long Life, and Paradise).

Half of the population of Ife of just over 130,000 is under 25 years of age. The ratio of male to female is about even. Over 31,000 live in Modakeke. The population of Sabo is estimated (in a 1967 survey) to be 1,236, mostly Hausa-speaking.¹ Ife is predominately Christian (60%), but has a large Muslim population (35%). The remainder might be classified as animist--although there is obviously a factor of multiple allegiance by many people of Ife to their professed faiths and to elements of the traditional religion. The largest section of the Christian population is the Anglicans, followed by various populations of Roman Catholics, Baptists, and those belonging to the Salvation Army Church,

¹Ojo, "Hausa Quarters of Yoruba Towns," op. cit., p. 14.

African, Christ Apostolic, Apostolic, Ethiopian, Seventh-Day Adventist, Cherubim and Seraphim, and the Methodist churches. There are several religious groups within the Muslim population, although this has not been studied in detail. The predominately Hausa and Muslim population of Sabo do not affiliate closely with the various Muslim and Yoruba groups within the community: attendance at mosques, for example, reflects this social, and religious separation. There are perhaps several hundred inhabitants who may be identified as Ibos, Urhobos, Beni, Ijaw, and a few others. As will be indicated in later Chapters, other Yoruba-speaking affiliations can be identified, but they comprise a relatively small minority, with the important exception of those living in Modakeke.

Historical Development of Religious Patterns

There is a part of the oral tradition of Ife, not confirmed in either known written history or archaeological findings, that Christianity reached Ife as early as the sixteenth century. The establishment of Christianity in the court of Benin, which is confirmed in reports of the Portuguese Dominicans, is believed to have led to the importing of Christianity to Ife soon thereafter. This apparently led to the conversion of one Oni of Ife, who then assumed Christian first names, Thomas John (Achwani). After his death, however, the Bible and other "books"

were burned publicly, and the influences faded. The strong ties through history between Benin and Ife, particularly between the ruling families, lend some credence to this oral tradition.¹

Christianity is known to have reached Ife during the mid-nineteenth century. In 1859 the Anglican church, under the direction of Rev. Hinderer at Ibadan, sent African missionaries John Thomas and Thomas Williams to work in Ife and Modakeke, respectively. Soon thereafter, however, the warfare in this area and possibly political and religious differences in the two sections of the community prevented the continuance of the missions. Not until late in the century did Christianity reappear to become a permanent feature of community life.

Some Ijebu traders active in Ife sold Bibles and school primers to many Ife and Modakeke peoples in the last decade of the nineteenth century. There is some evidence that small, informal school classes were held after 1899 in various homes. The C. M. S. Bishop at Ondo, Charles Philips, upon hearing of this enthusiasm for Christianity and education, visited Ife and in 1899 sent Rev. E. A. Kayode, a native of Ife educated elsewhere, and a pupil-teacher, Akinrosotu, a native of Ondo, to help build a church and school. In 1900 buildings for

¹Based, in part, on information supplied by Chief Fabunmi of Ife, 1969, and by Dr. John Parrott, formerly of the University of Ife's Institute of African Studies.

both were built at Iyekere (Okerewe quarter) on farmland between the sections of residential Ife and Modakeke. Both the Oni of Ife and the Bale of this quarter in Modakeke sanctioned this establishment, and it is reported that individuals from both Ife and Modakeke were included in the work of the mission. Soon after this a headmaster of the Iyekere school was appointed, Rev. Laninhun, a product of St. Andrew's C. M. S. College in Oyo.¹

In 1910 the congregation of the Iyekere church split, reportedly over the earlier handling of the problem of the relationship between the people of Ife and Modakeke by the former Oni Olubuse. This was at the time of the eviction of all Oyo descendents from Modakeke by the Ifes (from 1909 to 1922). The bulk of the congregation, with the sanction of the new Oni (1910), Ademiluyi, moved their church to Aiyetoro where it is still located. A smaller group disbanded to form the Bethel African Church at Itakogun. The movement to these two locations was a movement to two different traditional sections of the community: One to Okerewe quarter (Aiyetoro), and one to Irewo quarter (Itakogun). This would seem to suggest that political and kinship factors were operating to split the congregation. It should be noted, moreover, that Modakeke is located on

¹The above dates are derived from information from Dr. John Parrott of the University of Ife. Bascom reports that Rev. Kayode arrived in 1901. Bascom, *op. cit.*, p. 16. According to Dr. Parrott, Rev. Kayode arrived in May, 1899, and that the first baptisms were performed on February 18, 1900.

farm land which traditionally has been claimed jointly by these two Ife quarters. Also, other traditional practices often have been basic issues which have splintered churches and produced separatist and syncretic sects, such as the African Church elsewhere in Nigeria. In Ife, the Ethiopian National and the Bethel African Churches both split from the C. M. S.; the Cherubim and Seraphim Society split later from the African Church; the Christ Apostolic Church developed in a similar manner outside Ife; and the African Apostolic Church is the result of a separation from the Christ Apostolic Church over the issue of polygyny.

Other Christian churches began to appear. In 1912, the Baptists built a church and school at Ilare quarter. Roman Catholics are reported to have been evident in Ife several years before the establishment of the mission in Iremo quarter in 1919; this would suggest that some residents had been converted previously elsewhere. The first R. C. school was established in 1927, adjacent to the Iremo church. The Seventh-Day Adventist Church began its work in Ife in 1940, with the building of a hospital and church, and later with the development of schools. Although the Methodist Missionary Society was one of the first in Nigeria (in Badagry and Abeokuta in 1842) and had established a mission at Ilesha just north-east of Ife in the nineteenth century, it did not establish a church group in Ife until 1951. Its congregation has always been composed primarily of immigrants from the Ilesha area. The Salvation Army

began its work in Ife in the early nineteen twenties.

The Hausa-speaking peoples of Sabo, as well as many Yoruba traders from the northern areas, were Muslim, and were present in Ife as early as the last century. Ife was on several important north to south trade routes, with resultant religious and economic ties growing over the years. The predominately Muslim population of Sabo can be said to be distinctly separated from the Muslim population of Ife, linguistically, socially, and educationally. Mallams and Imams in the Yoruba areas of Ife are Yoruba, not Hausa, although they have all seemed to have travelled through the Hausa north and many times have been to Mecca. Whereas there may be a common religious affiliation, the expression of that affiliation socially does not exist as a common practice, either through marriage, common economic activity, or common attendance at Muslim festivals or services:

Devoid of cultural interaction especially at individual levels, it does not seem that there are strong bases for mutual influences between the inhabitants of the Yoruba and Hausa quarters which can promote inter-ethnic harmony.

Records of European missionaries in the nineteenth century reveal the extent of animist and traditional religious practices, as in the following reference in 1852 to ". . . the large and famous town of Ife, from whence all

¹Ojo, "Hausa Quarters of Yoruba Towns," op. cit., p. 17.

the idols in this part of the country are said to emanate . . .¹

Whatever summary remarks can be made about these religious groups should be considered hypothetical, with only limited confirmation in fact. First, it cannot be assumed that the temporary activities of missionaries in the 1850's, or possibly of Dominicans in the late 1500's, had a lasting impact either on the social organization and processes or on the value system of those in the community. Christian influence in Ife was relatively late, in relation to other Yoruba communities. There is clearly no evidence of lasting institutional change due to Christian efforts in Ife until 1899.

Second, and relatedly, it may be assumed that those few individuals within Ife who had either been converted to Christianity or been educated in formal schools prior to 1900 had been influenced by Christianity elsewhere. This outside influence undoubtedly was a force behind the eventual demand within certain community sectors for the development of schools and churches. By 1900 Christian efforts in Ibadan, Ondo and Ilesha, for example, had become extensive, and the government of the Crown Colony in Lagos had already begun to encourage missions in the development of schools, primarily for the production of literate

¹Rev. Hinderer, report from Ibadan, circa 1851, cited in Proceedings of the C.M.S., compiled by Henry Venn (London: C.M.S., 1852), pp. 57-58.

and "educated" clerks. This normative reference to the outside, particularly by Christian strangers to Ife, can be said to have influenced the attitudes of some individuals toward Christianity and toward formal schooling. Significantly, it reveals that there was extensive movement of Yoruba from community to community.

Social Organization

Beyond the morphological aspects of the community are aspects of social organization. Attention to these reveal much of the structure and processes within the community and the links to the outside.

Ife serves as a link of the surrounding farmland and smaller communities to the State and the Federation--economically, politically and administratively, educationally, and, more generally, socially. Administratively, Ife is the headquarters for the Ife Division. Courts, tax collection, police, and activities such as motor licensing within the Division are administered in Ife. In turn, these several units are part of the larger State system, and, therefore, are subject to policy and planning ultimately set in Ibadan, the State capital. Appointments for the civil service positions within these units are made in Ibadan. Under conditions before the present crisis, politics of this area also found its expression as a link between smaller communities and Ibadan.

Economically, the picture is similar. Cocoa from

farms nearby, including some outside the Division, is usually brought to Ife for sale to the large commercial establishments, storage in their warehouses, inspection there by representatives of the State's Cocoa Marketing Board, and later shipment to Ibadan and Lagos for sale overseas. Dozens of these warehouses may be found in the outlying areas of the community, employing, during peak harvest seasons (particularly October to January), several hundred personnel. The largest of these cocoa agencies in Ife is owned and operated by a few Lebanese traders. Kola nut harvests in the area are brought also to Ife for sale and shipment. A major activity in Sabo is this packaging and shipping of kola nuts--some to the northern States, some to Lagos and overseas. Lorries from Ife carry some of the timber from nearby forest preserves to the four Ife lumber mills, and even more lumber directly to mills in other large urban centers, such as Ilesha and Ibadan. Most of the other farm products from nearby areas come to Ife markets for consumption rather than export to other communities. (See Plates 5 and 6)

There is almost no raising of livestock in the Ife area. Goats and a few other small animals often are brought from nearby areas for sale in the markets. Cattle for slaughter for food are walked on the main roads from either northern areas or the railroad depot of Ede after they have been unloaded from trains from the northern States. The largest number of cattle-drivers are Hausa; they may

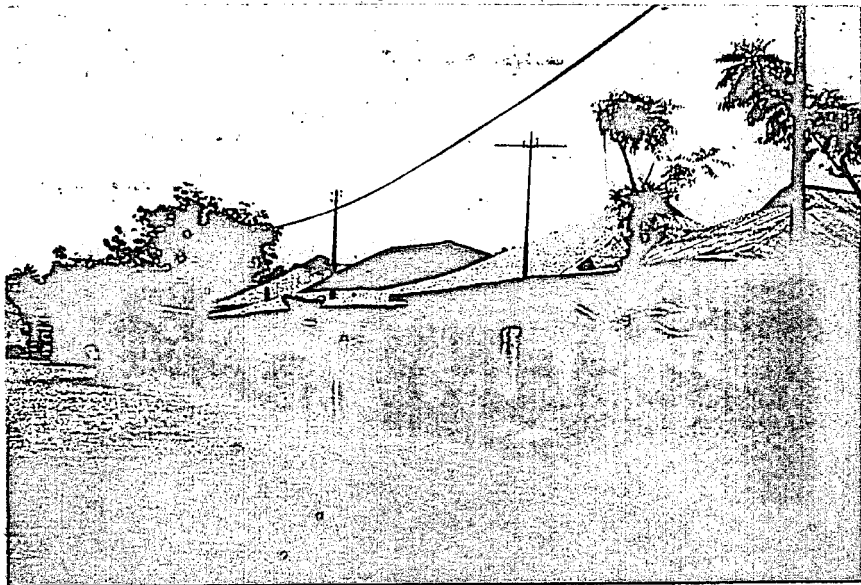


Plate 5.--Loading kola-nuts onto a lorry in a section of Sabo

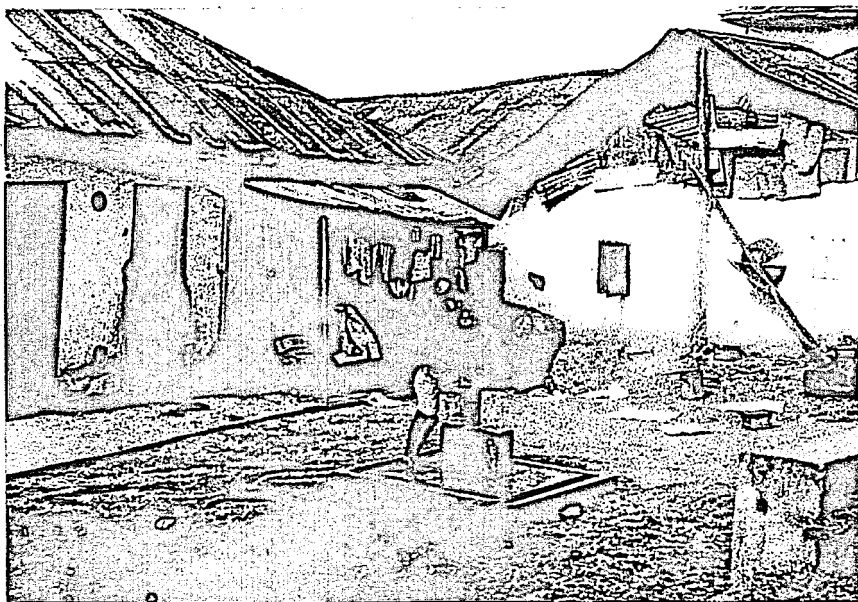


Plate 6.--Water tap in Iremono quarter

spend some time in Sabo before returning to the north.

The structure of the system of small crafts tends to be independent of those of the neighboring communities; but there are some significant changes taking place. Each of the various craft industries in Ife has its own organization of masters. Guilds (egba) of masters are traditional networks which often cut across all quarters, becoming truly community-wide. These guilds, which include those of the carpenters, printers, blacksmiths, and similar small businesses; are composed of many, but in practice not all, of the masters of a particular craft. They meet regularly, usually weekly or bi-weekly, often in the Ife Community Center, to discuss problems and activities. Some of these serve as mutual-aid associations, providing a means of supporting some of the members who are having financial difficulties. The constitutions of these guilds usually state aims of high standards and qualifications for entry into the guild. Normative entrance requirements are usually specified for apprenticeship; in printing, for example, the requirement is six years of primary schooling as a base, although some printers require the Secondary Modern credential, and the printers! guild has been discussing for the past few years raising the base requirement to School Certificate. An apprentice who obtains his "freedom" after serving time is eligible to enter the guild. In practice, however, many masters do not join, and many members do not take an

active role. Only about half or all master printers in Ife, for example, were members of the guild, and of those who were members, less than one-half attended the weekly meetings. The situation of the printing guild is fairly typical, although some smaller craft industries, such as the goldsmiths and blacksmiths, seem to have a higher proportion of all masters as members of the guild. And in a few crafts, there are several guilds operating in different sections of the community.¹

The craft system includes masters, journeymen, and apprentices. The master has received his freedom and is working in his own business. In peak business periods, a master may hire temporarily another master who will then serve as journeyman for him. There may be several journeymen at a given business, and they may be so employed for a long period of time. The activities of the master, and, under his direction, the journeyman involve overseeing all aspects of the business, including getting orders and fulfilling "social" obligations. Thus it is not uncommon to find the master or journeyman away on business frequently, with journeymen or senior apprentices in charge at the time, although all major negotiations and financing must await decisions by the master.

In recent years, the economic situation has forced

¹Archibald Callaway, "From Traditional Crafts to Modern Industries," in Lloyd, Mabogunje, and Awe, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-171.

the closing of many smaller businesses. This has been due partly to rising prices and restriction on imports of critical materials, most critical of course for the more technical and modern businesses such as printing and photography. Business has also been affected by legal restrictions and more stringent loan requirements set by the State government, a situation discussed often in guild meetings. The printers' guild executive, for example, has made several overtures to the State government to relax loan restrictions and provide laws requiring a minimum educational standard for apprenticeship; this appeal has been based on the belief that such actions would help prevent the proliferation of small businesses by poorly trained masters, who often charge unduly low prices for their work, making business difficult for the larger-scale printers, who are the majority of members of the guild, understandably. The printers' guild feels that regulatory actions must be statewide because of the easy mobility of businesses; as the head of the Ife printers' guild said, "Anyone can hang out his shingle [sign] and take penny-penny work." Another consequence is the trend for guilds in several communities to join together for mutual protection. The printers' guild in Ife has explored such association with several guilds in major urban communities in Western Nigeria in the past two years (see Chapter Seven for more information on craft businesses).

Links of guilds in Ife to those in other communities extend to non-craft activities, such as the Motor Transport Owners' Association, babalawos (traditional native doctors), herbalists, and others.

Links between families in Ife and elsewhere are quite common, and are of several types. First, in the traditional areas of Ife, increasingly in recent years, sons and daughters of families in Ife have moved to other communities. Many of these emigrants have established families and a residence in these other communities. Second, primarily in the non-traditional areas, there are many who have moved into Ife and established homes there. Their links include often not only those to their home town but also links to other communities where they may have worked or lived or gone to school. These two types of links account for a large part of the non-commercial travel into and out of Ife, since some family obligations and responsibilities and relationships remain after family residential disintegration--obligations involving principally the responsibilities of the eldest males for all siblings and their descendents (see Chapter Eight).

Summary of Chapter Four

Examination of the history of Ife shows that it was an important urban center before European contact. Missionary activity, with resultant development of churches and

formal schools, was relatively late in Ife. Developments since 1900 reveal that traditional divisions of the community tended to be retained in the period of growth of the churches. And divisions of the Muslim population reflect the more comprehensive social, economic, linguistic, and family divisions between Sabo and the rest of Ife.

Ife is predominately an agricultural-oriented community, overlaid with crafts and small businesses. It serves as a link between the surrounding farmland and smaller communities and the State and Federation, being the administrative center for the Ife Division and serving as the channel for the export of crops to these larger entities. The internal structure and processes of Ife serve partly these links and partly the maintenance of the community as a separate entity.

CHAPTER V

EDUCATIONAL PATTERNS AND PROCESSES
IN THE COMMUNITY OF IFE

This descriptive survey begins with attention to the more formalized processes of education in the community, requiring special focus on the schools. There follows an examination of other formalized processes, and a concluding broad overview of the less explicit forms of the community which have educational import.¹

The Formal School System in Ife

There are sixty-two formal schools operating in Ife, enrolling over 16,000 students and employing over 500 teachers. Forty-two of these schools are primary institutions. There are eight secondary modern schools, one junior high school, one technical college, and ten secondary grammar schools. There are no teacher training colleges (see Table 1).

Formal schooling in Ife, as for all of the Western State, begins for the majority of children at the age of six. After registration, the child enters primary one,

¹As in the previous chapter, this chapter is written in the "ethnographic present." Exceptions will be indicated, as when recent changes must be noted. For the data on education, the ethnographic present may be considered mid-1968.

TABLE 1
ENROLLMENTS IN SCHOOLS IN IFE, JUNE, 1968

Schools		Students			
Quantity	Type	No. of Male	No. of Female	Total	% Male
42	Primary schools	6,973	5,534	12,507	56%
8	Secondary modern	497	268	765	65
1	Junior high school	54	37	91	60
1	Technical college	83	38	121	67
10	Secondary grammar/ commercial	1,576	981	2,557	62
(1)	H.S.C. classes ^a	63	2	65	97
62	Total	9,246	6,860	16,106	57%

^aPart of one secondary grammar school.

the first year of a six-year program. During this program, the child is enrolled in a series of courses in English, Yoruba, Writing, Arithmetic, Health Education, Physical Education, Nature Study, Arts and Crafts, Religious Knowledge, Geography, History, and in some schools Agriculture or Gardening, Needlework or Handwork. In a few schools Civics or Government is taught. English is not used as a medium of instruction in most schools until the last few years of the six year program; in Ife, Yoruba is the medium of instruction normally through primary class four, after which English is used increasingly.

In primary school, fees are not charged, but parents must supply uniforms (normally khaki shorts and shirt),

money for mid-day meals, and books. Facilities in general are poor: walls of buildings are often in a state of severe deterioration due to the effects of heavy rains, poor maintenance, and poor construction; desks and seats often need repair; blackboards are usually painted sections of concrete walls or painted boards on the wall or on a stand; and there are normally few or no posters or other visual aids to the teacher.¹

The school day begins at 8 A.M. and concludes at 2 P.M., except for early dismissal on Fridays--for Muslim children to attend services at mosques. At all schools a daily religious service or assembly is held at the beginning of each school day. There is a break in the late morning for the mid-day meal, normally available for purchase from a woman trader who visits the compound. During the day, a visitor to the school commonly will find students cutting grass in the compound, particularly near the rainy season. Grass-cutting is done both as a means of keeping the compound relatively clear and as a means of discipline. Every child is expected to bring his own machete, or "blade". During the first few weeks after vacation and the last few before vacation, it is common to find most classes outside cutting grass.

¹For a picture of facilities in many Western State primary schools, applicable to Ife, see the ILO, "Education in a Rural Area of Western Nigeria," op. cit.

The school year begins in mid-January and ends in mid-December. There is a short break between the first and second terms in March, and a long break from mid-August to mid-September between the second and third terms (There are plans to change the school year soon, however, to coincide with the University year, which begins in September and ends in June).

Examinations are scheduled at the end of each school year. The crucial exam is the Primary School Leaving Certificate (P.S.L.C.) Examination. Success in this will determine whether further schooling is possible. Officially, promotion is not automatic during the six years; a child can be required to repeat a year for a maximum of three times during the six years.

Classes are conducted normally in a strict atmosphere: The master plays a role as the source of knowledge, and students respond only when called upon, often in unison to repeat what the master has just stated. This emphasis on orderly procedure puts few demands on the master above the keeping of discipline and requires the students to pay careful attention to classroom activity. Often the master will write out a series of statements or draw a map or sketch on the blackboard and require students to copy this in their notebooks. This frees the master to check over the work of the students, examine and grade notebooks, or study personal materials for his own benefit such as external examination advice through correspondence

schools. Normally when the master is not present in the class, there is a breakdown of this strict atmosphere.

There are forty-two primary schools within the community as defined (see Table 2). Some of these are not six-year institutions, however, and some are sections of a six-year program. There are two schools operated by the Local Education Authority which are being held in part at five different locations: one school has three sections of two years each; another has two sections of two and four years. There is one school with only four classes, and four schools with five classes each.

There are 12,507 students enrolled in these primary schools, and 357 teachers, producing an average ratio of 28 students to each teacher. Fifty-six per cent of the students and 63 per cent of the teachers are male.

All the primary schools are day institutions. Nearly all the parents of these students live in Ife. Those students whose parents live elsewhere normally reside with relatives in Ife; in a few cases they live with close family friends. (See Plate 7)

Most primary students travel to school on foot. Very few have bicycles and none are known to be picked up by parents in cars or to ride home in taxis. It is understandable that students attend schools close to their homes. Moreover, students normally attend schools run by the church group to which parents belong.

TABLE 2

PRIMARY SCHOOLING IN IFE, JUNE, 1968

	Agency	No. of Classes	No. of Students	No. of Staff
1.	Local Education Auth.	1 - 2	179	4
2.	Local Education Auth.	3 - 4	147	4
3.	Local Education Auth.	5 - 6	87	3
4.	Local Education Auth.	1 - 4	80	2
5.	Local Education Auth.	3 - 6	109	4
6.	Local Education Auth.	1 - 6	200	6
7.	Anglican	1 - 6	440	12
8.	Anglican	1 - 6	453	13
9.	Anglican	1 - 5	253	6
10.	Anglican	1 - 6	219	6
11.	Anglican	1 - 6	293	8
12.	Anglican	1 - 6	484	13
13.	Anglican	1 - 6	418	13
14.	Anglican	1 - 6	485	13
15.	Anglican	1 - 6	572	14
16.	Anglican	1 - 6	245	6
17.	Anglican	1 - 6	231	6
18.	Roman Catholic	1 - 6	474	13
19.	Roman Catholic	1 - 6	474	13
20.	Roman Catholic	1 - 6	225	7
21.	Roman Catholic	1 - 6	236	6
22.	Roman Catholic	1 - 6	352	10
23.	Ansar-Ud-Deen (Muslim)	1 - 6	196	7
24.	Ansar-Ud-Deen	1 - 6	549	16
25.	Ansar-Ud-Deen	1 - 6	222	7
26.	Baptist	1 - 6	430	12
27.	Baptist	1 - 6	358	11
28.	Salvation Army	1 - 5	160	5
29.	Salvation Army	1 - 5	172	5
30.	Salvation Army	1 - 6	193	6
31.	African Church	1 - 6	439	12
32.	African Church	1 - 5	145	4
33.	Christ Apostolic Church	1 - 6	369	10
34.	Christ Apostolic Church	1 - 6	211	6
35.	Apostolic Church	1 - 6	202	6
36.	Apostolic Church	1 - 6	409	12
37.	Ethiopian Church	1 - 4	164	4
38.	Ethiopian Church	1 - 6	430	13
39.	Seventh-Day Adventist ^a	1 - 6	125	6
40.	Cherabim and Seraphim	1 - 6	439	13
41.	Methodist	1 - 6	247	6
42.	Ansar-Ul-Islam (Muslim)	1 - 6	391	12

^aPrivate school.

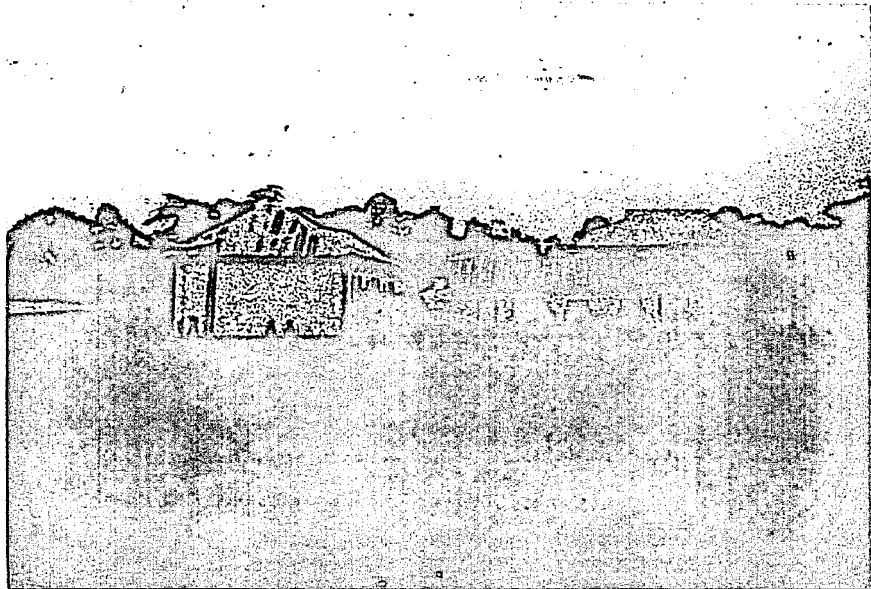


Plate 7.--Primary school in Ilare quarter

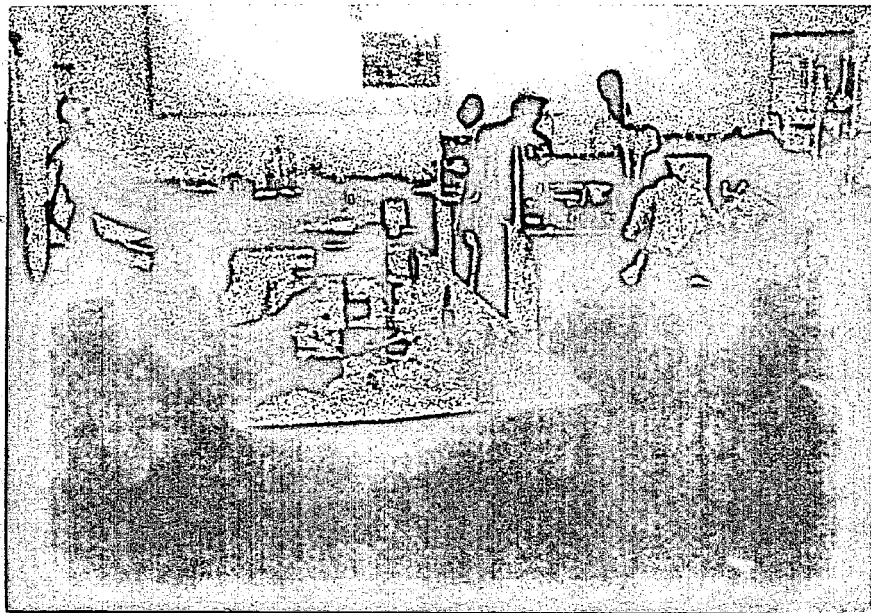


Plate 8.--Science laboratory in a secondary grammar school, Okerewe quarter

For the fortunate few who have passed the P.S.L.C. examination and also have passed the entrance requirements of a particular school (usually including an exam), there is the possibility of entrance to a secondary grammar school. This is a five or six year institution which leads to the West African School Certificate (W.A.S.C.) examination. There are 7 such schools in Ife (See Table 3). All of these 7 are five year schools. In addition there are 3 younger schools which hope to gain official approval to offer this exam in future years. These 3 are temporarily preparing students for the General Certificate of Education (G.C.E.) examinations in particular subjects; and 2 of these offer a choice of commercial subjects which normally are preparatory to examinations of the Royal Society of Arts (R.S.A.) of London.

Secondary grammar schools offer a predominately liberal bias in their range of courses. Except in the commercial schools which hope to offer these in the future, these courses include English Language and Literature, Bible or Religious Knowledge, History, Yoruba, Geography, Mathematics, General Science, Physics, Biology, and Chemistry. Some schools also offer Government (Civics), Economics, Fine Arts, Agriculture, French, and Latin. In the commercial schools, Accountancy, Bookkeeping, Typing, Shorthand, and Commerce are given, leading to the R.S.A. exams. English is the medium of instruction in all these schools.

TABLE 3

SECONDARY SCHOOLING IN IFE, JUNE, 1968

Agency	No. of Classes	No. of Students	No. of Staff
Secondary Modern Schools			
43. Local Education Auth.	1 - 3	53	3
44. Anglican	1 - 3	89	5
45. Roman Catholic	1 - 3	222	8
46. (closed)			
47. Apostolic Church	1 - 3	73	4
48. Ansar-Ud-Deen	1 - 3	74	3
49. Seventh-Day Adventist	1 - 3	104	4
50. African Church	1 - 3	90	3
51. Ethiopian	1 - 3	60	4
Junior High School			
52. Local Education Auth. ^a	1 - 3	91	6
Technical College			
54. Roman Catholic	1 - 3	121	11
Secondary Grammar Schools			
53. Private (Commercial)	1 - 4 _b	46	6
55. Ife Community	1 - 5 ^b	438 ^c	26
56. Anglican	1 - 5	375	20
57. Private	1 - 5	378	19
58. Modakeke Community (male)	1 - 5	207	11
59. Ife Community (female)	1 - 5	235	12
60. Roman Catholic (male)	1 - 5	269	12
61. Roman Catholic (female)	1 - 5	184	12
62. Private	1 - 4	235	13
63. Private (Commercial)	1 - 3	190	10

^aOperated for the Ministry of Education

^bSixth Form also operated at this school

^cThere are 65 students additional in the Sixth Form

The daily and yearly cycles are similar to those of primary schools, although the W.A.S.C. and G.C.E. examinations are offered in both June and late November.

Yearly promotion is dependent on examinations and course grades at the end of each year, and there is no regulation on the length of time one can remain in school. Nevertheless, fees charged in these schools are relatively high, averaging above 40 Pounds per year for tuition and boarding alone. Other expenses of books, uniforms, and development funds lift this to over 70 Pounds for each student per year. It is rare to find a student who is not promoted continue to be supported by parents and relatives and friends for many years.

As in the case of primary schools, discipline tends to be strict at most schools, and this is an issue of great importance to some teachers. Many teachers express strong feelings that in recent years discipline has slackened greatly, producing severe problems in the classroom. Teaching tends to be a series of lectures by masters, with questioning of understanding at periodic intervals-- although there are some notable exceptions to this general practice. Eight of these 10 grammar schools offer boarding for students, placing additional responsibilities of discipline on the staff there. Two schools have no boarding facilities; a third school has more day students than boarders. According to information supplied by headmasters, parents of approximately 30 per cent of the total

students do not live in Ife--one headmaster could not estimate the number of students or the percentage for his school. This percentage has only limited meaning, however, since it is based on a total number of students who are both boarding and day students (See Chapter Eight).

There are 2,557 students in these 10 secondary institutions (April, 1968). Of these 62 per cent are boys. There are 2 all-male and 2 all-female institutions. Of the 141 teachers, only 27 are female. The ratio of students to teachers is 18:1.

Facilities range between those which are barely adequate to allow satisfactory teaching to some of the finest secondary grammar schools in the Western State. Particularly deficient are the facilities for many commercial subjects; there are few typewriters and other equipment needed for instruction. Laboratories for the teaching of practical science subjects (General Science, Physics, Chemistry, and Biology) are on the whole well designed and well equipped, when compared to other institutions throughout the State. (This assessment is based on a survey of science teaching conducted by this researcher in 1968-69 throughout the Federation. The results will be published.) (See Plate 8)

Graduates of these secondary grammar schools are eligible for entry into the Sixth Form, or Higher School Certificate (H.S.C.) classes offered at some Nigerian

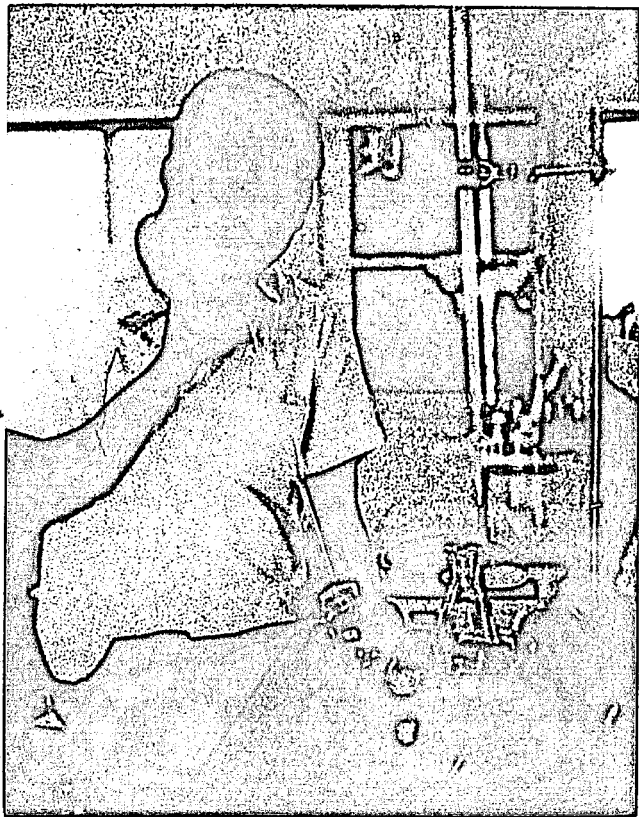


Plate 9.--Chemistry student in a secondary grammar school

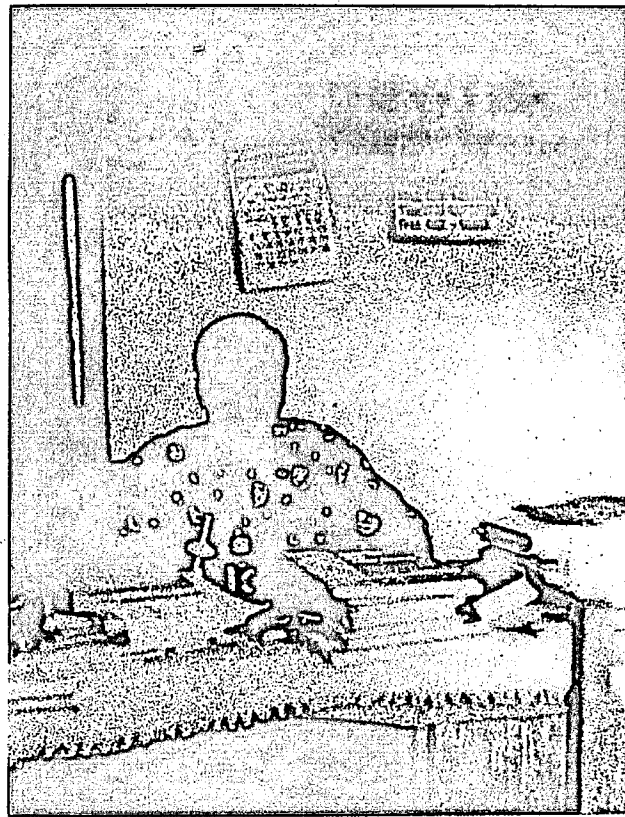


Plate 10.--Primary school headmaster in his office

secondary grammar schools. This is a two-year program designed primarily to prepare students for entry into the universities. Students specialize in several subjects only, such as Botany, Zoology, Chemistry, Physics, Maths, Advanced Maths, English, and other "liberal arts" courses. There is one school in Ife offering the Sixth Form; it has 65 students, including only 2 females.

An alternative for post-primary students in Ife are the several three-year secondary modern schools. Originally designed to offer a variety of commercial and pre-vocational subjects when this type of school was initiated in 1955, the secondary modern schools now offer a list of courses in many ways similar to those in grammar schools: English Language and Literature, Arithmetic, Geography, History, Civics, Religious Knowledge, Yoruba, Nature Study, Hygiene, Agricultural Science, Physical Education, and a variety of arts and crafts subjects, including Craft Work, Art, Music, and Needlework. The level of academic work is not up to that of grammar schools, however, and teachers are certainly not as qualified. Entry is based on performance on the P.S.L.C. examination and an entrance exam. English is the official medium of instruction, although some classes may use Yoruba at various times.

There are 8 secondary modern schools in Ife. None have boarding facilities. There are 765 students, of which 65 per cent are male, and 34 teachers, of which 71

per cent are male. The ratio of students to teachers is 23:1. According to information supplied by headmasters, 25 per cent of the students do not have parents who are native of Ife, but live with relatives and friends in Ife; for individual schools this percentage ranges from 0 to 55, however.

Tuition fees are charged in secondary modern schools, ranging from 13 to 16 Pounds per year. In addition to this are other costs, such as those for books and uniforms.

Facilities are more comparable to those in primary schools than to those in secondary grammar or commercial schools. Although modern schools were designed to absorb the expected greater number of primary school graduates after the adoption of the U.P.E. scheme in Western Nigeria in the early 1950's, they have become little more than schools aspiring to emulate grammar schools with only primary school support financially from the government. In fact, in recent years, the Western State government has withdrawn much of its financial assistance and moral support to these schools. It is widely believed that these schools will be closed in a few more years. Very few of these graduates attain entrance to secondary grammar schools; some enter teacher training colleges; and a few enter various technical colleges.

A third alternative for post-primary school youth is the one junior high school. There are 91 students in

the junior high school, 48 per cent of whom are boys. There are 6 teachers, 5 of whom are male. There is no entrance examination; entry is a pass in the P.S.L.C. examination. It is a three-year institution with a pre-vocational bias. Courses offered are English, Yoruba, Mathematics, General Science, Health Science and Physical Education, Agriculture, Home Economics, Social Studies, Commerce, Shorthand, Typing, and Secretarial Practice. English is the medium of instruction.

The junior high school is one of 6 established in Western Nigeria in 1965. These were designed to provide a different educational program than that of the secondary modern schools, which were under severe criticism at the time. The junior high schools were to provide programs for effective streaming of students into academic, technical, and commercial programs at a higher level, as another alternative to the academic orientation of the grammar schools. Very qualified graduates could thus continue their education in alternative programs--in secondary grammar schools, technical colleges, teacher training colleges, or on-the-job vocational training, depending on performance and interests. Unfortunately, for a variety of reasons, parents have been unwilling to send their children to this type of school, preferring the grammar schools when possible. According to many observers, most parents associate the junior high schools with the secondary

modern schools.¹

The junior high school is a boarding institution for 35 per cent of its students; the remainder are day students living in the community of Ife. Fees range from 43 Pounds for day students to 69 Pounds for boarders. Thus, fees compare with those of grammar schools, although its prestige compares more to that of the modern schools--undoubtedly the strongest factor in its unpopularity. Moreover, grammar schools continue to operate their lower forms. If entry can be obtained to a grammar school, this is preferable.

The one technical college, established in Ife in 1965, operates two programs: commerce and building. Entrance is granted to grammar school students with four years of schooling or to modern school graduates. Both programs are 3 years. The commerce program offers courses in Typing, Shorthand, Commerce, Bookkeeping, Geography, English, Arithmetic, and Religious Knowledge. Examinations after 3 years are those of the R.S.A. (Stages I - III, Commerce) in single subjects, R.S.A. Commercial School Certificate, the Pitman's Commercial examinations (Stages

¹In September, 1968, this school merged as a vocational stream of one of the secondary grammar schools in Ife. There are plans to convert this and many other grammar schools throughout the State to a comprehensive program in future years. The last of the junior high schools in the State, including the one in Ife, were ordered closed by the Western State Ministry of Education which had operated them.

I - III), or the Institute of Bookkeepers, depending upon the needs and programs of the students. The building program offers courses in Building Drawing, Craft Science, Calculation, Building Practice, and Religious Knowledge. Examinations can be taken in the Trade Test (States II and III) or the City and Guilds (London) examinations in Concreting and Blockwork. Again, classes are taught in English.

The college is not officially recognized by the Western State Ministry and receives no compensation from it. All students are boarders, and pay 57 Pounds for tuition and boarding fees. These fees and some overseas contributions to the college support its operation entirely.

There are 121 students in the two sections of the college (May, 1968), including 83 boys. Approximately 45 per cent of all students are in the building program, all male.¹ There are 11 members of staff, including one female. The ratio of students to staff is 11:1. The head of the college estimates that only 3 students at the college have parents living in Ife.

Facilities at the college are very satisfactory for both programs, including a variety of typewriters, duplicating machines, and other equipment for the commerce

¹A numerical break-down of students in the two sections was not made in May, 1968. The calculated 45 per cent is based on information for early 1969 supplied by the college.

section, and drafting equipment and construction apparatus for the building section. In addition, students in the building section receive on-the-job training in construction at Iife schools operated by the same voluntary agency.

A discussion of the University of Iife or of the University's Staff School is not included here; the physical boundary of Iife established for this survey excludes the University. (Appendix DD is a statement of the rationale for excluding the University in this study)

All of the above formal schools are distributed throughout the community, and no section of the community is without several. However, all secondary grammar schools are located on the periphery of the main residential areas, reflecting the need for large spaces, especially for boarding schools. Figure 4 shows the position of all formal schools; numbers correspond to reference numbers for Tables 2 and 3, and have no other significance.

The large majority of the schools, particularly primary and secondary modern, are run by 13 voluntary agencies--church affiliated groups. The Anglican churches provide schooling for over one-third of all primary school students in Iife. Only slightly over 6 per cent of all students are in schools run by the L.E.A.¹

¹L.E.A.s were dissolved in late 1968, and their responsibilities were assumed by the School Boards. Statistics apply only to the pre-School Board period of June, 1968.

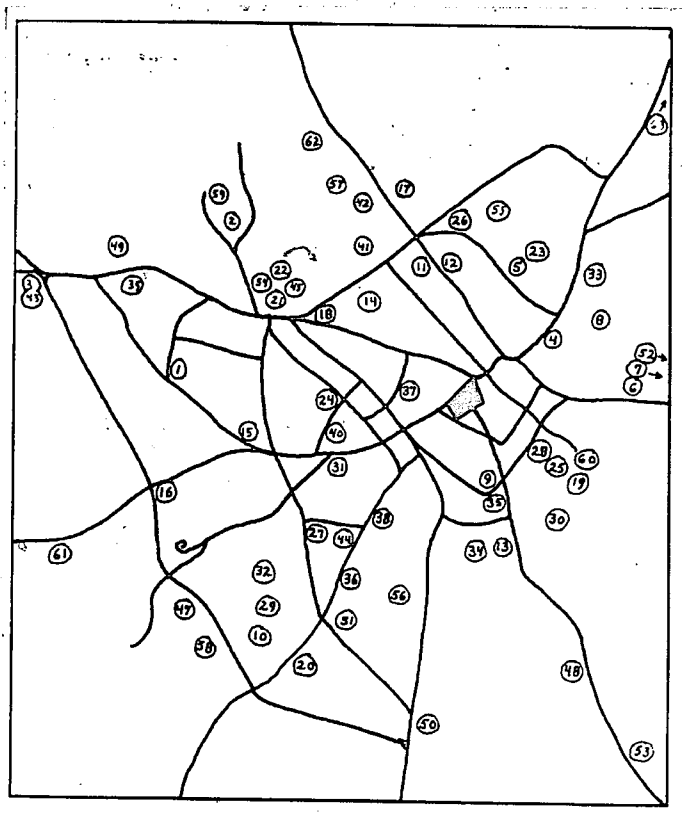


Fig. 4.--Distribution of schools in Ife

Voluntary agencies hold significant authority over educational practices. In Ife, the 13 agencies have the power to recruit and suspend teachers, distribute salaries, and plan some aspects of the educational programs. Each agency is responsible to the L.E.A., which, in turn, is responsible to the State Ministry of Education in Ibadan. These voluntary agencies, it should be noted, are responsible for all schools of their particular church affiliation throughout the Ife Division. There are 193 primary schools in the Division: 42 are L.E.A. schools, and 151 are voluntary agency schools. The voluntary agency of the Anglican churches, for example, is responsible for the 11 primary schools in the community of Ife plus 51 other Anglican schools in the Division. (See Plate 10)

In addition to the L.E.A., there is the Ministry of Education's Inspectorate Division. In Ife a small staff of 4 is responsible for visiting and inspecting all schools in the Division. The Inspectorate is not affiliated directly with the L.E.A., although they have adjacent offices and consult on various educational problems. The Inspectorate is responsible to the Principal Inspectorate in Oyo (headquarters of Oyo Province, which includes Ife Division), which, in turn, is responsible to the Ministry in Ibadan. The Inspectorate in Oyo is directly responsible for all secondary schools in Oyo Province, partly through a Senior Inspecting Assistant in Ilesha for secondary modern schools

in the Ife and Ilesha Divisions. The Ife Inspectorate office has the responsibility for all primary schools.¹

Technical, Secretarial, and Commercial
Institutes

Outside of the formal school system there is a variety of formal educational activity. First, there are the privately owned institutes teaching various technical, commercial, and secretarial subjects, including shorthand, typing, business management, and radio repair. In the case of the secretarial and commercial institutes, students are prepared for the R.S.A. and Pitman's examinations. Normally these classes involve lectures and practical exercise with typewriters for one hour daily for each student. Evaluation of radio repair students is fairly subjective and does not involve standard examinations, as far as can be determined. Monthly charges range from 6 to 10 shillings per subject. Classes and practical sessions are usually held in the afternoons and early evenings, although a few institutes are open in the morning. (See Table 4)

Nine of these Institutes have been identified in Stage One of the research (February, 1968). By July, 1969, when a series of interviews were held, only 7 of these remained, reflecting partly the effect of the war on the economy and partly the fact that these institutes are

¹The Inspectorate Office in Ife continued to exist after the creation of the School Board, with its offices in Ife.

TABLE 4

TECHNICAL, SECRETARIAL, AND COMMERCIAL INSTITUTES, AUGUST, 1968

Type	No. of Students	No. of Staff	Entrance Requirement	Courses Offered	Length Training	When Open
Typing Institute	10	2	Modern III	Typ, SH	6 months	8 A.M.-7 P.M.
Stenography School	20	2	Modern III	SH	n.a.	8 A.M.-6 P.M.
Commercial Institute	14	2	Modern III	SH, Bkg	n.a.	8 A.M.-5 P.M.
Radio-TV Institute	15	1	Modern III	Rad Rpr	n.a.	7 A.M.-5 P.M.
Evening Radio Class	n.a.	1	Modern III	Rad Rpr	n.a.	Evenings
Commercial Institute	8	1	n.a.	Typ, SH	n.a.	2 P.M.-6 P.M.
Commercial Institute	8	1	n.a.	SH, Bkg	n.a.	8 A.M.-6 P.M.
Totals	75	10				

undoubtedly fragile in any economic climate and may appear and disappear quickly. The capital outlay and overhead on these institutes is relatively low. The largest of these has only 4 typewriters, used by 20 students. The costs of maintaining the buildings is minimal; most of these institutes are connected with private residences. The radio institutes are primarily business enterprises, used for teaching young boys during non-business hours.

The length of training varies, according to entrance qualifications and type of credential desired. Secondary modern school is the stated entry requirement, although lower formal educational attainment (to a minimum of primary six) is acceptable. A six month period of training is said to be normal for the secondary modern graduate.¹

Practical (practice) exercise is stressed, particularly in the secretarial institutes. Only a few lectures are given, and very little reading material is available. There is some supervision of typing exercises. Instruction in shorthand involves greater pupil-teacher interaction, but is still based largely on correspondence school materials obtained elsewhere.

One of the radio institutes is affiliated with one other, both owned and operated by the same individual, and located in different areas (Iremo quarter and Modakeke) to

¹No detailed investigation of these students was made to ascertain the actual range of time involved or specific formal educational attainments.

cater to demands in the two areas. One is a day institute; the other an evening institute, allowing the proprietor to operate both.

Table 4 above has indicated the known number of students and staff at these commercial and secretarial institutes. Although it is not certain when each of these was founded, based on knowledge of a few, it is a reasonable guess that all have been founded in the past five years.

The sex of the students is not known in all cases: In one school with 20 students, there are only 5 females; and in another with 14 students, there are 4 females. There are no girls in the radio repair institutes. The age of these students ranges between 15 and 22 years.

Of 57 students for which data is available, 17 are native of the 5 quarters of Ife, 14 are from Modakeke, and 26 are from other areas of the Western State.

The products of these institutes usually have great difficulty securing well-paying jobs. In the case of the pupils in the radio repair institutes, some may try to set up their own business; initially, however, they would work with some master who has the necessary tools and equipment. In the case of the secretarial school graduates, success on the R.S.A. exams is scaled into Stages I, II, and III, allowing a standard and reliable evaluation of the individual's capability. English preparation in the primary and secondary modern schools often is the more significant determinant of success on-the-job than the length of training

in the institutes or the skills learned as typist or stenographer. (This evaluation is based partly on the experience of employing temporarily one of the products of such an institute, and partly on discussions with owners of several businesses in Ife.)

These institutes are not recognized by the State or Federal governments, and receive no subsidy. They are supported completely by fees paid by students. They can be said to be primarily profit-making institutions which often supplement the main occupation and income of the proprietors. Three of the secretarial institutes are operated by wives of successful businessmen in the town. Although they provide a means for young individuals to attempt to increase their skills and talents, there are unfortunately few known cases of success attained as a result of such enrollment.

Home Study Institutes

Three "home study" institutes have been identified as a result of Stage One activity. A detailed investigation was made of only one of these; and one more is known to have closed by June, 1969. Reference is made here only to the one which was visited over a period of one year to June, 1969.

This home study institute was developed in the early 1960's by a retired Grade II primary school teacher and headmaster who has desired to keep busy and useful in

his retirement. It caters primarily to primary school graduates who need extra tutoring to prepare for entrance exams to grammar schools, but is open to a wider range of students. Classes are held at various times of the day, dependent upon courses taken and the type of students. The range of subjects offered by this institute is most impressive, if not perhaps overly ambitious, as the following printed advertisement indicates:

The above named institute undertakes rapid home lessons in all the Primary, Secondary modern, Secondary Grammar Schools (W.A.S.C.), G.C.E., R.S.A., City and Guilds, Teachers Entrance and Scholarship examinations subjects, (shorthand, typewriting, book-keeping, commerce, building technology, and electrical works) etc., for private candidates, music and drama, herbal manufacturing, home nursing (theory and practice), revision courses, adult education and kindergarten age 4 and 5 years preparatory to primary schools. Time: 7:30 a.m. to 7:30 p.m. in rotation periods of three hours each, Monday to Friday daily. Fees are moderate... Enroll now. Sleeping rooms available. At the end of the course of your selected subject/s Testimonial Certificate or Apprenticeship Certificate or Diploma Certificate of the Institute for efficiency will be awarded to you accordingly.

The facilities in that institute are adequate in terms of furniture, chalkboard, and basic text material, and, although small in scale, compares favorably with some primary schools in life. Two new classrooms are under construction, designed to hold approximately 30 students each. (By mid-1969 the buildings were still under construction)

Statistics are not very accurate on the institute, since they could not be confirmed by observation despite

¹Personal document, circa 1967 (printed advertisement)

repeated visits. It has been claimed that there are 137 students enrolled during 1969, of which 120 are "in regular attendance," and 3 instructors (2 part-time). Classes are held at various times during the day and evening, in groups of 4 to 9 students. There is a 6 shilling charge per month for most courses for one hour of instruction daily.

The proprietor is also the secretary to the Ife Herbalist (native medicine) Association and takes on apprentices for a charge of about 50 Pounds over a several year period to learn the techniques and secrets of herbal medicine. This is advertised as part of the Home Study Institute. He is also a spiritualist; this is not included as part of the Institute's activities.

It is not easy to evaluate the success or effectiveness of this or other institute, although this proprietor claimed that 17 of his 1968 pupils gained admission into secondary grammar schools. The fact that the proprietor is a relatively highly trained and experienced teacher, with over 30 years of teaching in primary and secondary modern and secondary grammar schools is an indication that the profit motive is not the primary reason for his involvement in this institute.

Adult Evening Classes of the University of Ife

In October, 1968 the University of Ife's Department of Adult Education initiated evening classes. These have been developed as a result of a survey by the Department

of members of the junior and subordinate staff (secretaries, typists, clerks) of the University. The survey indicated that many of these would be interested in taking courses for the G.C.E. "O" and "A" levels and the R.S.A. examinations. Taking these courses would improve the chances for advancement of the qualifications in the various jobs in the University.

Entry into these courses has been extended to members of the Ife community. Announcements to this effect were posted in various parts of the community. Two hundred and ninety-nine applications from individuals at the University and in the town were received for from 1 to 5 courses. These ranged from science courses (Chemistry, Physics, and Biology) to English Language and Literature, Commercial Arithmetic, Economics/Commerce, French, History, Geography, Bookkeeping and Accountancy, Shorthand, and Government.

One hundred and fifty-four of the applicants worked at the University and almost all of these lived in Ife. The remaining 145 worked in Ife, most of these teachers in Ife schools. There is no profile of these applicants according to sex, but the large majority are known to be male. Of the teachers in Ife taking courses, the majority are Grade II teachers who wish to attain G.C.E. "A" level certification for possible qualification for entry into the universities. Many of the University of Ife's junior staff are enrolled in R.S.A. commercial courses.

Courses are taught by University senior staff and some teachers in the secondary grammar schools in Ife, as well as a few other qualified persons in the community.¹ Classes are held at several Ife secondary grammar schools. All are given during the weekdays, in the evenings. Fees are charged, averaging slightly over one Pound for each course for one term.²

Correspondence School Work

Many Nigerians enroll in correspondence schools based in Nigeria and overseas. It is believed that perhaps as many as 20,000 students take such courses each year in Nigeria. Although it is difficult to ascertain the total number taking these courses in Ife, it is known that a large number of teachers, clerks, typists, and secretaries have taken them. In many small and large businesses and the offices of the University of Ife it is possible to see many young people reading the books and other literature distributed by these correspondence schools. A wide range of courses are offered, including many subjects taught in the secondary schools, and some subjects of a more technical nature.

¹In the first term courses in late 1968, there were 9 University Lecturers out of a total of 33 teachers.

²At the beginning of the second term in January, 1969, the number of students dropped to 164. In that term, the Department decided to drop all courses with enrollments less than 15 students. There also appeared to be a drop in interest.

Advertisements are seen daily in the Nigerian newspapers, particularly of the following major correspondence schools in Nigeria: The School of Careers, the Rapid Results College, the School of Accountancy, the London School of Journalism, the National School of Salesmanship, and Wolsey Hall.

Of the teachers in Ife schools, about 30 per cent have taken some subjects by correspondence. Based on teacher's questionnaires distributed in 1969, 40 per cent of all male and 9 per cent of all female teachers have taken these courses at some time. The percentage is greatest for teachers in the secondary commercial and technical schools (53 per cent) and lowest in the secondary modern schools (15 per cent).

Data on attrition and examination results are not available, and would be difficult to collect. All of these schools charge fees, sometimes rather large ones, for their services. They do not publish annual reports. Annually they make rather large profits, as reflected in the numerous and large advertisements frequently found in the newspapers, and as hypothesized by many of the Ife teachers and University faculty members who have rather derogatory opinions of these schools.

The Apprenticeship Schemes in Ife

Except for the formal school system, the largest program involving the education of youth in Ife is that

of apprenticeship schemes of small crafts and businesses. According to the stage three survey of small businesses in June, 1968, there are 1,407 apprentices learning a particular trade. (See Table 5)

This on-the-job training has been operating among the Yoruba people many years before the arrival of the first Europeans. This indigenous form of education is principally a relationship between a master of a particular trade and a group of young people apprenticed to the master for a period of several years. During this time, the master receives the economic contribution of the work of the apprentices in return for the apprentices' learning the particular trade. At the end of the period of apprenticeship the young people receive their "freedom." In practice, all the apprentices who receive their freedom usually do not leave the master immediately but may remain with the master as "journeyman." These latter workers are recognized as masters of the craft, and are given special responsibilities by the master, such as being in charge of the business during the absence of the master while he travels or handles business elsewhere. The responsibility of training the apprentices is formally that of the master, but in practice is usually delegated to the journeyman and senior (those with the longest period of service) apprentices. There is no formal education given to these apprentices; rather, they learn through a process of

TABLE 5

SMALL CRAFTS AND APPRENTICES IN LIFE, JUNE, 1968

Type of Craft	No. of Masters	No. of Crafts with Appren.	No. of Apprentices
Carpentry	114	56	138
Carving	2	-	-
Mattress Making	6	4	9
Motor Mechanic	48	35	175
Bicycle Repair	49	14	24
Motorcycle Repair	21	14	88
Watch Repair	18	6	7
Vulcanizer	2	2	7
Spray Painter	3	1	8
Building Contractor	1	1	6
Bricklaying/Making	2	1	3
Stone Grinding	2	1	3
Drafting	8	6	15
Tailoring	313	145	338
Seamstress	222	82	284
Shoemaking	37	8	18
Drycleaning	13	3	10
Barber (male)	96	27	30
Hairdresser (female)	3	1	2
Goldsmithing	60	15	22
Blacksmithing	26	11	35
Tin Tinkering	10	3	4
Welding	4	3	9
Electrical Contracting	3	2	3
Radio-TV Repairing	19	9	20
Battery Charging	9	5	11
House "Re-wire"	4	2	10
Printing/Bookbinding	21	14	59
Photography	24	16	52
Signboard Artist	4	2	2
Typing/Public Letters	9	3	7
Breadmaking	1	1	3
Cassava, Maise Grinding	8	2	1
Totals	1,169	495	1,407

observation and imitation, first given small jobs and later given more complex responsibilities, such as bookkeeping and work as messengers. Discipline is extremely strict, and mistakes or misbehavior are severely dealt with. Observations of some of these small crafts have revealed that few questions are asked of the master, and the process of learning is very slow. Although in former years it is believed that the master often paid the apprentices for their period of service and learning, in recent years fees have been charged of the apprentices. (See Plates 11-13)

The types of crafts and trades involved in apprenticeship training ranges from the very traditional forms of herbalism to the more modern businesses of photography and motor mechanics. Thirty-two major types were identified in stage three in June, 1968. The largest group of apprentices are working with tailors (338 apprentices) and seamstresses (284 apprentices). These two groups alone account for 44 per cent of all apprentices in Ife. Next are the motor mechanics and carpenters. These four groups constitute 65 per cent of all apprentices surveyed. Of the 1,407 apprentices recorded in the survey, 77 per cent (1,089 apprentices) were male. (The head of the Home Study Institute mentioned previously was also the secretary of the Ife Herbalist Association. He estimated that there were "hundreds" of youth learning the art of herbalism from parents, relatives, or friends. They are not highly visible in Ife, however, and have not been included in the



Plate 11.--Shoe-maker cutting his materials from an old tire, Okerewe



Plate 12.--Printer apprentices at work, Irewo

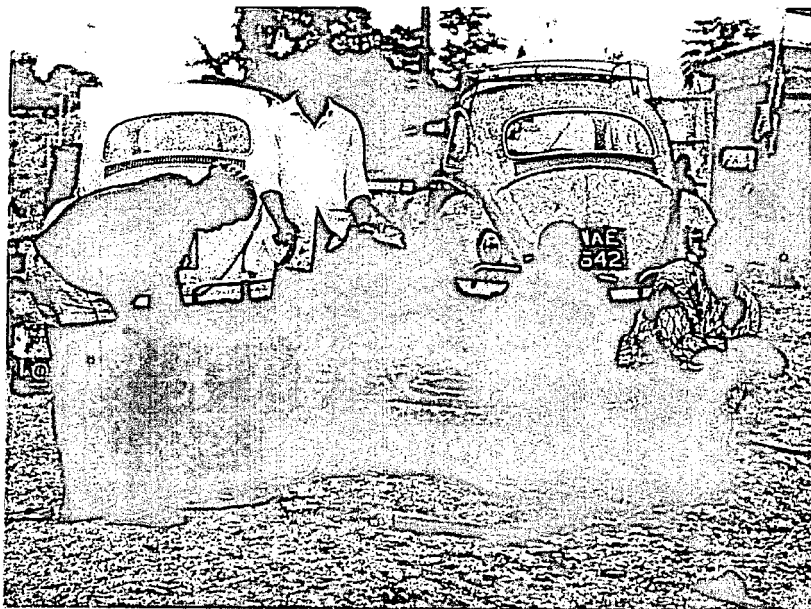


Plate 13.--Apprentices and master (center, standing) of tire-repair craft business, Lagere, near Koiwo Layout

survey.)

Entry requirements into apprenticeship training vary widely according to the type of business. The age of apprentices ranges from 9 to 31 years, although 96 per cent are between the ages of 12 and 25 years, and approximately one-third of the total are in the 15 to 16 year group. The formal educational entry requirements are determined largely by the nature of the business. Printing has the highest formal educational attainment generally, for both masters and apprentices, being a minimum of primary six, with many apprentices with secondary modern degrees. Goldsmiths have the lowest for the larger group of businesses, ranging from no formal education to a few years of schooling. The expansion of formal schooling in recent years does not appear to conflict with the apprenticeship system as a whole. On the contrary, most of the masters, particularly in those businesses where formal education--and attendant literacy in particular--is useful, seek to employ as highly educated apprentices as possible.

Koranic Schools

There are two types of Koranic schools in Ife. First, there are the "formal" Koranic schools, nominally associated with a Mosque. Based on the survey conducted in August, 1968, there are 10 of the formal Koranic

schools, in which 20 teachers (some of whom are referred to as Mallams) are engaged in the instruction of 458 students. (See Table 6) All but one of the teachers are male. The age of entrance varies from school to school: from 4 years of age to "no requirements." The reported length of training varies greatly: "from two to three years," "six years," "five to ten years, depending upon individual performances," and "learning has no end." There is wide uniformity in the

TABLE 6
FORMAL KORANIC SCHOOLS IN IFE, AUGUST, 1968

Location	Year Est'd.	No. of Teachers	Number of Students		
			Male	Female	Total
Iremo Quarter	1935	1	16	-	16
Iremo	1956	1	26	10	36
Sabo	1962	2	36	10	46
Iremo	1963	3	42	23	65
Ilare	1963	2	22	10	32
Iremo	1963	4	45	15	60
Modakeke	1964	3	89	23	112
Sabo	1964	1	23	2	25
Iremo	1965	2	23	19	42
Modakeke	1966	1	18	6	24
Totals		20	340	118	458

type of instruction, however, with an obvious concentration on Arabic and Muslim studies--including the study of the Koran--and worship. Along with these sometimes are a surprising variety of courses similar to those of formal schools of the voluntary agencies: Writing, Dictation, Arithmetic, Animal Study, Music, and certain variations of these.

As seen in Table 6, there are 340 male and 118 female students in the 10 schools. They are distributed throughout several years of instruction, according to the information supplied by the teachers. One school has 2 years of classes; 3 have 3 years; 4 have 4 years; and 1 each have 5 and 6 years of instruction. Attrition is apparent, since enrollments decrease with higher year classes. In the first year there are 175 students, in the second there are 119, and in the third there are 104 students; there are 60 students in the higher classes.

Two of the formal Koranic schools were founded prior to 1962. The largest school, with 112 students, was founded in 1964.

Judging from the apparent age of the students observed, almost all students have had little or no formal schooling. From most evidence, there is no need for literacy in any language. No student texts are used. Arabic is the medium of instruction almost exclusively.

The term "formal" is applied to these schools due to

the regularity of assemblage and the use of a permanent classroom, which is often the floor of the mosque. There are usually no tables, chairs, or stools used in these classrooms. Each child is expected to bring a small board which serves as his drawing tablet and personal blackboard. Arabic is drawn on these boards in washable ink, so that the tablet can be re-used regularly. No instructional materials can be seen on the walls or available for use. The formal arrangement extends in some schools to regular fees charged of parents. Five schools charge no fees, although it was indicated at one school that gifts are welcome in lieu of payments. At other schools, fees range from one shilling per month to 5 shillings per week; some charges have been quoted at an annual rate, ranging from 1 to 3 Pounds.

There is a second type of Koranic school in which only a few young people are involved in learning the Koran and Islamic traditions from an older person. The more informal type of schools are connected more to kinship groups, and seem to be based normally in the homes of the parents of the children involved. There is no apparently regular patterning of learning, as in the more formal type. There is little public knowledge of the existence of these informal groups beyond the immediate environs. This type of Koranic school supplements the formal schooling of these children, by involving study after and before formal school hours. No estimate of the number of these schools has been

attempted, since no systematic study was conducted on them.

The Family as an Educational Unit

For those not attending formal schools, Koranic schools, home study institutes, secretarial or commercial institutes, or involved in apprenticeship training, another important social institution of learning a vocation, particular values, and normative behavior is that of the family. For those young people who elect to, or have to, remain in residence with their parents or close relatives, this alternative continues the processes of education begun in the family as an infant. For the older children, the trend toward learning the vocations of the parents begins when it is determined that the child has the ability to perform certain tasks. For the majority of children in Ife, the vocations learned from the parents focus on farming and trading related to farming. For those learning vocations of a craft, it is evident from the survey conducted that the child normally does not learn from his father but from a relative or even a stranger, either in the same town and area, or in a different town.

It is evident from the study that the young child remains with the mother until another child is born or as long as the mother determines it necessary. Normally, the child does not remain with the mother--especially on the mother's back--much beyond the general age of 2 or 3 years, but increasingly stays with the older siblings. The older

siblings not attending school have the primary responsibility for the care of younger children, allowing the mother and father to be engaged in various vocations and other activities. Although it is true that a large number of mothers may be seen carrying their young infants on their backs on trips to market or to the family gardens and farms, one is more apt to see non-infants with older siblings than to see them with parents within the individual compounds.

Even the process of learning the procedures of farming and trading are more complex than the father-son and mother-daughter relationships. The care of the family farm is a family responsibility, and as such involves a number of personnel at several generational and affinal levels. Thus, brothers of the father, the sons of these brothers, and others may have relationships with the young child which result in the learning of skills of farming. Older siblings, when present, have the primary responsibility for the care and education of the child, thus allowing the father time to be involved in far more complex "social" and related activities. Although the role of market women is more an individual responsibility than a corporate one, the same complexity of relationships with siblings and kin can be seen to be operating. (See Plate 14)

The "extended" family sometimes plays an important role in the informal--and sometimes formal--education of



Plate 14.--Family portrait in a traditional ile, Ilode quarter

the child. The extended family is that part of the kin group which has undertaken residence away from the traditional compound--i.e., different from traditionally normative residence patterns--either in another part of the community or in another community. It is common to find young children residing with brothers, sisters, father's brothers, mother's sisters, and more distant kin. This type of residence is almost always associated with children with higher formal education, those involved in non-farming occupations, or those seeking employment. This topic will be discussed more fully in later sections of the thesis report. It is sufficient here to note that the educational influence of the extended family is associated with both particular educational forms and with the informal, non-vocational socialization processes.

Other Community Forms of Education

Although the principal forms and processes of education of the child in the Ife community have been discussed above, it is necessary to refer to other forms and processes which appear to have an influence on the child. One might classify these other forms and processes as informal, but their effect is direct and inevitable. In this category, one may include newspapers and magazines sold throughout Ife for those literate in English or Yoruba. The re-diffusion radio system is found in almost all homes, broadcasting

programs of news and entertainment as well as some formal school programs, such as those for the learning of English. It is rare to enter a home in Ife and not hear the echo of the re-diffusion radio speaker in a nearby room.

There are other points of assemblage in the lives of young people which undoubtedly have an effect upon the child. These include events at churches and mosques, in the markets, and more irregularly along the streets, and at homes of friends and relatives. In Ife, the highly dense settlement pattern increases the accessibility of a multitude of personal contacts, places, and events; and the use of taxis, bicycles, and lorries increases this mobility throughout the community and beyond. Travel to other communities is relatively easy and cheap, opening up even greater ranges of events and associations. All of these changes in the environment of the child increase the influences on the child; and when these are regularized, patterned, they become instruments of long-range effects on the behavior of the child--in short, they may be instruments of the process of learning.

Learning from the environment is not confined merely to inter-personal relations. Although most learning may be said to take place in regular social interactions, some is the result inevitably of regular interaction with the physical environment, which is itself shaped by the effect of others using the same environment. There are definitely

recognized contrasts in the appearance and organization of the physical environment in various parts of Ife. The contrasts of most of Ife and the compound of the University is most striking, and is inevitably felt by all those who regularly travel between the two areas. The contrasts between the straight and broad streets of the newer layout areas and the twisting and narrow lanes in the older quarters, the contrasts between the broad playing fields and well-manicured compounds of the formal schools and the small, cluttered, and unhygienic dirt frontages to houses in most older areas of Ife, and the contrasts between scenes along the well-paved streets in the outlying areas and major commercial areas and those along the pot-holed and unpaved roads within many residential areas may all contribute to the development of attitudes towards these types of physical environments. When these contrasts are experienced in regular, continuing interactions, they inevitably contribute to the learning patterns of the young people.

Moreover, these perceptions of the physical environment are affected by the learning through inter-personal associations of attitudes toward the physical environment. The link between the physical environment, these inter-personal associations, and the system of values is the link between the culture and the individual. And the learning of the individual is a process of learning about his total environment and his relationship to it--the process of enculturation.

A Summary View of the Educational Forms
and Processes at Work in the
Community of Ite

A technique often employed for illustrating the magnitude of the formal school system is the use of an educational pyramid, a chart of enrollment figures for the various levels of schooling. Figure 5 shows the distribution of enrollments of students in the various types of schools in Ite. In addition to this information, an estimate of the population of Ite in 1968 is indicated by five year age groups on the right-hand side. This estimate is based on data from the 1963 Census. Assuming the validity of that Census, for lack of more definitive evidence or indicators, the figures for the various age groups have been transposed to the next highest age group. Hence the 1963 figure of 3,150 individuals in the population group of birth to 5 years is assumed to be the figure for 1968 in the population group from 5 to 10 years of age. Assuming that there was no abnormal birth or death rate change, and that Ite has been expanding in its population since 1963, one can make at least an attempt to estimate the population distribution for 1968.

It is assumed that all those students in a given formal school class are of the same age. This is not in fact true, and is normally the exception in the upper years of schooling. More accurate, but more complicated graphs

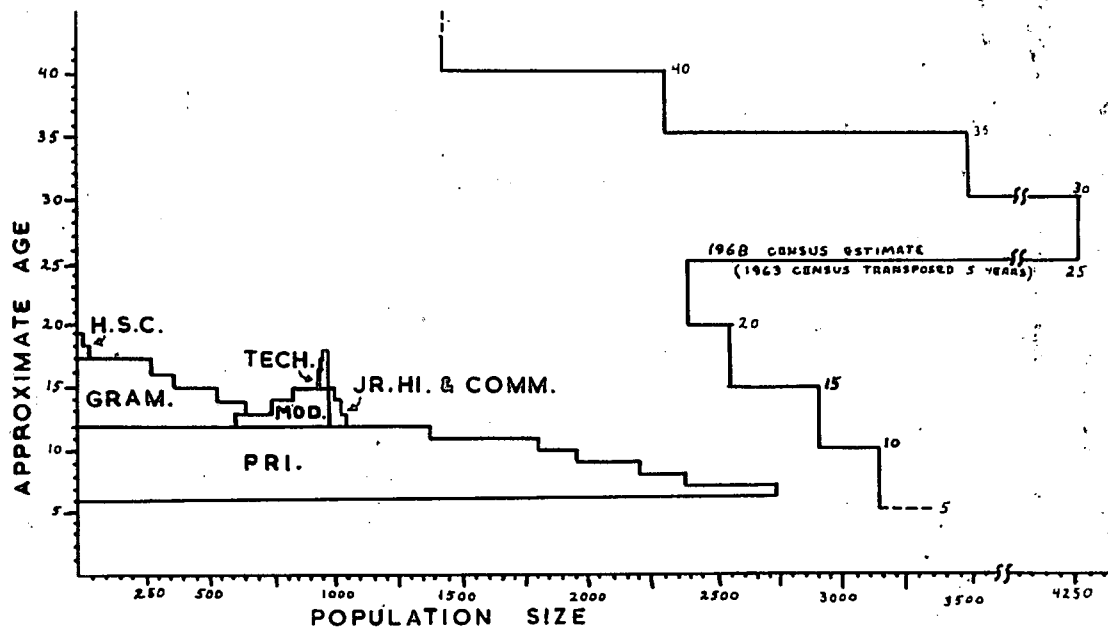


Fig. 5.--Graph of the numerical distribution of students in life schools, 1968

could be drawn with more complete information.

With data also available on alternative forms of education in Ife, it is reasonable that the same type of graphic display might be used to show some of the inter-relationships between them and formal schooling. Statistical information, for example, is available on Koranic schools and apprenticeship. Although the numbers involved in other forms of educational activity, such as adult evening classes, correspondence school studies, commercial and secretarial institutes, and others are often not available in terms of the exact age of the participants, they can also be incorporated into the chart in terms of a relative position within the entire population, according to age, and according to formal educational attainment. And it is possible to position on the chart the processes and influences of peers, family socialization, and other forms of education.

What is then possible is a composite picture of the educational processes and forms at work in Ife, showing the relationships between these and age and between these and formal educational attainment. Figure 6 shows these educational processes and their relative position in the age population for Ife in 1968. The various educational types are positioned above the known formal educational attainments of the participants. Thus, an indication of an educational process on the left side of Figure 6 would

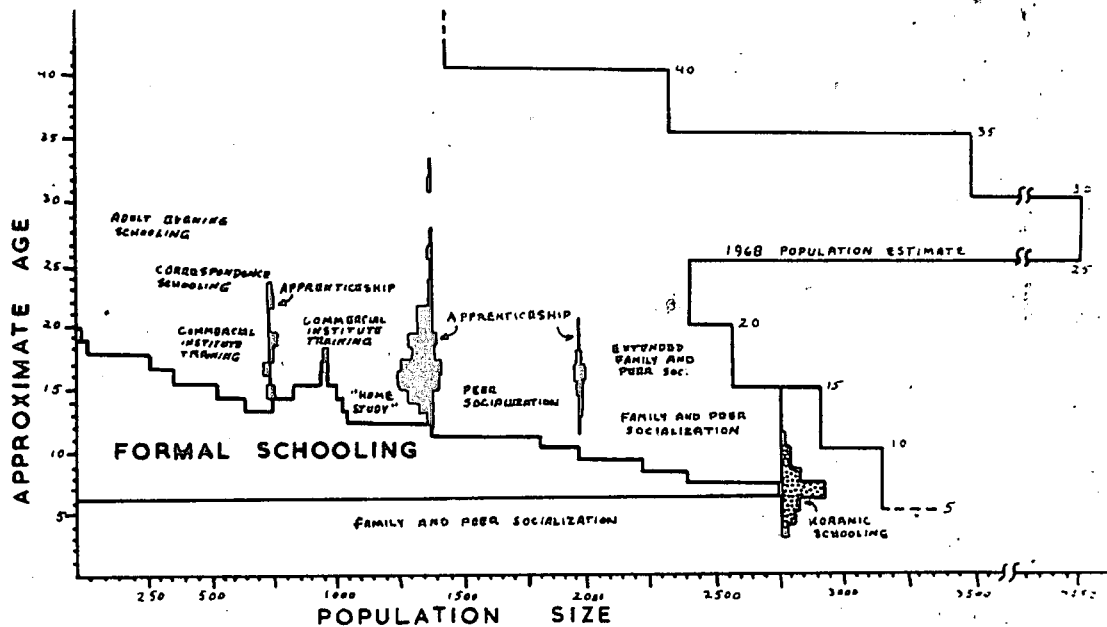


Fig. 6.--Graph of numerical distribution of young people in life educational programs and processes, 1968

indicate a higher formal educational attainment of its participants than an educational process located on the right side of the chart. That area above the primary three plateau, for example, shows the indicated educational activities of those individuals who have left schooling without finishing more than three years of primary school.

Since the educational background of apprentices differs, several reference lines have been drawn. Apprentices with a given educational attainment are positioned above the corresponding formal educational attainment; and the number of those apprentices is shown in terms of the width of the enclosed space--as for formal schooling.

For more detailed information on the ages and formal educational attainment of apprentices, those in Koranic schools, or in other educational forms, it is possible to return to the data of tables presented in this chapter. The figures here merely show in a simplified way the relationships between the various educational processes in the community. One can see that the role of family socialization is shown simply as the primary form of education of the young child, giving way to, or replaced by, formal schooling in later years, and by peer socialization, apprenticeship, or a variety of other alternative processes.

CHAPTER VI

ATTRITION IN THE FORMAL SCHOOLS

The I.L.O. has taken enrollment figures in Western Nigeria over a period of several years and calculated drop-out rates for the entire State.¹ Nevertheless, the study has not taken into account certain factors in estimating attrition, including the facts that most schools do not have automatic promotion and that attention to specific schools may reveal certain anomalies which would not be evident using State-wide statistics.

Before attempting to examine attrition in Ife schools with these factors in consideration, a few points will be discussed. First, the national crisis during the 1968-1969 period requires attention. There was no crucial effect of the war on schooling in Ife, but subtle effects were important, such as the depressed economy and its impact on the ability of many parents to pay school fees and a possible tendency for students to remain in or return to schools rather than attempting to seek jobs during this period. But no schools were closed

¹International Labour Office Mission, "Some Trends in Education in the Western Region of Nigeria, 1955-1963," (unpublished report, Ministry of Economic Planning and Social Development, Ibadan, Western Nigeria, 1965).

as a direct result of the crisis, government grants-in-aid did not drop significantly, and there were few students and no teachers who left Ife explicitly to join the armed services.¹

Second, fees are charged for secondary schooling. In a depressed economic climate, one might expect to find that attrition would tend to be higher at the higher levels of schooling rather than at the primary levels. Nevertheless, there was no noticeable change in secondary level attrition over the past few years. This may be attributed to the few viable alternatives for secondary school leavers.

Third, to join the army in Nigeria requires a minimum of a primary school certificate (a pass on the P.S.L.C. exam). One would not expect, therefore, to find attrition within the primary schools for purposes of joining the army; but one might find this true for the secondary levels.

Fourth, exams given each December must be differentiated between yearly promotional exams and the more significant terminal exams at the end of the various levels of schooling.

With these factors in consideration, this Chapter examines the extent of formal school attrition in Ife.

¹In the June, 1969 interviews, principals of secondary schools indicated that in the twelve previous months, 13 male students were known to have left school to join the armed forces; the precise number who did join has not been determined.

This is done first with respect to the student, since this is of crucial concern. It is done then with respect to the teachers since it was found that the turnover of teachers was suprisingly high.

Attrition of Students During
the Years 1968 and 1969

Statistics were collected for the two school years 1968 and 1969. For the former, statistics were gathered in March through June, 1968, and may be considered valid for June, 1968. For the latter, information was obtained in June, 1969.

Table 7 presents enrollment figures for the two years, arranged by classes. Totals for all schools of a given type are presented

TABLE 7

CHANGE IN CLASS ENROLLMENTS IN IFE SCHOOLS, 1968-1969

Class	Enrollments		Change ^a	
	1968	1969	Increase	Decrease
Primary (N=42) ^b				
Primary One	2,748	2,656	2,656	
Primary Two	2,387	2,498		250
Primary Three	2,206	2,236		151
Primary Four	1,965	2,160		46
Primary Five	1,813	1,894		71
Primary Six	1,388	1,589		224
				1,388
Total	12,507	13,033	2,656	2,130

TABLE 7--Continued

Class	Enrollments		Change ^a	
	1968	1969	Increase	Decrease
Secondary Modern (N=8)				
Secondary Modern One	371	501	501	
Secondary Modern Two	234	280		91
Secondary Modern Three	160	169		65
				160
Total	765	950	501	316
Technical (N=1)				
Technical One	53	59	59	
Technical Two	36	52		1
Technical Three	32	46	10	
				32
Total	121	157	69	33
Secondary Commercial and Secondary Grammar (N=10)				
Sec. Comm. & Gram. One ^c	692	713	713	
Sec. Comm. & Gram. Two	696	713	21	
Sec. Comm. & Gram. Three	582	651		45
Sec. Comm. & Gram. Four	392	535		47
Sec. Comm. & Gram. Five	286	319		73
Sixth Form (HSC) Lower	37	24		262
Sixth Form (HSC) Higher	28	34		3
				28
Total	2,713	2,989	734	2,937
Total Change				
Total			3,960	2,937

^aChange is calculated as the difference between enrollment figures for a given class in 1968 and the enrollment figure for that class group (i.e., the next higher class year) in 1969. Figures in the plus column indicate an apparent increase in the enrollment in a given class group; figures in the minus column indicate an apparent decrease.

^bN=number of schools.

^cFigures for secondary commercial and grammar schools include those for the junior high school for both the 1968 and 1969 years to take into account the merging of the junior high into one grammar school during this period.

The total number of students increased. For each level of schooling there was an increase in total enrollments. In all cases, the number of students entering the first year of each level was greater than the number of students leaving the last year of that level. And it may be seen that there is appreciable attrition for almost all years of schooling. The exceptions were the transitions from the second to third year of technical schooling and from the first to the second year of the secondary commercial and grammar schools.

These figures are similar to attrition rates of the Western State as a whole, using Western Nigeria Statistics (see Table 8). There is little to indicate that there would be significant changes from 1967 to 1968 in the Western State statistics.

Several conclusions may be drawn from a comparison of Tables 7 and 8. First, in both cases, attrition during the primary years seems to be high after the first year, less in subsequent years, but higher again between the fifth and sixth years. Second, in both cases, attrition in secondary modern schools is highest after the first year. Third, in both cases, after the first year of secondary grammar schooling there is an enrollment increase. This is followed in later years by attrition which increases in subsequent years, and which is highest from classes four to five. There are some other comparisons

TABLE 8
STUDENT ENROLLMENTS IN WESTERN NIGERIA,
1966 & 1967^a

Class	1966	1967	Change	
			Increase	Decrease
Primary One	194,060	198,042	198,042	
Primary Two	141,482	148,411		45,649
Primary Three	126,271	129,250		12,232
Primary Four	110,862	111,255		15,021
Primary Five	93,182	94,958		15,904
Primary Six	75,140	74,801		18,381
				75,140
Total	740,997	756,717	198,042	182,327
Sec. Modern One	12,100	11,481	11,481	
Sec. Modern Two	11,249	8,213		3,887
Sec. Mod. Three	9,965	8,294		2,955
				9,965
Total	33,314	27,988	11,481	16,807
Sec. Gram. One	12,640	14,778	14,778	
Sec. Gram. Two	11,817	13,197	557	
Sec. Gram. Three	9,652	11,489		318
Sec. Gram. Four	7,536	8,902		650
Sec. Gram. Five	5,512	6,228		1,308
				5,512
Total	47,157	54,594	15,335	7,788

^aWestern Nigeria, Ministry of Economic Planning and Social Development, Statistics Division, Annual Abstract of Education Statistics, 1966, Vol. VII (Ibadan: Government Printer, 1967), pp. 10, 14, 17, 18, and 25.

which indicate contrasts, such as the percentages of attrition. For example, whereas attrition from primary one to two in life schools is about 9 per cent, attrition in the same classes in all Western schools was almost 24 per cent. This is a predictable difference, however, between rural and urban enrollment figures, previously discussed in I.L.O. reports.¹ It is not possible to make deductions on attrition over the entire period of the various levels, since data would have to be collected over a six or three or five year period (for primary, secondary modern, and grammar schooling).

Such statistics do not reveal actual drop-outs from the schools, however, since they are based on figures only of enrollment for the various classes. Actual attrition from the schools must be calculated by examining the aspects of promotion.

Interviews during the 1969 phase of the study of schools included questions on the number of students not promoted in each class. The validity of some data may be questioned. It is believed that some headmasters may have deliberately given incorrect data in order, possibly, to avoid giving the impression of high attrition. Non-promotion, the reason given by some, ensures some control

¹I. L. O. Mission, "Education in a Rural Area of Western Nigeria," op. cit.

over the distribution of students into manageable sized classes. In the case of the secondary schools, non-promotion is one method of obtaining fees over a longer-than-normal period of time. Although it is a breach of confidence to state which schools have adopted such practices, the practice is known to exist. Other factors, such as the reluctance of principals or headmasters to make known possibly low performances by students, may contribute to a limitation in the validity of the statistics on attrition. It should be emphasized that the validity of responses is not questioned generally but only in a few select cases.

The number of students not promoted in primary and secondary modern schools is relatively very small--in all cases less than 10 per cent (see Table 9). On the other hand, the number not promoted in the grammar schools is relatively high, reaching as much as 32 per cent of enrollment in class four. It should be noted that class four is a crucial point in the secondary grammar program, since that is the point at which principals and staff evaluate each student's ability to proceed to the certificate examination at the end of class five. If it is estimated that a student will have extreme difficulty in the exams, it is a regular practice in most Nigerian secondary schools to discourage the student from proceeding to class five and to award him a Government Class Four Certificate, or to require him to repeat class four.

TABLE 9

NUMBER OF STUDENTS NOT PROMOTED IN IFE SCHOOLS, 1968 TO 1969

Class	Students 1968	Number not promoted	Number promoted	Students 1969
Primary One	2,748	154	2,594	2,498
Primary Two	2,387	138	2,249	2,236
Primary Three	2,206	145	2,061	2,160
Primary Four	1,965	128	1,837	1,894
Primary Five	1,813	102	1,711	1,589
Primary Six	1,388	13	1,375	
Total		680	11,827	
Sec. Modern One	371	9	362	280
Sec. Modern Two	234	15	219	169
Sec. Modern Three	160	0	160	
Total		24	741	
Technical One	53	0	53	52
Technical Two	36	0	36	46
Technical Three	32	0	32	
Total		0	121	

TABLE 9--Continued

Class	Students 1968	Number not promoted	Number promoted	Students 1969
Sec. Comm. & Gram. One	692	81	611	713
Sec. Comm. & Gram. Two	696	87	609	651
Sec. Comm. & Gram. Three	582	82	500	535
Sec. Comm. & Gram. Four	392	125	267	319 ^a
Sec. Comm. & Gram. Five	286	12	274	
Sixth Form (HSC) Lower	37	0	37	34
Sixth Form (HSC) Higher	28	0	28	
Total		387 plus 0 HSC	2,261 plus 65 HSC	

^a Numbers of students given in this column are those in the same class group in the 1969 year. They do not represent the number of students in the indicated level (e.g., Primary One; but in fact in Primary Two).

The number of students who did not in fact repeat the school year, or who were promoted but decided to leave school, may be obtained by adding the number of students not promoted in a given class in 1968 to the number promoted into that class, and subtracting this sum from the actual enrollments for 1969. Excluding the number of students leaving each level after the terminal year, the number of students leaving the school system are those shown in Table 10.

In 1968 to 1969 there were 701 primary school students who left school before completing their sixth year. This figure does not include the number of students who completed their sixth year of primary school and were not successful on their P.S.L.C. examination. This information is available from the 1969 interviews. Some schools declined to give the results of their examinations in December, 1968; of the total of 34 offering students for the exam, 7 declined to give the results. In the remaining 27 schools, of the 878 candidates sitting for the exam, 549 were successful (63%) and 329 failed. Although it is possible for students to re-sit the exam later, on the basis of information available, it may be concluded that during the period June, 1968 to June, 1969 over 1,000 students left the primary schools without successfully completing it.

TABLE 10

STUDENTS ESTIMATED TO HAVE LEFT SCHOOL DURING THE PERIOD 1968 TO 1969^a

Class	Number	Class	Number
Primary One to Two	234	Technical One to Two	1
Primary Two to Three	258	Technical Two to Three	(-10)
Primary Three to Four	29		
Primary Four to Five	45		
Primary Five to Six	135	Total	(-9)
Total	701	Sec. Comm. & Gram. One to Two	(-15)
		Sec. Comm. & Gram. Two to Three	40
		Sec. Comm. & Gram. Three to Four	90
Sec. Modern One to Two	97	Sec. Comm. & Gram. Four to Five	(-40)
Sec. Modern Two to Three	50	Sixth Form Lower to Higher	3
Total	147	Total	78

^aNot including those leaving each level after the terminal year.

^bNegative figures indicate an increase in enrollments, rather than a number of students who have left school.

The results of the S.M.S.L.C. Examination taken in December, 1968 were not yet available at the time of the interviews in June, 1969. It is not possible, therefore, to determine the number of students who have successfully completed their three year program. Nevertheless, the calculated figure of 147 students leaving school before the completion of the three years is a suprisingly high percentage of the total enrollment of these schools. Considering that many of those sitting for the examination may not have been successful, it is apparent that there is an even greater wastage of students here than in the primary schools.¹

Enrollments in the Technical College increased overall, and there was apparently little wastage. There was an influx of students from other technical colleges and trade schools, in the period under study. Reports on the successes on the exams in December, 1968 revealed that of 38 candidates, 32 passed and 6 failed.

During the period under study, there was a number of significant changes in the structure of the secondary schools. One commercial school changed from a four-year commercial program to a one-year program of a more

¹The Western State Ministry of Education has reported that in 1966, of 10,152 candidates sitting for the S.M.S.L.C. Examination, only 3,538 or 35 per cent were successful, the highest percentage in three years. Western State of Nigeria, Ministry of Economic Planning and Social Development, Statistics Division, Annual Abstract of Education Statistics, 1967, Vol. VII (Ibadan: Government Printer, 1968), p. 52.

comprehensive type. The junior high school was absorbed into a large grammar school. Statistics do not reveal all of the shifts in the student enrollments and attrition due to the closing of some classes. Overall, there was a net loss of seventy-eight secondary grammar and commercial school students before the completion of their five-year programs. Although there were 286 enrolled in class five in 1968, only 252 were reported to have taken the W.A.S.C. or G.C.E. "0" level examinations in December, 1968; all of the remaining thirty-four students were enrolled in one particular school. It might be assumed that these thirty-four students did not take the exam; they may have decided to repeat class five, or they may have left the school. Of the 252 taking the exams, 71 per cent (180 students) were reported to have passed. It may be concluded that at least 184 secondary grammar and commercial school students left these schools without successfully completing their programs during the 1968 to 1969 period. (The figure of 184 is the sum of the 78 school leavers and the 106 who did not take or pass the exams.) Here also, therefore, it appears that the number leaving the schools without successfully completing their programs is greater than those successfully completing them.

It may be assumed that the period June, 1968 to June, 1969 is generally representative of most other periods of one year; comparisons of enrollment figures to those of previous years seem to substantiate this. From a

comparison of the figures for the whole Western State, it appears that Ife is representative at least of the urban areas--where attrition has been found to be less than for the rural areas.

The Attrition of Ife Teachers

Of the 549 teachers in Ife schools in 1968, 311 stayed at the same school in 1969. That is, 43 per cent of the 1968 teachers left their respective schools during the 1968-1969 period. Some of this movement was due to the rearrangement of certain classes, including those of the junior high school (affecting six teachers). The reasons, based upon information supplied by principals and headmasters, given for this attrition are presented in Table 11.

The percentages of males and females leaving during this period were equal. Nevertheless, there were some notable variations of these percentages for the various types of schools, as shown in Table 12.

It is obvious that to treat the junior high attrition as true attrition would be a mistake, since five of these teachers transferred to the grammar school where the junior high classes were absorbed. Moreover, there was a large number of teachers who were transferred to or who decided to teach in other Ife schools in 1969. Sixty-two teachers leaving schools in 1968 chose to teach in other Ife schools in 1969. Fifty-one of these were transferred by the School

TABLE 11

REASONS FOR TEACHER ATTRITION, 1968 TO 1969

Reasons	Primary Schools	Secondary schools					Totals
		Mod.	Jr.High	Tech.	Comm.	Gram.	
Transferred	109	-	-	-	-	-	109
Teach elsewhere ^a	12	10	-	-	3	10	35
Further study	20	5	-	3	1	22	51
To work	3	-	-	-	2	7	12
School closed	4	-	6	-	-	-	10
Retired	2	-	-	-	-	3	5
Terminated	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
Died	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Unknown	2	1	-	2	6	2	13
Total	155	16	6	5	12	44	238

^aThe distinction between teachers who have been transferred and those listed in the "teach elsewhere" category is that the latter have changed schools of their own choice.

TABLE 12

ATTRITION OF LIFE TEACHERS BY SEX, 1968 TO 1969

Level of Schooling	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	PerCent ^a	No.	PerCent	No.	Percent
Primary	102	46%	53	40%	155	43%
Secondary Modern	8	33%	8	80%	16	47%
Junior High	5	100%	1	100%	6	100%
Technical College	5	50%	0		5	45%
Commercial Colleges	11	85%	1	33%	12	75%
Secondary Grammar	33	33%	11	46%	44	35%
Total	159	42%	73	42%	238	43%

^aThe percentages shown are based on the number of 1968 teachers at each level indicated.

Board, and 11 others chose to stay in life. It should be noted that all School Board transfers involved primary school teachers.

Attrition looked at by sex is basically similar, in the primary and the grammar schools. There is considerable difference by sex in the movement of teachers in the modern and technical schools. The Technical College has a similar rate of teacher attrition, since only one female teacher is involved. For the secondary modern schools, there is a very high attrition of female teachers; and for the commercial colleges, there is a high attrition of male staff. The closing of three classes in one of the two commercial colleges and a significant drop in enrollment figures there reveals important changes which could account for much of the teacher attrition there.

What type of teachers were involved in this movement? The qualifications of these teachers and a comparison to the qualifications of all teachers in 1968 are shown in Table 13.

It is apparent from the data that the highest rate of turn-over of teachers is among those with lower teaching qualifications. Those with H.S.C., S.C., or G.C.E., and various other lower qualifications show the highest rates. When this information is integrated with the large number of teachers who have left the schools to pursue higher degrees, it is clear that these are temporary

TABLE 13

COMPARISON OF ALL 1969 IFE TEACHERS WITH IFE TEACHERS WHO LEFT
THEIR RESPECTIVE SCHOOLS DURING 1968 TO 1969

Qualification	Primary		Sec.Mod.		Jr.High		Tech.		Comm.		Gram.		Totals	
	All	Left	All	Left	All	Left	All	Left	All	Left	All	Left	All	Left (%)
Dip. Of Educ.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	1	5	1 (20)
B.A., B.Sc., or Ed.	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	1	1	42	9	45	11 (25)
N.C.E.	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	18	6	20	7 (33)
Grade I	5	3	2	1	4	4	-	-	1	-	9	3	21	11 (50)
Grade II	196	79	21	9	-	-	3	1	1	1	6	1	227	91 (40)
Grade III	141	62	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	143	64 (44)
H.S.C.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	24	14	27	17 (55)
W.A.S.C.	3	3	7	4	-	-	-	-	2	2	11	6	23	15 (65)
G.C.E. ^a	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	4	1 (25)
Others ^a	12	8	1	-	-	-	6	3	5	4	8	3	32	18 (56)
No Response	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	2	2
Total	357	155	34	16	6	6	11	5	16	12	125	44	549	238 (44)

^a"Others" includes responses of "Teachers Diploma", "B.D.P.", "Pivotal", Associate-ship Diploma, various other commercial qualifications, "Arabic Diploma", and various qualifications below these:

teachers, working at their schools for a short time until the opportunities are available for work elsewhere or for study in colleges or universities. Moreover, those transferred by the School Board are largely those with teaching qualifications, such as the Grades One through Three certificates; of the 109 transfers by the School Board, only six were not teachers with those certificates. It should be mentioned that thirty-eight per cent of these certified teachers were not transferred but left for other reasons. Some of these factors will be examined in the next two chapters when the mobility of teachers and others is discussed in greater detail.

Summary of Chapter Six

Enrollment figures for the period 1968 to 1969 indicate an attrition which is in many ways representative of the Western State as a whole, assuming few significant changes in the nature of enrollments in the West for the past few years. Differences in these rates can be explained in part by differences in rural and urban figures. This attrition, when examined with regard to promotional aspects, provides more accurate figures of the drop-out rates from the life schools.

When this drop-out rate is analyzed with respect to the success rates on the December, 1968 terminal examinations of the various levels of schooling, it has been

found that a larger number of students in life schools left the school system between 1968 and 1969 without completing their respective levels of schooling than successfully completed those levels through passes on the terminal examinations. This would reveal a wastage of manpower, if it could be shown that the alternative forms of education and occupational activity are unable or unwilling to absorb these large numbers of unqualified young people.

Attrition of the teaching staffs of the schools is also found to be very high, averaging 43 per cent of the number of teachers in June, 1968. Many of these teachers were transferred by the School Board, particularly those with qualifications as teachers. The attrition rates have been found to be highest among those with lower formal education. Many teachers are leaving their respective schools to pursue higher degrees or to work elsewhere. This high attrition rate may be considered detrimental to the educational system in terms of producing little continuity of teaching programs in the schools, particularly since this mobility seems to be typical of other years.

CHAPTER VII

OCCUPATIONAL AND RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY IN IFE

Ife is to the observer a very mobile community. Traffic on the streets is very congested. People are constantly traveling to markets, to churches, to schools, to friends and kin, to other communities, or to the farms. This mobility results in a picture of vitality and activity throughout the day.

Other forms of mobility are less obvious. Visits to more traditional residences reveal consistently that many sons and daughters have left the family residence for other communities or other areas in Ife, either for further schooling or different occupations. This might be expected for the daughter who leaves the traditional compound to live at the residence of her husband (patrilocality). But it is found also among many of the sons of the traditional families. Visits to the newer areas of Ife, such as the layout areas, reveal that most of these inhabitants have lived there a relatively short time, and that many are not native to Ife or to this particular part of Ife.

Visits to small craft businesses over a period of months reveal that new apprentices are in training and previous ones have sometimes left. Teacher turnover, already discussed, is high, and student attrition is very high. Larger businesses

have high turnovers of personnel.

This superficial assessment of mobility reveals such consistencies that a further examination is warranted. In order to move from this level to a more analytical and systematic study of the community, two frameworks will continue to be examined in detail: the occupational system, and the residence system, and the changes in each.

The Hypothesis for Analysis of Mobility in Life

The hypothesis chosen for detailed study, as already stated, is that the higher the formal educational attainment, the greater the tendency for mobility occupationally and residentially. Within each of these analytical frameworks, that of the occupational system and the residential patterns, if one found high mobility, one would expect to find high formal educational attainment. If one were to find low mobility, then one would expect to find lower formal educational attainment.

To test this hypothesis, an analysis of the data gathered in the first part of the survey was supplemented by analysis of data specifically gathered in the later stages of the survey.

Three main sectors of the occupational system were surveyed in a systematic canvass of the community. These were (1) the teaching profession, (2) the apprenticeship craft system, and (3) other businesses employing three or

more persons. These three sectors, which are operationally defined as mutually exclusive, constitute almost the entire occupational system in which individuals with any formal educational attainment are involved, and range across the widest possible distribution of formal educational attainments--from no schooling to university graduation and beyond. These detailed surveys were supplemented by more qualitative assessments of other sectors of the occupational system through a census of two contrasting residential areas of Ife which revealed significant information on the farming, household, traditional activity and unemployment sectors of the occupational system. Other information of relevance was obtained through detailed interviews with individuals in different roles in Ife on the general patterns of life in the community.

The indices for the measurement of mobility vary slightly with the sectors being surveyed. More detailed data on occupational mobility is available on teachers, for example. The indices used for most sections of the survey are (1) the occupations of the worker and his father, (2) a comparison of the present residence and the town of birth, (3) a comparison of place of work and present residence, (4) the number of years working or living in Ife, and (5) the attrition (or turnover) rates of workers.

Information gathered on residential patterns includes materials on hometowns or places of birth, present residence, and residential shifts in previous years.

Mobility in the Teaching Profession

As indicated previously, 43 per cent of all Ife teachers in 1968 changed schools in the subsequent one-year period; it was shown that much of this was due to transfers by the School Board. Of the 35 teachers not transferred by the Board but choosing to teach elsewhere (see Table 10), 11 chose to work in Ife schools, 11 went to schools in other urban centers larger than Ife, and 11 went to schools in communities smaller than Ife; 2 left to teach in schools outside Nigeria. Almost half of those who were moved by the School Board went into schools in Ife; the remainder were transferred to schools in Ife Division.

These figures support information from individual case histories of teachers. For decades, there has been movement between schools and communities. One retired teacher taught in seven different communities, including two outside the Western State. It should be noted that this process began with his secondary level education, including teacher training, in schools fifty or more miles outside Ife. It has not been possible to find a single teacher in Ife who has not taught for less than ten years and who has not spent part of that time in schools outside Ife.

Thirty-five per cent of the 1969 Ife teachers were born in Ife. Categories of increasing distances from Ife of places of birth of Ife teachers are used in Table 14 to

TABLE 14
PLACE OF BIRTH OF IFE TEACHERS, 1969

Place of Birth	Teachers					Totals ^a	
	Pri.	Sec.Mod.	Tech.	Comm.	Sec.Gr.	Number	Per Cent
Ife	120	22	2	4	22	170	35.0%
Ife Division, not Ife	22	2	1	1	9	35	7.2
W.Nigeria, urban, over 130,000	30	5	-	-	9	44	9.1
W.Nigeria, urban, 20,000 to 130,000	85	8	1	3	28	125	25.8
W.Nigeria, rural, not Ife Division	75	-	1	5	17	98	20.5
Non-W.Nigeria, urban, over 20,000	5	1	-	-	-	6	1.1
Non-W.Nigeria, rural	-	1	-	-	-	1	0.2
Non-Nigerian	-	-	1	-	5	6	1.1
Total	337	39	6	13	90	485	100.0%

^aThere were 8 no-responses not included in the calculation of the percentages.

bring out some relevant conclusions about residential mobility of teachers of different levels of schooling. It is only among the secondary modern school teachers that a majority of teachers were born in Ife; overall, the majority of teachers are not from Ife or Ife Division: They have come from widely differing backgrounds, both rural and urban, although almost all have come from Western Nigeria. If "urban" can be assumed to be over 20,000 population, then 71 per cent of all teachers have come from urban areas; only about one of every four came from the rural areas.

Those with higher educational attainments show the highest amount of residential mobility as measured by movement away from the town of birth. The secondary grammar school teachers are those with the most formal education, and have the lowest percentage of teachers born in Ife.

Generational mobility among teachers is shown in Table 15. Data from the 1969 questionnaires reveals that only seven of the 486 teachers had fathers who were teachers. Over half of the fathers were farmers. There is, then, a very significant shift in occupations between the generations of the teachers and their fathers.

Another aspect of mobility is reflected in the number of different teaching jobs held by a teacher. Using data on teachers in Ife in 1968, a significant number of shifts from school to school can be noted. Whereas 79 per cent of all Ife teachers have taught at various schools for five or more years, only 22 per cent have taught at their respective

schools for that length of time. Even more striking, among the primary school teachers 93 per cent have had at least five years teaching experience, but only 28 per cent have spent that long at their respective schools. Many of these shifts in past years were undoubtedly due to transfers by the Local Education Authorities or Voluntary Agencies. But the result is high mobility whatever the cause, resulting in significantly low continuity of teaching programs at individual schools. More than half (57%) of all 1968 Ife teachers have taught at their respective schools for less than three years.

TABLE 15
OCCUPATIONS OF TEACHERS' FATHERS (1969)

Occupational Type	Pri.	Sec. Mod.	Comm & Tech.	Sec. Gram.	Total	PerCent
Farming	237	28	11	60	336	69.1%
Craft, skilled	12	-	-	1	13	2.7
Small business	46	5	4	15	70	14.4
Large business	8	-	2	5	15	3.1
Teachers	5	1	1	-	7	1.4
Clerical, gov't.	11	2	-	6	19	3.9
Religious	11	1	1	1	14	2.9
Professional	2	1	-	3	6	1.2
Trad'l. ruler	3	-	-	3	6	1.2
Total	335	38	19	94	486	99.9%

Information obtained in questionnaires submitted by the 1969 teachers reveals that a very large number have taught at many different schools, as shown in Table 16.

TABLE 16
 NUMBER OF SCHOOLS WHERE 1969 TEACHERS HAVE WORKED
 (N=485)

Type of Teacher	Number of Schools Where Taught									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	8+	N. B.
Primary (N=339)	16	31	47	56	62	73	35	12	7	1
Sec.Modern (N=36)	7	11	9	1	4	3	1	-	-	3
Sec.Comm.&Tech. (N=19)	1	4	2	3	4	3	2	-	-	-
Sec.Grammar (N=91)	26	14	13	10	6	16	5	-	1	4
Total (Per Cents)	50 (10)	60 (12)	71 (15)	70 (14)	76 (16)	95 (20)	43 (9)	12 (3)	8 (2)	8 (2)

According to the data, more than half of all teachers have taught at four or more schools. This statistic must be seen against the fact that 64 per cent of all 1969 teachers are thirty years old or less; 81 per cent are thirty-five years old or less; and 92 per cent are forty or less. Thus, the turnover is not only high but frequent.

The turnover is greatest among the primary teachers. Because of the role of School Board transfers within this group, conclusions as to causes of the turnover are difficult to isolate with regard to educational attainment. For those who have taught at four or more schools, the per cent is lowest among the secondary modern teachers, a relatively inexperienced group.

A few of the teachers have held other, non-teaching jobs before coming to their respective schools. Using data from questionnaires in 1969, Table 17 indicates the number of non-teaching jobs which were held. Based on several case studies of individual teachers in Ife, one can assume that those not responding to this question have not held any non-teaching jobs. All together then, very few have held non-teaching jobs; only 1 per cent have held more than two non-teaching jobs.

TABLE 17
NUMBER OF NON-TEACHING JOBS PREVIOUSLY HELD
BY 1969 TEACHERS^a

No. of Jobs	Pri.	Sec. Mod.	Comm.& Tech.	Sec. Gram.	Total	PerCent
One	21	2	6	17	46	9 %
Two	8	1	-	3	12	2
Three	1	-	-	1	2	-
Four	2	-	-	-	2	-
Five	1	-	-	-	1	-
Above Five	-	-	-	-	-	-
None	95	7	5	27	134	27
No Response	212	29	8	47	296	60
Total	340	39	19	95	493	100%

^aN=493

Teachers constitute the largest group of highly educated people in Ife. Nevertheless, the movement between the non-teaching and the teaching professions is very small as

shown in the data; less than 5 per cent of those leaving teaching in 1968 have gone into non-teaching jobs; and only about 13 per cent of the 1969 teachers have previously held a non-teaching job.

If the proposed hypothesis is able to explain the occupational mobility of teachers, then one could expect that teachers leaving the schools, for whatever reasons, would be those with higher educational attainments than those remaining. Table 13 in Chapter Six gives the totals of those who have left and the percentages of all 1968 teachers. It is clear that teachers with higher degrees, such as the N.C.E. and university degrees, have a lower rate of attrition than those with lower attainments.

Is this true for teachers in each of the types of schools? Since the highest qualification of teachers in the primary schools is the Grade One teaching certificate, a comparison to the secondary level of schools, where there are higher qualifications, might be useful. Table 18 gives the calculations of the percentages of the 1968 teachers who have left in the 1968 to 1969 period, for the various levels of schooling. It should be recalled that five of the six junior high school teachers went to work at the grammar school which absorbed the junior high school. Also, some values of 0 and 100 per cent are based on data from only one or two respondents. It is clear that it is difficult to reach decisive conclusions about teachers in the commercial and technical schools, due to the small number

TABLE 18
PER CENT ATTRITION OF IFE TEACHERS, 1968 TO 1969^a

Qualification	Pri. (N=357)	Sec. Mod. (N=34)	Jr. High (N=6)	Tech. (N=11)	Comm. (N=16)	Sec. Gram. (N=125)	Total (N=549)
Dip. of Educ.	-	-	-	-	-	20	20
B.A., B.Sc., B.Ed.	-	-	100	0	100	21	24
N.C.E.	-	-	100	-	0	33	35
Grade I	60	50	100	-	0	33	52
Grade II	40	43	-	33	100	17	40
Grade III	44	100	-	100	-	-	45
H.S.C.	-	-	-	-	100	58	63
W.A.S.C.	100	57	-	-	100	55	65
G.C.E. "0"	-	50	-	-	0	0	25
Others ^b	67	0	-	50	80	38	56

^aThere were two no-responses, not included in the calculations of the percentages.

^b"Others" includes responses of "Teachers Diploma", "B.D.P.", Associateship Diploma, various commercial qualifications, "Arabic Diploma", and various qualifications below these.

of teachers involved. It is also clear that in the primary, secondary modern, and secondary grammar schools, there was generally a higher turnover among those with lower qualifications than among those with higher. This would indicate that the hypothesis is not confirmed in the data for teachers, both in the general sense and for specific types of schools.

Information on residential mobility of teachers is provided by the 1969 questionnaires, with data on 340 primary school teachers--out of 357. Since most of the secondary school teachers live on their compounds, data on them with regard to residence changes would be of limited use here. Of the total of 330 primary teachers who responded with information about their place of birth (there were 10 non-responses), 41 per cent were born in Ife. Of these, 54 per cent live in the quarter of their birth, as shown in Table 19. There is, then, appreciable residential mobility between quarters among these Ife-born primary teachers, in general.¹ Three specific patterns are brought out by a more detailed analysis of the data. First, among primary teachers of all quarters, movement out of the quarter of birth is higher among women than men. The traditional pattern of the movement of married women away

¹The data obtained was for quarters only; information was not sought on locations of places of birth or residence within each quarter. There may be residential movement within each quarter from one compound to another. Indeed, there are several known cases of this residential mobility by males.

TABLE 19

NUMBER OF PRIMARY TEACHERS (1969) RESIDING IN QUARTER OF BIRTH.

Quarter	Male			Female			Total ^a		
	No. born here	No. live here	Per- cent here	No. born here	No. live here	Per- cent here	No. born here	No. live here	Per- cent here
Iremo	19	14	74%	10	7	70%	29	21	72.4%
Ilare	2	2	100	1	0	0	3	2	66.7
Okerewe	17	11	65	9	5	56	26	16	62.5
Modakeke	14	10	71	8	3	38	22	13	59.1
More	9	5	56	2	1	50	11	6	54.5
Ilode	9	3	33	7	1	14	16	4	25.0
Sabo	6	0	0	3	0	0	9	0	0.0
Total	76	45	59%	40	17	43%	116	62	53.5%

^aN = 116

from the family compound to reside with the husband, who would retain the pattern of patrilocal residence, can explain much of the difference here due to sex. It must be noted, however, that the data cited on women in Table 19 has not been differentiated according to marital status. Before marriage one would expect the woman to reside with the parents. Over half of all the female teachers in the primary schools are married. In all known cases of unmarried female teachers, they reside at their place of birth.

Second, there are differences in the mobility figures when compared by quarters. As Table 19 shows, the two quarters of Sabo and Ilode have markedly low percentages of life born teachers remaining in them. Of course the total number of teachers involved is very small, making statistical conclusions not very valid. But the pattern does appear; further differences between quarters will be discussed in the next chapter which will help to provide possible explanations for this pattern.

Third, discussions with many teachers, including university lecturers and professors, indicate that those who are financially able to do so tend to establish their place of birth as their "home" and construct a permanent building in their home town; this residence might be lived in by relatives if not the teacher himself, or might be rented to strangers. This would be expected, for example, of life-born University personnel and secondary grammar

school teachers whose residences are rented from the school. Those teachers who have a more limited income, such as the primary school teachers, usually consider the home of the parents (or husbands) as the permanent residence. This, it might be expected that financial factors would be significant in differences between rates of residential mobility of secondary-level or higher teachers and other teachers. As mentioned previously, such data are not available here, but could be significant in further research. A most notable exception to this general pattern regarding residences would be found among the group of teachers from very rural backgrounds, since this group would tend to adopt Ife readily as a place of permanent residence and to limit ties to their rural backgrounds.

Mobility of Apprentices

There are 1,407 apprentices in small crafts in Ife in 1968. As mentioned in Chapter Five, they are distributed in a variety of craft types. Formal education attainment, as has been noted, ranges from none to several years of secondary level schooling, and generally varies with the type of craft activity.

Overall, there is evidence of a sharp break with the occupational activities of the parents. Farming is the occupation of 86 per cent of the fathers of the apprentices. Only 5 per cent of the apprentices have had fathers in craft

professions; only 1 per cent are involved in the same craft as their fathers (see Table 20).

TABLE 20
OCCUPATIONS OF FATHERS OF APPRENTICES (1968)

Father's Occupational Type	Apprentices	
	Number	Per Cent
Farming	1,184	86.1%
Craft, skilled	68	5.0
Small business	69	5.0
Large business	12	0.9
Teachers	6	0.4
Clerical, government	22	1.6
Religious	9	0.7
Professional	4	0.3
Traditional ruler	0	- -
Total	1,374 ^a	100.0%

^aThere were thirty-three no-responses, not included in the calculations of percentages.

The data does not, however, reveal another important link between the apprentices and the occupational activities of the parental generation: It is apparent from case studies that an apprentice often works for a master who is his paternal uncle or other relative. One printer, who invited the researcher to the "freedom ceremony" of one of his twelve male apprentices in late 1967, pointed out that this apprentice was "lent" to him by his brother. This

apprentice received special care, and lived at the home of the master. After receiving his freedom, this young "new" journeyman remained with the master for at least the next twenty months. He hoped to go to Ibadan in the future to establish his own printing business, but only after his master gave his approval. This was the only example in this particular printing business of a relative serving a master; all eleven other apprentices there were "strangers." This same master indicated that he had recently (pre-December, 1967) trained apprentices from both the northern and eastern States, and had, in early 1967, two boys from the Mid-West State.

It is apparent, then, that occasionally there is a relationship of a kin nature between an apprentice and a master. This seems to occur more often within the crafts with low formal educational requirements, such as the goldsmiths, or the hairdressers.

In some crafts employing apprentice workers in large numbers, it is common to find several brothers, sons, or even more distant relatives serving as apprentices or assistant journeymen.

Of all apprentices, 45 per cent were born in Ife; and another 16 per cent are from the Ife area (Ife Division). Three per cent are from outside Western Nigeria (see Table 21).

Based on a sampling of apprentices, about 40 per cent are from rural areas of Western Nigeria, including Ife

TABLE 21

PLACE OF BIRTH OF APPRENTICES (1968) BY PRESENT RESIDENCE IN IFE

Present Quarter of Residence	Place of Birth							Totals
	Ife	Moda- keke	Ife Div.	West Nig.	Non-W. Nig.	Non- Nig.	No Resp.	
Ife (unspecified)	73	3	22	75	2	-	1	176
Iremo	114	13	76	204	24	1	5	437
Ilare	44	-	8	24	4	-	1	81
Okerewe	63	-	21	46	4	-	-	134
Modakeke	42	179	84	95	3	1	4	408
More	35	-	7	19	1	-	1	63
Ilode	56	1	3	15	-	-	-	75
Sabo	-	-	2	5	4	-	-	11
No Response	4	4	4	2	-	-	8	22
Total	431 (31%)	200 (14%)	227 (16%)	485 (35%)	42 (3%)	2	20 (1%)	1,407 (100%)

Division. Most Ife apprentices, therefore, come from urban backgrounds (from communities with populations over 20,000) but with strong ties to the urban-farming patterns of Yoruba culture, as evidenced by the large number whose fathers are farmers (see Table 20). According to the sample, about as many apprentices have come from urban areas larger than Ife as come from urban areas smaller than Ife. This pattern is reflected in the case histories of several masters of small crafts in Ife. One master printer, for example, was born in Ife, the son of a traditional chief. As the eldest son, he inherited responsibility for several farm lands near Ife. He received his apprenticeship in Ife, served as journeyman printer in Ife for several years, then moved to Ibadan for several years. He is now back in Ife as a master printer but continues to oversee the farm lands of his family, employing laborers on the farm. Another master printer received his apprenticeship in Ibadan, works full time as a supervisor of laborers at the University, and does parttime printing work in Ife. His father was a farmer.

Residential mobility of apprentices in Ife has not been analyzed for all apprentices. The survey does include data on preferences for residence in Modakeke and Irewo, particularly among non-Ife born apprentices: of these, 79 per cent live in the two quarters, Modakeke and Irewo (see Table 21). Of those apprentices born in Modakeke,

90 per cent reside in Modakeke and another 7 per cent live in the neighboring quarter of Irema; those from other quarters of Ife are distributed more evenly throughout Ife.

Non-Ife born apprentices tend to work in crafts in the quarters of Ife where larger and more numerous crafts are found, and greater amenities are found, notably in the quarters of Ilode, Okerewe and More. A contributing factor also is the tendency of all apprentices to live in the same quarter as their place of work, as a general pattern; Modakeke and Irema have the largest numbers of crafts.

The common practice is for masters to have their places of work as their residences. One master printer lives on the second floor of a building he rents; his establishment is on the first floor. His father's compound is elsewhere in the same quarter. In the areas of Irema and Modakeke, where two-story dwellings are common, this is the standard pattern. Exceptions are found among those crafts which are best practiced where the demands of the work require, such as motor mechanics, blacksmiths, and carpenters; carpenters in particular may move from one site to another as a job is finished; blacksmiths and motor mechanics usually locate near the lorry parks and main intersections. Residence is normally close by, almost always in the same quarter. For example, one carpenter, not a native of Ife,

lives in the newer layout area of Eleyiele, and works over in Modakeke in a shed. He normally has about ten apprentices. The work he does is primarily furniture building. Other carpenters whose work may take them into various homes and buildings commonly use a shed nearer their places of residence as official places of work, but can rarely be found there.

Apprentices who are not "privileged" close relatives or friends of the master have to find some other place to live, usually with other apprentices, distant relatives, or alone. In the more traditional areas of Ilode and More, many apprentices live with their families and walk to work, which may be in Irewo or Modakeke. There are no known cases of apprentices who are not relatives living in the more traditional areas (Ilode, More, Okerewe); more commonly, those who are without relatives, and even many who do have relatives in other quarters, live in the two-story buildings in the more modern areas of Ife, or with other apprentices and their families.

Attrition among apprentices, as reported by the masters, is high. One carpenter, visited in early 1969, stated then that he had twenty-two apprentices, that six others had left during the past year to join the army before completing their apprenticeship terms; he also said that other apprentices were "unstable," would leave prematurely, that this was a normal pattern. The low remuneration received

by apprentices (usually only enough to pay for minimal room and board) and cost of entering apprenticeship often make other activities, even searching for jobs, more attractive. There is an informal bond or agreement between the master and the apprentice which is relatively easy for the apprentice to break. During the period of the study, most apprentices who left a master reportedly did so to join the army, not to seek an alternative apprentice position or specific job. The depressed economic climate has minimized the alternative vocational opportunities.

According to some masters, in previous years there was less attrition of apprentices. It appeared that there were as many cases of masters asking an apprentice to leave as of apprentices leaving by choice. There always has seemed to exist a reservoir of unemployed youth, potential apprentices from which replacements are readily available. This seems to be true for the period of the study as well as previous years.

It is difficult to estimate the attrition rates for any given year. Variations in the length of training makes analysis of the number of years spent by all apprentices inconclusive. According to a random sample of the 1968 apprentices, 22 per cent had spent less than 1 year with a master; 16 per cent had spent 1 year; 9 per cent had spent 2 years; 24 per cent had spent 3 years; 14 per cent had spent 4 years; and 8 per cent had spent 5 or more years.

Seven per cent did not respond to the question. Although variations may be noted for different crafts, it is difficult to draw conclusions about the effect of the war, of the depressed economy, or of the practices of masters. Case studies have shown that there are a cadre of faithful apprentices who comprise the largest percentage of the apprentices in each particular business, and that there are few who are new apprentices. Attrition is apparently highest during the first year of apprenticeship. And it is normally the older apprentices with few years of work experience who have left to join the army.

Movement from life to other areas is most frequent among those obtaining their freedom and seeking to establish their own business or work with other masters as journeymen. This seems to have been a common pattern, as in the case of the printer mentioned earlier. There are several known cases of "freed" apprentices who have left the profession of apprenticeship for other vocations, either in life or elsewhere. However, there is little evidence of apprentices shifting from one vocation or craft to another while still apprentices. Thus most apprentices are serving their first and only terms, except for those who may have worked with a previous master who had to release them for financial reasons.

As mentioned in Chapter Five, the ages of the apprentices cover a wide range, from 9 to 31; the majority

(78 per cent) is between the ages of 15 and 20 years. There are definite differences in age distributions between different craft types. One might hypothesize that this would be due at least in part to differences in formal educational requirements for entry by apprentices in the different crafts. However, when the educational attainments of the apprentices are set against the ages at which they entered their apprenticeship, there is no significant difference between the groups (see Table 22). In fact, in each of the groups of differing educational attainments (those with no schooling, those with primary six, and those with secondary modern education), not less than 80 per cent of the apprentices had entered their training by the age of nineteen.

One may question the validity of some of the above data as shown in Table 22. There were a few apprentices who indicated that they had entered apprenticeship at the age of 11 or 12 but also indicated that they had completed secondary modern school--which is highly unlikely. There may be some circumstances which would make such results possible, such as the case of the goldsmith and his son who began his apprenticeship after school hours. However, there remains the possibility that some of the data as to either age or formal education may be invalid in a few cases.

No information is available on the number of different jobs held by apprentices before entering their training. It

TABLE 22

ESTIMATES OF THE AGE OF ENTERING APPRENTICESHIP

Age Range	No Schooling (N=188)	With Primary 6 ^a (N=784)	With Sec.Mod. 3 (N=153)
9 yrs.	10%	1%	0%
10 - 14 yrs.	44%	46%	22%
15 - 19 yrs.	27%	46%	60%
20 - 24 yrs.	13%	6%	14%
25 - 29 yrs. ^b	6%	1%	4%
Total	100%	100%	100%

^aA sampling of 283 apprentices, randomly selected, was used in the determination of the percentages for this column. This sample represents the total of 784 apprentices with primary six attainment.

^bThere were two apprentices aged above 29 years who were left out of these estimates. Both apprentices had no schooling.

has been observed that many young people spend several years searching for higher paying jobs than apprenticeship, or for entry into the higher paying apprenticeship crafts. This is most true of those with less schooling, which may help to account for the fact that formal educational attainment does not appear to influence the age of entry into apprenticeship, as shown in Table 22. Many young people travel around during this search before entering apprenticeship. Others may work reluctantly for their parents on the farm or in the trades.

There appears to be no significant difference by sex, except for the reported correlation between sex and schooling attainment

Mobility of Workers in Other Businesses in Ife

In the 1969 survey of businesses in Ife employing 3 or more workers, 156 businesses were canvassed.¹ Successful interviews were held with 149 heads, or assistant heads, of these businesses. Slightly over 1200 workers were identified as being employed in those businesses, although several hundred were affiliated in only a parttime way as farmers working part of the year with the cooperatives. Fairly complete data are available on 950 of the workers in those 149 businesses.

¹Teachers, masters and apprentices in small crafts have been treated independently above.

Types of businesses include government offices (Divisional Offices, Post Offices, Ministry branches, Courts, and Police), hospitals, farmers' unions and cooperatives, lumber mills, large and small commercial businesses (chemists, petrol stations, bookstores, drinks distributors, bakeries, food sellers, hotels with bars, cloth stores, pools lotteries, banks), offices of advocates or barristers (lawyers) and private medical clinics. The largest group of people is employed in the two hospitals: there were 160 persons working in various capacities including nurses, doctors, technicians, and laborers. Almost as many are employed in the farmer cooperatives (131 workers) and in the government offices (156 workers). There are many businesses employing from 3 to 10 persons.

Seventy-six per cent of the workers surveyed were males. Table 23 shows the distribution of workers according to sex in 9 general occupational categories, designed to include the various roles of all the workers. There are some important differences in sex distribution in these different categories of occupations. For example, of the 222 females surveyed, 79 per cent are either clerk-typists, technicians (including nurses), or helpers (especially in the hospitals). The occupation of clerk-secretary is almost exclusively a male occupation (93 per cent of those surveyed are male), as was that of laborer (96 per cent). Nineteen per cent of the heads of businesses are

TABLE 23

DISTRIBUTION OF BUSINESS WORKERS BY SEX AND OCCUPATIONAL TYPES, 1969

Occupational Type ^b	Male		Female		Total ^a	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Owner, manager	91	13.1%	22	9.9%	113	12.4%
Assis. manager	63	9.1	6	2.7	69	7.5
Clerk-secretaries	68	9.8	5	2.2	73	8.0
Assis. secretaries	30	4.3	5	2.2	35	3.8
Clerk-typists	101	14.6	54	24.4	155	17.0
Messengers	21	3.0	6	2.7	27	3.0
Technicians, nurses	209	30.2	95	42.8	304	33.2
Helpers	57	8.2	27	12.2	84	9.2
Laborers	52	7.5	2	0.9	54	5.9
Total	692	99.8%	222	100.0%	914	100.0%

^aThe calculations do not include 36 no-responses.

^bThe categories of occupational types are general, and cannot be related easily to all specific businesses. Nevertheless, they reflect the basic roles of social organization in most life businesses, and have often been defined by owners and managers at specific businesses.

female, concentrated in the food-selling, cloth-selling, and general provisions businesses. Only 5 per cent of the 169 workers in government offices are female, almost all as clerk-typists.

The median age for all workers is 20 to 25 years. Table 24 shows the distribution of workers by age categories. Nearly 2 of every 3 workers are below the age of 30. As could be expected, there is a higher average age among the owners and managers of the businesses; only 30 per cent of all this group is below the age of 30 years, and almost all of these are above the age of 20. Young people below the age of 30 are not employed generally as laborers: only 30 per cent of the laborers are below 30. On the other hand, 92 per cent of the clerk-typists are under 30. These statistics are summarized by occupational categories in Table 25.

Farming is the occupation of 75 per cent of the fathers of the workers. This is similar to the occupational pattern of fathers of teachers, revealing a similar shift over generations. There are significant differences between groups of business workers, however: laborers, messengers, and assistant secretaries have higher percentages of fathers as farmers; owners, managers, clerk-secretaries and technicians have lower percentages. These findings are to be expected, since the latter occupational roles are more likely to be filled by those of a more affluent family background,

TABLE 24
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS IN IFE BUSINESSES, 1969

Age Range	Number	Per Cent ^a
10 - 14 years	29	3.6%
15 - 19	131	16.3
20 - 24	206	25.6
25 - 29	153	19.0
30 - 34	84	10.4
35 - 39	91	11.3
40 - 44	44	5.5
45 - 49	23	2.9
50 and above	43	5.4
Total	804	100.0%

^aThe calculations do not include 146 no-responses.

TABLE 25
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF BUSINESS WORKERS BY
TYPES OF OCCUPATIONS, 1969

Occupational Type	Age				Total ^a Number
	Below 30 Years		30 Years and Over		
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	
Owner, manager	30	31.0%	67	69.0%	97
Assist. manager	40	60.6	26	39.4	66
Clerk-secretaries	40	63.5	23	36.5	63
Assist. secretaries	17	56.7	13	43.3	30
Clerk-typists	132	92.4	11	7.6	143
Messengers	15	65.3	8	34.7	23
Technicians, nurses	182	68.3	85	31.7	267
Helpers	49	74.3	17	25.7	66
Laborers	13	29.6	31	70.4	44
Total	518	64.9%	281	35.1%	799

^aThe calculations do not include 151 no-responses.

correlating with increased chances for educational attainment necessary for these roles. Whereas 87 per cent of the laborers had fathers who were farmers, the figure for clerk-secretaries is only 67 per cent. Table 26 shows the occupations of fathers for all workers.

TABLE 26
OCCUPATIONS OF FATHERS OF WORKERS IN
BUSINESSES, 1969

Father's Occupational Type	Business Workers	
	Number	Per Cent
Farming	589	74.6%
Craft, skilled	44	5.6
Small business	84	10.7
Large business	13	1.7
Teachers	4	0.5
Clerical, government	24	3.1
Religious	13	1.7
Professional	8	1.0
Soldier, sailor	5	0.6
Traditional ruler	4	0.5
Total	788 ^a	100.0%

^aThe calculations did not include 162 no-responses.

One-third of all business workers were born in either Ife or Modakeke. One-half of all business workers are from areas in the Western State outside Ife Division. Only 6 per cent are from other States in Nigeria. Thus there are

more workers from outside Ife than from Ife. From the data collected, it is not possible to calculate the exact percentage of those from rural and urban areas, but examples from case studies seem to suggest that the bulk of workers have come from other urban areas in Western Nigeria, largely from towns and villages of between 20,000 and 130,000 population--i.e., from urban areas smaller than Ife. In the local office of a national newspaper, for example, all of the 14 workers are from areas in Western Nigeria outside Ife. Three of these are from towns larger than Ife, 7 are from other urban areas with more than 20,000 population, and the other 4 are from rural areas. In a petrol station employing 8 workers, all from Western Nigeria, 2 are from Ife, 1 is from a town larger than Ife, 3 are from urban areas smaller than Ife, and 2 are from rural areas. Almost all nurses and technicians at both hospitals are from outside Ife.

Analysis of the data on workers by type and town of birth reveals that only in the case of assistant secretaries are most of the workers from Ife. Laborers show the smallest percentage of Ife-born workers. Table 27 summarizes this result.

There is a wide range of formal educational attainments for all business workers, distributed across all occupational types. Understandably, most of those with more highly specialized formal educational attainments are concentrated in the more highly specialized job areas. Eleven of the 14

technical school graduates are working as technicians, and 25 of the 50 H.S.C. or higher schooling graduates are working in some technical capacity.

TABLE 27

IFE-BORN WORKERS BY TYPE OF OCCUPATIONAL ROLE, 1969

Type of Occupation	Total Workers	Workers born in Ife	
		Number	Percentage ^a
Owner, manager	108	35	32.4%
Assistant manager	57	0	0.0
Clerk-secretaries	73	25	34.3
Assis. secretaries	33	20	60.6
Clerk-typists	150	68	45.4
Messengers	27	12	44.5
Technicians, nurses	270	76	32.2
Helpers	67	24	35.8
Laborers	48	13	27.1
Total	836	275	32.9%

^aThe calculations do not include 114 no-responses.

The data seems to show also that a particular formal educational attainment does not prevent one from participating in any particular occupational role. One-quarter of all managers and owners of businesses have had no formal education, and over 10 per cent of the technician class of occupations has been filled by those with no formal schooling. Nevertheless, the categories chosen for occupational roles are general, not precise as to specific business.

Government offices, for example, do have a higher minimum educational requirement for their clerk-typists and clerk-secretaries than do most other businesses. And the highly specialized nature of the work at the hospitals require a higher level of schooling attainment and specialized study than most businesses for the majority of their occupational roles. The formal educational attainments of all business workers is given in Table 28.

TABLE 28

FORMAL SCHOOLING ATTAINMENTS OF BUSINESS WORKERS, 1969

Level of schooling last attended ^b	All business workers ^a	
	Number	Percentage
No schooling	82	10.0%
Primary level	239	29.0
Secondary modern	224	27.2
Junior high	3	0.4
Commercial	21	2.6
Technical	14	1.7
Secondary grammar	175	21.2
H.S.C. or higher	50	6.0
T.T.C.	16	1.9
Total	824	100.0%

^aThe calculations do not include 126 no-responses; for most of these cases, it is believed that the no-response signified a reluctance to indicate that there had been no schooling, but this has not been verified.

^bFormal schooling attainment indicated is not necessarily the "completion" of a given level; however, this is usually the case.

It is difficult to reach valid conclusions on the turn-over of personnel in businesses in Ife from the data available. Data was not gathered on the numbers or types of jobs held in previous years. Attempts to combine age with formal schooling attainment for analytical purposes with years spent in a given business cannot give very meaningful indicators of occupational turnover. The young age of most workers makes analysis of the years spent at a given business difficult to extrapolate to worker turn-over rates. Information is presented in Table 29 on the number of years spent at each business, compared to specific educational attainment. It shows a high per cent of those who have worked only a short period of time. And it shows that the percentage of those who have spent only one or two years at the business is greater for those with higher formal attainment than for those with lower formal attainment. On the other hand, the largest percentages of those having worked more than five years are those with lower formal attainment.

If the hypothesis under examination has some validity in explaining the connection between formal educational attainment and mobility, then one would expect that of those working in Ife who were born in Ife there would be fewer workers with high formal educational attainment, and more with low formal educational attainment, staying on in business in Ife. This is indeed the case. Whereas the Ife-born and Modakeke-born workers constitute 33 per cent of all

TABLE 29

NUMBER OF YEARS SPENT WORKING AT PRESENT BUSINESS EXPRESSED AS THE
PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS OF SELECTED EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENTS,
1969

Years Spent Here At Business	Per Cent of Workers with Given School Attainment ^a						
	None (N=78)	Prim. (N=236)	Sec.Mod., (N=223)	Comm. (N=21)	Tech. (N=14)	Sec.Gr. (N=173)	H.S.C. (N=50)
Less than 1	15%	15%	16%	24%	50%	23%	24%
1	18	23	29	10	7	30	26
2	9	14	22	19	29	19	16
3	12	7	14	10	7	6	6
4	13	5	7	10	7	5	6
5	3	4	4	-	-	8	8
Over 5	31	31	7	29	-	11	14
Total	101%	99%	99%	102%	100%	102%	100%

^aThe calculations do not include 137 no-responses.

workers, only 28 per cent of the grammar school graduates and 12 per cent of the H.S.C. or more highly qualified workers were born in Ife. Moreover, 33 per cent of those with no schooling, 44 per cent of those with only primary schooling, and 34 per cent of those with secondary modern schooling were born in Ife.

These figures when compared with those of workers born in Western Nigeria outside Ife or Ife Division reveal the basis for a possible explanation of this general phenomena. Table 30 compares the statistics for Ife-born workers and workers from outside Ife Division.

TABLE 30
FORMAL EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENTS OF WORKERS BORN
IN IFE DIVISION COMPARED TO WORKERS
BORN OUTSIDE IFE DIVISION

Highest Level of Formal Schooling ^a	Ife-born workers		Other Ife workers	
	Number	Per cent ^b	Number	Per cent
No schooling	25	32.5%	29	37.6%
Primary	101	43.5	98	41.8
Secondary modern	73	33.5	104	47.7
Commercial	7	33.3	12	57.2
Technical	-	0.0	10	71.2
Secondary grammar	48	27.8	105	60.7
H.S.C. or higher	6	12.2	29	59.2
Total	260	32.9%	387	50.0%

^aIncluded within each category are all those who have attended at that level, whether they completed it or not.

^bPercentages given are based on all workers with formal schooling, including 3 junior high and 16 T.T.C. students not listed in the Table; not included are 114 no-responses.

Ife-born students and workers do not usually remain in Ife to work, in spite of occupational opportunities. These occupations are, instead, filled largely by those from other areas in Western Nigeria outside Ife Division, most of them from urban areas smaller than Ife. Those with lower formal educational attainment born in Ife are more apt to remain in Ife, but are apparently not as numerous as those born outside Ife, particularly those who work as laborers. There is less in-migration of those with lower formal educational attainments into occupational positions in Ife.

Overall, the hypothesis is consistent with the empirical evidence within the business occupational system in Ife. Most of the workers in Ife businesses were not born in Ife, particularly among the more highly formally educated workers and the more specialized occupational roles in Ife businesses. Some Ife-born workers with high formal education do remain in Ife and some with low or no formal education are known to have left Ife for business elsewhere. But the general trend is for Ife-born workers with high formal education to leave Ife and those with low formal education to remain in Ife.

Residential mobility within Ife is affiliated strongly with this occupational mobility. Those with higher formal educational attainment, born native and non-native workers, tend to reside in the outlying areas

of Ife in the newer, more spacious, and more expensive residences. And this is more true among the non-Ife-born workers with high formal education than among the Ife-born workers with high formal education. The area of Eleiyele, for example, is settled by a high proportion of barristers, business managers, nurses, and successful merchants. There are no known barristers living in all of Ilode and Okerewe quarters, and only a few in the more developed traditional quarters of Irewo and Ilare. Non-native workers often chose to live in Modakeke, particularly in the two-storey dwellings nearer to Akarabata and other layout areas.

Information is not available on residential shifts of workers living in Ife, at least in a systematic and comprehensive way. The following section of the Chapter will examine features of residence in two contrasting areas of Ife, with important aspects relevant to the business section of the occupational system. One may conclude, on the basis of the data obtained in the census sampling and in case material work^{er} among those serving as clerks, barristers, and technicians, that residential shifts among those born in Ife is much greater for those with high formal educational attainment (H:S.C. and university graduates, in particular), than for those with limited formal educational attainment. And among Ife-born workers, more often those with higher formal education have moved residence within Ife than those with lower formal education.

Mobility of Persons in Contrasting Residential Areas

Two areas of Ife were chosen for special consideration of the residential patterns of their inhabitants. One was in the quarter of Ilode, just to the southeast of the Afin. The other was in the relatively new layout area of Akarabata.

Ilode is typical of the more traditional areas of Ife.¹ This is evident from observing the physical and social features of the area, supported by evaluations by Research Assistants from other areas of Western Nigeria. Some of the Assistants claimed that this was the "most traditional" of the five quarters of Ife. Physically, Ilode appears as a rather squalid area of predominately single storey buildings which are the residences of its people. There are no major businesses in Ilode, and only a few of the smaller craft activities; those found are usually shoe-making and shoe-repairing. On several of the streets, one may find small shops where cigarettes, soap, and a few small manufactured items are sold by women traders. There is no large market in Ilode, although the Oja Ife market near the Afin is adjacent to the quarter. On the outskirts are several schools, including one non-boarding secondary

¹Here, as elsewhere in the thesis, the term "traditional" may be taken as customary, slowly changing, or similar to the patterns of Yoruba culture portrayed by Yoruba ethnographers.

grammar school for boys. There are a variety of churches and a few mosques. There is little activity along the streets, much less than along the major thoroughfares in Irems and Modakeke. Ilode and Okerewe are more alike in these elements.

The compound system in Ilode is still governed largely by the traditional practice of patrilocal residence of patrilineal kin groups. Polygynous marriage is common. There is evidence of monogamous marriage, but largely among the younger men who may still take other wives in later years. The chieftancy system of Bales, and an Oba for the entire quarter, still regulates most family and inter-family disputes, marriage quarrels, and farm-land claims. Each compound area has a hierarchy of patrilineal authority which is respected by most inhabitants. Few male residents of Ilode were born outside the compound of their present residence.

One is unlikely to find all inhabitants of a compound at any given time. Many, if not most, of the males are farmers who leave their residences for long periods to work on their lands several miles away, to return for monthly meetings of the heads of families or for religious activities. Many of the women are traders who spend most hours of the day away from the compounds at either the Oja Ife or the main Ife market on Irems street. Almost all children over the age of six attend nearby primary schools,

although there is often a high drop-out rate in the higher grades. Some young residents are apprentices or workers in other businesses elsewhere in Ife. Visits to compounds during the day hours usually reveal the presence of some wives cooking or doing seamstress work, some older retired males and females, some unemployed males in their thirties and forties, several small children usually being cared for by older girls, and a few relatives and visitors from outside the quarter or outside Ife.

Some people in Ife claiming Ilode as their own quarter reside and work elsewhere. One chief, for example, lives in Irewo quarter and works as a judge in a "customary" or traditional court in Ilare quarter. He occasionally visits his brother and their families in Ilode, and, being an elder and a chief, is often called upon to settle family quarrels. His residing elsewhere in Ife is said to be due to "overcrowding" in the family compound in Ilode. His pension as a retired government clerk, and his income from court work have allowed him the option of living in more spacious and well-kept rooms in Irewo quarter. As one of the eldest males in the Ilode compound family, he continues to have high respect, without the day-to-day obligations of family administration consonant with permanent residence in Ilode. This has been his rationale for residence elsewhere, an argument which has been substantiated by observations of social interactions in and out of

Ilode over a period of nearly two years.

The population of Ilode according to the 1963 Census was 20,098. Only Ilare and More have smaller populations than Ilode.

A profile of the Ilode inhabitants has been made through a survey of a particular compound area (see Figure 7). In this area of adjoining buildings, almost all of the male residents are said to be related to a common ancestor, four or more generations previous. Of the adults surveyed, only one male was not born in Ilode quarter; he and his three wives were born in Oshogbo, thirty miles away. This Oshogbo emigrant has lived in this compound area for over ten years, and is considered by the other residents to be "like a member of the family." Almost all other residents are related, either through male kinship lines or marriage. Geneological charting and personal histories substantiate this.

Two-hundred and thirty-six residents can be identified in this compound. In the survey, data is not complete for all questions. Many residents have been reluctant to reveal their ages or that of their children. Some older residents have been unable to determine their ages accurately. Table 31 gives the age distribution of Ilode residents, arranged in ten year categories. It is possible through additional information on marital status, occupation, and formal educational attainment, and confirmed by direct

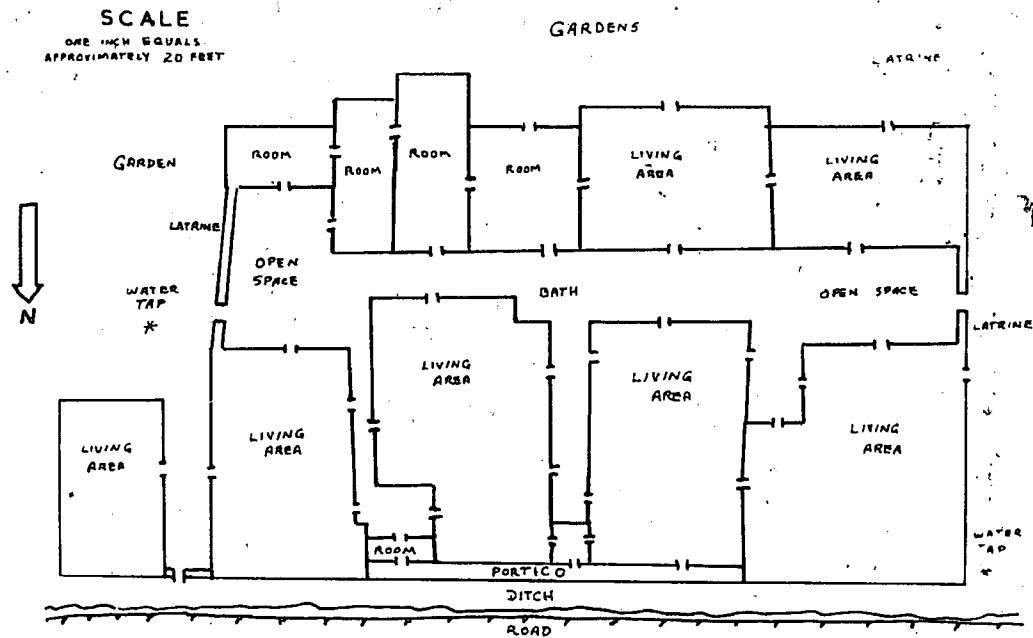


Fig. 7.--Diagram of the compound (ile) area surveyed in Ilode quarter, 1969

observation, to make a reasonable determination of the age distribution. Fifty-five per cent of the residents are below the age of 21, and 44 per cent are 21 years or above; the ages of 2 residents cannot be determined from the available data. The number of males and females is almost exactly equal through the entire population according to ten-year categories.

TABLE 31
AGE OF RESIDENTS IN SURVEYED ILODE COMPOUND

Age Range	Number of Residents	Per cent of Total
0 - 10 yrs.	67	40.6%
11 - 20 yrs.	84	29.1
21 - 30 yrs.	18	10.9
31 - 40 yrs.	17	10.3
41 - 50 yrs.	9	5.5
51 - 60 yrs.	4	2.4
above 60 yrs.	2	1.2
Total	165 ^a	100.0%

^aThe calculations do not include 71 no-responses.

Almost all adult males are engaged in farming. A few (4) are involved in craft work (bricklaying, tailoring, and printing), accounting (1), agricultural extension work (3), government office work (1 with Public Works; 1 as a secretary), and teaching (1). Males not attending school who are between ages 15 and 30 are engaged almost exclusively

in farming or in apprenticeship training. Most adult females can be classified as either "traders" or "wives" (household work). There are two female teachers. A few younger, unmarried girls are in apprenticeship. Almost all younger children are attending school, including a few at nearby Ife secondary schools.

Of the 105 adults (above the age of 20 years), 69 (68 per cent) have had no formal education. Only 8 of the adults have above a primary six education. Of these, 12 are still in school. Of these 23 residents, 18 are male, 9 of which are still in school; 3 of the 5 females are still in school.

Analysis of geneologies of all individuals living in this section of Ilode indicates that a large number of relatives who were born here live elsewhere. Moreover, it is relevant to note that most of those who live elsewhere have high educational attainment. Two family geneologies are presented in Appendix EE, illustrating this general phenomenon. In addition, details of one of the largest families in the compound are given in the following case study.

Jacob is 75 years old, retired, and lives in the compound. He is the eldest male member of the surveyed compound. He has had sixteen wives who have borne children. It is not clear how many children he has had totally; there was some reluctance about giving details

about deceased children. His living children range in age from 5 years to 55 years. Eighteen of his children are below the age of 13; all of these are reported to be in school in Ife. Four of his children are between the ages of 13 and 20; 2 of these are unemployed females with primary six schooling and are living in the compound; one boy has a primary four education and is reported to be away in the army; and one boy who has a primary four education is away learning to drive. All of the remaining 10 children over the age of 20 are males. Two of these older males have the School Certificate, and are living outside Ife. Two other males have primary six education and are living away from the compound, one in another part of Ife (the retired government civil service worker now serving as a chief magistrate previously discussed). Five of the remaining 6 older males have a reported primary six education; the sixth did not attend school. All 6 are living at the family compound with their wives and children; 3 of these males are unemployed, one is a trader, one is learning a trade, and one is a farmer. Jacob is reported to have 25 grandchildren, most of whom are infants or are attending school.

It is necessary to question the validity of some of the information given. Research Assistants, for example, questioned the exactness of the reported ages of many of the children. The large number of family members said to

have primary six attainments is questioned. It is more likely that individuals received "some" primary schooling. Knowledge of the high infant mortality rate in past years conflicts with the low reported number of children born but not living. And it is possible that there were some older female children of Jacob who have married and moved away, but who were not reported.

However, the number of wives, number of living children in the compound, present residence and general level of formal educational attainment generally is not questioned. Several interviews conducted on different days by different Research Assistants and by the Research Director overlapped in coverage, making possible extensive checks for reliability. It can be assumed that the general themes of the information gathered are valid, substantiated by sustained contact with the persons involved and cross-checked by repeated reference to particular family groups.

The family of Jacob was not strictly typical of the families in this compound. Most older males in the compound have had 2 to 4 wives, on the average. Formal educational attainment of most inhabitants was much lower than in Jacob's family, as implicit in the fact that 68 per cent of all adults in the compound had none. It is apparent that the special position of Jacob's family, as that of the eldest in the compound, seemed to provide a greater opportunity for formal educational attainment.

Whereas only 2 members of Jacob's several-generation family over the age of 20 had attained a school Certificate, very few had much less than the reported primary six schooling.

It may be assumed that the patterns of residency, marriage, occupations, and formal educational attainment in the particular area of Ilode surveyed are repeated generally throughout much of Ilode quarter and most other traditional areas of Ife. Such an assumption is based on analysis of the patterns of community life, discerned through years of involvement in the activities of Ife.

Significant contrasts may be seen in certain changing areas of other traditional quarters, such as Irewo and More. Newer businesses and trades, markets and schools, as well as more dense traffic on roads may be seen outside Ilode. These ecological differences are supplemented by differences in the social life of these areas. But it is in the newer layout areas and along the major thoroughfares toward Ibadan and nearer the University, in the new "sub-urban" areas of Akarabata, Eleiyele and Koiwo Layouts, that one finds the most vivid and most significant social contrasts. (See Plates 15 and 16)

All of the layout areas are less than ten years old. Established by ordinances and regulated by the necessity of builders to obtain permits for new buildings from the Town Planning Authority, these new areas are in the once predominately farmlands on the outskirts of Modakeke and



Plate 15.--Street scene in Ilode quarter, near
ile surveyed

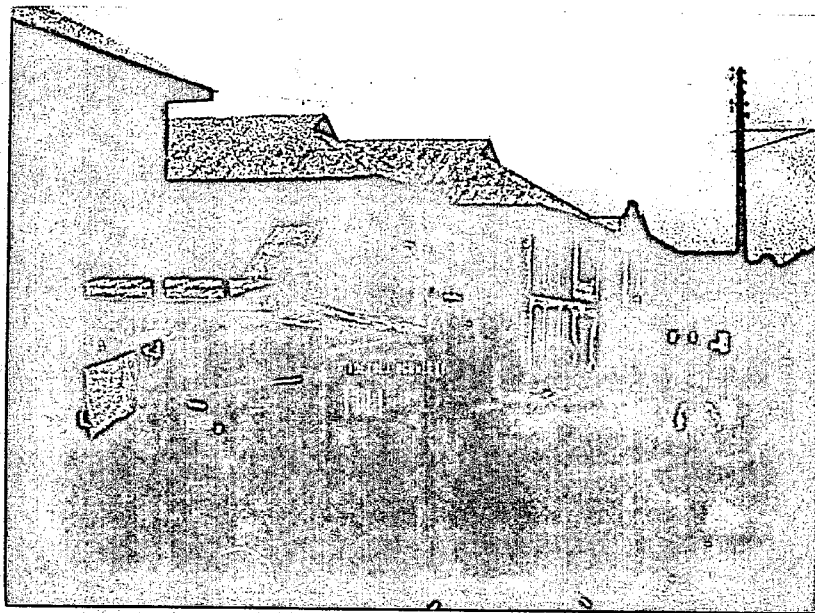


Plate 16.--Street scene in Akarabata Layout

Iremo quarters. Zoning restrictions and better planned, straight roads have resulted in almost exclusively residential areas which appear more hygienic, spacious, and generally more aesthetic--in the view of the Research Director and his Research Assistants. Large blocks of private capital, often assisted by government loans to particular individuals, were used in the building of two-storey dwellings for residences for higher income families. There are no large businesses in these layout areas, except for the "chambers" of a few barristers, and only a few small shops, craft industries, or other business activities. Near one street where a census sampling was undertaken, there was the office of a map-maker with two apprentices, and the office of a draftsman with one apprentice. Women traders can be seen on several corners selling cigarettes, drinks, and small manufactured items. Except for these, there is little sign of commercial activity in all of Akarabata Layout.

Most of the two-storey buildings in the Layout area are designed for four nuclear families with two groups on each floor, or for eight nuclear families with four groups on each floor. Separate toilet facilities for each group are usually provided; these are often indoors, but not always. There are frequently multiple kitchen units for each building; occasionally, the kitchen facilities are behind the building.

All buildings are set back from the main roads about 12 yards, and are evenly spaced in neat rows along the straight roads. This contrasts sharply with the pattern in Ilode and most of Ife, where buildings are within several feet of winding, narrow roads. Streets in Akarabata are normally well maintained. Water supply is often inside each building, whereas in Ilode it is provided at public water taps several hundred yards apart throughout the quarter. Latrines in Ilode are often unhygienic, being in normally open spaces between buildings or in spaces in the bush behind the compound. In Akarabata, latrines are found near large gardens behind the buildings, if pipe-borne water is not available inside for toilets and baths; but most have inside toilets. A basic schematic of the portion of Akarabata Layout surveyed is given in Figure 8.

A census sampling like that conducted in Ilode was conducted along one street of the Akarabata Layout (the lower set of houses in Figure 8). Six adjacent, two-storey dwellings have been canvassed. There are 25 basic "family" groups living in these buildings, including several single males, 3 of which share one set of rooms. The total number of people living in this area is 103; there are 61 males and 42 females. The distribution of ages is listed in Table 32. As in the case of the Ilode survey, there was a large number of people who did not want to reveal their ages. Reasons for this large number are

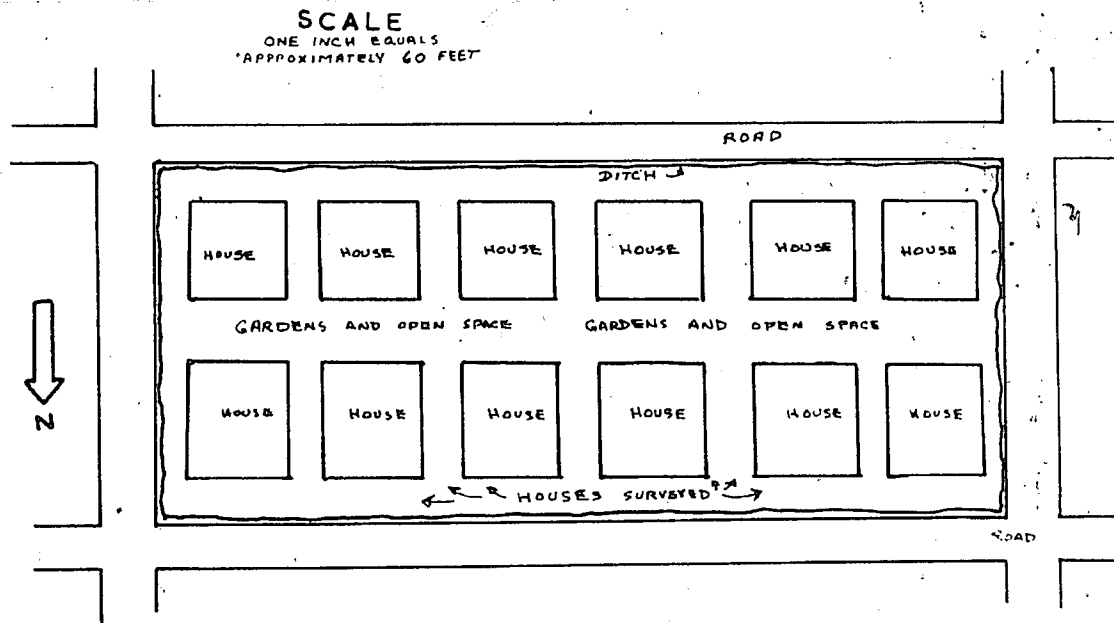


Fig. 8.--Diagram of the area surveyed in Akarabata Layout, 1969

similar to those for Ilode. Again, it has been possible through additional information to make a reasonable determination of the age distribution. Fifty-two per cent of the residents are below the ages of 21, and 48 per cent are 21 years or above. Fifty-four per cent of all male residents are below the age of 21. There is an almost equal distribution of inhabitants by sex within the larger classifications of below and above the age of 21.

TABLE 32

AGE OF RESIDENTS IN SURVEYED AKARABATA DWELLINGS, 1969

Age Range	Number of Residents	Per Cent of Total ^a
0 - 10	31	36.9%
11 - 20	19	22.6
21 - 30	23	27.4
31 - 40	5	6.0
41 - 50	6	7.1
51 - 60	-	0.0
above 60	-	0.0
Total	84	100.0%

^aThere were 19 no-responses not included in the calculations.

None of the residents above the age of 20 years was born in Akarabata, since the Layout did not exist until recently. Of the 49 adult residents (21 years or above), 8 were born elsewhere in Ife or Modakeke, 2 in Ife Division outside Ife, 35 elsewhere in the Western State, and 4

outside Western Nigeria (all 4 from northern States).

Family groupings in the surveyed Akarabata area are primarily those of the nuclear family. There are some cases of friends and relatives visiting or residing permanently with a nuclear family. There are some cases of single males living together without wives or other relatives. And there is one polygynous family: a man born in Ilare quarter of Ife, and his two wives, both from Ilode quarter (see Appendix FF, group # 1, for more information on this polygynous family). There is no known case of families of brothers from the same town residing either together or near each other. Outside the area of the survey, however, in another section of Akarabata, there is a case of a male head of a family from outside Ife (from the Western State, urban) who also houses two of his sisters, one married but separated. This basic pattern of sibling residency is found among many immigrants living in Ife.

Of the 28 males aged 21 years or above, there is a wide variety of occupations. Three each work as tailors, drivers, and carpenters; 2 are contractors; 2 others are clerk secretaries; and there is one each of the following: a clerk-typist, a school inspector, a washerman, a pastor, a bank officer, a barrister, a steelfitter, a bricklayer, a welder, a painter, a plumber, a steward, a laborer, a farmer, and one unemployed adult. There is a narrower range of occupations among the 21 women above the age of

20 years. Only one of the adult females is not married, a 29 year old seamstress who lives with her brother's family. Of the other 20 adult females, 6 are traders in the market, 3 are seamstresses (in addition to the one mentioned above), 3 are food contractors, and the remaining are unemployed and classified as "wives". With the exception of some of the seamstresses, all employed adults work in areas away from the residences, almost always outside Akarabata.

In the Akarabata area, formal educational attainment is generally much higher than in the Ilode area surveyed, particularly among the males. Of the 49 adults, only 14 (29 per cent) are reported to have not attended school; 10 of these are females, only 4 males. The 4 males with no schooling are presently employed as follows: One driver, one bricklayer, and two carpenters. The females with no schooling include 4 traders, 3 wives, and 1 seamstress.

There are 15 adults with a primary six education, and 16 adults with higher schooling. Thus, 64 per cent of all adults have had at least primary six schooling. Significant differences can be noted between the sexes: 79 per cent of all males, and only 43 per cent of all females, above the age of 20 years have had at least primary six schooling. There are two adults, both males, with a university level education: A barrister, and a school inspector.

Of the 54 residents below the age of 21 years, there are 33 males and 22 females. Of those of pre-school age, there are 14 males and 8 females. Of those of school age below the age of 21 years, there are 6 males and 3 females; all are in school. Of those between the age of 11 and 20 years, 9 are in school, 4 are apprentices, and 5 are employed. Three of the employed 5 are married females. There is no reported unemployment in the age range 11 to 21 years: 3 are in school and one is an apprentice - their ages could not be exactly determined.

Two of those reported as residents are students attending non-Ife schools temporarily staying with their parents during the school holiday. Among the families surveyed, there are reported to be 13 children not included in the above statistics: they live with relatives outside Akarabata and even Ife, or board at schools elsewhere; only one of these is a female.

Summary of Chapter Seven

In the general sense, the hypothesis under investigation can be said to be supported by available data. Where there is evidence of high occupational mobility, there is generally a higher level of formal education. In businesses, the length of time spent at a given job correlates negatively with higher formal educational attainment. In the teaching profession, one of the most highly schooled occupational groups, there is a very high turn-over.

There are notable exceptions to this general pattern. Because of the large number of transfers by the education authorities, the primary teachers, with a lower educational attainment, have the higher rates of turn-over. Although more than half of all teachers have taught at four or more schools, the turn-over rate is higher among those with lower attainment. And in apprenticeship, for the period under study, it appears that those with lower formal education were more apt to leave apprenticeship before completing training.

Shifts from the occupation of the parents are evident in all groups. Farming has been the occupation of most of the fathers of those in all occupational groups. There are notable differences for the various groups, showing that the greater the formal educational attainment of the worker, the less likely it is that the father of the worker has been a farmer. Within the teaching profession, most business occupational roles, and apprenticeship, there are few workers whose fathers have been in the same profession.

Between one-third and one-half of the workers in the teaching profession, apprenticeship, and most business roles were born in Ife (including Modakeke). Almost all of these workers are from Western Nigeria, mostly from urban areas. There are usually more from urban areas smaller than Ife (with populations between 20,000 and 130,000). The percentages vary according to the occupational roles, there being a large number from urban areas who have higher formal

educational attainment.

Most of the non-Ife workers in all businesses, including apprentices, live in either Iremo or Modakeke. Very few of the non-Ife workers reside in the more traditional quarters, such as Ilode. Among those workers born in Ife, there is a wider residential distribution. Among the Ife-born workers, nevertheless, the general pattern of the relationship between residential movement and higher formal educational attainment is still evident.

There is a high correspondence between the findings of the censusing in two contrasting areas and the findings in the surveys of the teachers, apprentices, and business workers. This empirical evidence supports the hypothesis, overlaid by the traditional pattern of residence, and affected by the policies and practice of teacher transfer by the educational authorities.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FUNCTION OF EDUCATION IN PATTERNING
OF OCCUPATIONAL AND RESIDENTIAL
MOBILITY IN LIFE

What remains a paramount methodological question for this thesis is how this residential and occupational mobility is tied into the process of education. Can it be shown that the mobility of persons occupationally and residentially is determined by formal educational processes? Or is it more significant to ask to what extent do formal educational processes affect this mobility? To answer these questions, it is necessary to proceed beyond the mere high correlation between formal educational attainment and mobility as indicated in Chapter Seven. The proof of the hypothesis has been established, that the higher the formal educational attainment, the greater the tendency toward mobility occupationally and residentially. It is now necessary to examine how and why this exists.

Other significant patterns and correlations found in the research can aid in this analysis. First, it was found that the ecological space of the community, as it is used by its inhabitants, exhibits a variety of expressions which bear significantly on the residential and occupational systems. For example, one may validly refer to the traditional areas of life, exhibiting patrilocal residence patterns of

patrilineal family groups and with few of the amenities, businesses, and overall wealth of the community, and to the more modern areas of life, exhibiting predominately nuclear family settlements of migrants from other parts of life and the State and with many of the amenities, businesses, and most of the wealth of the community. In the former, there is a mobility of residence which is almost exclusively outward, particularly of the more highly educated personnel; and in the latter, there is a mobility of residence which is both inward and outward, with extensive occupational shifts among most of its personnel, who are generally much more highly formally educated.

Second, various economic and social groupings of the community often exhibit differences in the level of formal educational attainment, in the mobility of its personnel, and in the nature of their activity. Among the traditional family groups which interact systematically and regularly, there are particular occupational types such as marketing, farming, and small craft work; whereas among the nuclear family groupings of the modern areas of life, there are many more personnel involved in skilled occupational activities. In the larger business concerns, there are particular occupational roles different from those of the smaller, more traditional types of business crafts. They are different with regard to the nature of their inter-relationships, and with regard to normative requirements of

expected behavior and skills. These occupational activity differences are supplemented by differences for the same individuals in residency patterns and associated relationships among personnel of those residential areas. And they are significantly related to the rates of residential and occupational mobility.

One can find relationships also between the activities, formal educational attainments, and attitudes of parents and children. It is possible to see relationships between those with various formal educational attainments and the various parental backgrounds. For example, those who remain residentially, and occupationally as well, in the traditional areas of life, show a higher correspondence in the activities, attitudes, and formal educational attainments of their parents than those who have left the traditional areas. There is thus a reinforcement of the types of activities and attitudes of the younger personnel by those about them in those social contexts in which they participate.

The identification of different situations in which individuals are participating, and this writ large as general expressions of the community in its type of ecological, economic, and social patterns, provides a means for examining the educational processes which are affecting, and perhaps determining, the mobility of its personnel. Situational analysis as a "method" or tool of conceptual manipulation is thus applied to the general expressions

of the community, with empirical reference to individuals and relational groups and categories of individuals. In this analysis, it is possible to utilize the basic methodological postulate examined in Chapter Two in a reference to the derived empirical model of the community as areas, groups of individuals, with different formal educational attainments, types of occupations and occupational roles, and specific types of other activities within the community. And the result of this analysis, as will be indicated, is to show that occupational and residential mobility is determined by the educational processes at work in the community.

The Method of Situational Analysis

Situational analysis is based upon what is known as "reference group theory" developed by Merton,¹ which holds that an individual's framework of beliefs, attitudes, and modes of behavior is determined by the relational groups to which one belongs.

The approach of situational analysis extends the value of reference group theory from the directives of normative behavior provided by membership in social groups and social categories of persons to include the normative frameworks of social institutions,² the component units of which are statuses and roles.

¹Merton, op. cit., Chapters 8-10.

²Leonard Plotnicov, Strangers to the City: Urban Man in Jos, Nigeria (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1967), p. 10.

It is therefore important to examine the variety of situations and institutions in which an individual is involved, examining each in terms of role and status interactions. When there is a coincidence between the frameworks of various groups and categories for the individual in different institutional and group settings, then there is a reinforcing framework of attitudes, beliefs, and social behavior. When this framework is observed as operating in a patterned manner within various parts of the community, it is possible to draw certain conclusions about the relationships between these patterned sets of groupings and/or categories and the determinants of patterned behavior and attitudes and beliefs.

For empirical reference, therefore, it is necessary to ask a series of questions about Ife. First, what are the patterned sets of social groupings and categories within the community? Second, what are the sets of behavior, attitudes, and beliefs associated with these groupings and categories? These will be answered through a more thorough examination of the ecological and social expressions of the community.

Patterns of Physical and Ecological Expressions of the Community

Ife is defined ecologically in terms of both its cohesiveness and its representativeness of a larger entity. Within Ife, there is evidence of a patterned expression and

expansion of residential and commercial use of space.

Figure 9 graphically reveals the nature of this residential pattern and of its development in recent years. It should be noted that modern residential dwellings are found primarily in the layout areas which were previously farmland, and along major thoroughfares, and not in the more traditional quarters. The increasing expansion of the urban space is largely in the direction of Ibadan and the University, and there has been very little expansion in the quarters of Ilode and Okerewe to the south-east.

The map in Figure 10 illustrates the distribution of major businesses. There is a heavy concentration in the areas of Irewo and Modakeke. Those few businesses in the more traditional quarters are more often affiliated with agriculture (cocoa warehouses, lumber mills) and are less often involved in commercial sales and distribution of manufactured goods.

Figure 11 shows the distribution of apprenticeship crafts in Ife. This clearly indicates a heavy concentration (60 per cent) in the quarters of Modakeke and Irewo, and very few crafts (9 per cent) located in the Ilode quarter. Moreover, analysis of the distribution of apprentice crafts with 5 or more apprentices reveals that the vast majority (81 per cent) of these larger craft businesses are located in Modakeke and Irewo and the associated layout areas. Table 33 presents this information.

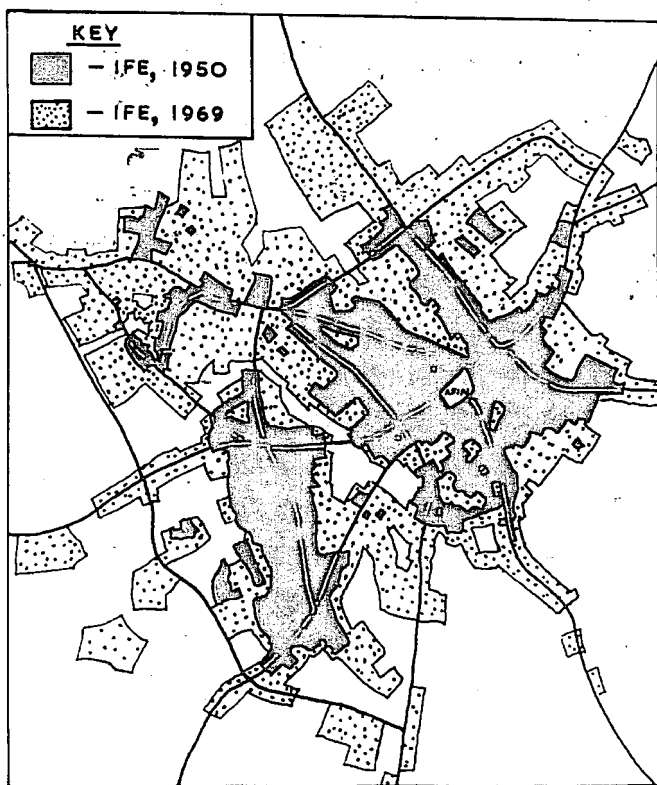


Fig. 9.--Development in residential and occupational use of space in Ife, 1950 to 1969 (Source of 1950 data: Air photographs, Survey Department, Lagos, Nigeria, 1950)

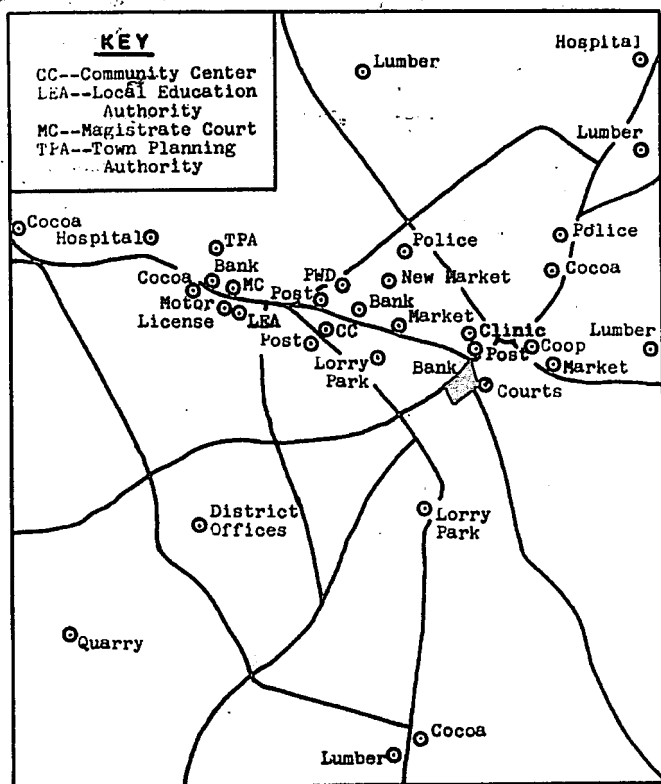


Fig. 10.--Distribution of major businesses and offices in Ife, 1969

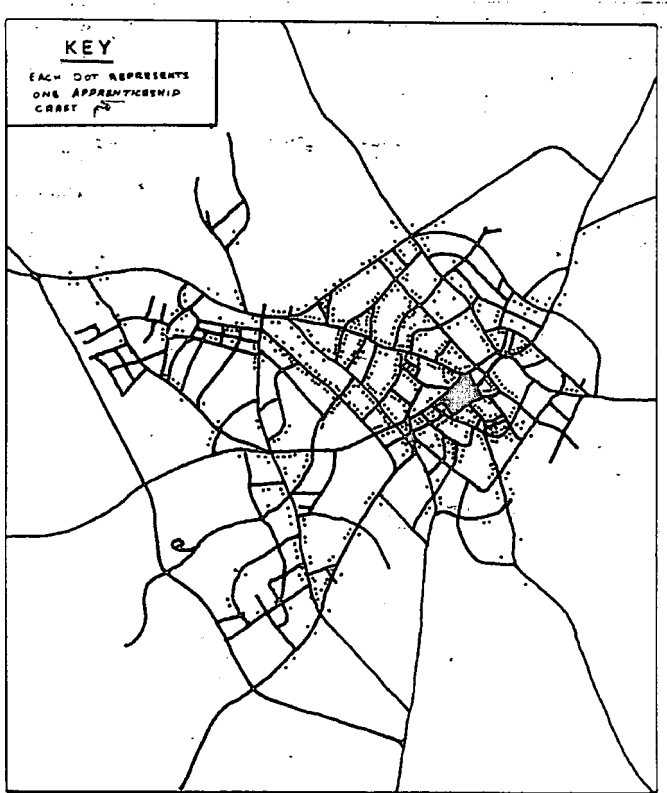


Fig. 11.--Distribution of apprenticeship crafts, 1968

TABLE 33

DISTRIBUTION BY QUARTER OF CRAFTS WITH FIVE
OR MORE APPRENTICES, 1968

Quarter or Area	No. of Crafts	Percentage of Total
Iremo	47	54.0%
Modakeke	11	12.7
Akarabata and Koiwo	12	13.8
Okerewe	10	11.5
Ilode	3	3.4
More	2	2.3
Ilare	2	2.3
Sabo	-	0.0
Total	87	100.0%

The distribution of schools throughout Ife provides an additional feature of the physical structure of the community. It may be recalled from Chapter Five that whereas primary and most secondary modern schools are spread through the entire area, the secondary grammar schools are found only in the outskirts of the community. The need for more land for larger buildings, more playing fields, and larger frontal compound space is an easy explanation for the location of the grammar schools.

One should also note that the general care of these grammar schools is greater than for other schools. Particularly since some grammar schools have residences of

masters and principals, and since these schools receive greater financial support, one would normally expect a better kept area. It is possible, as a result, to guess accurately the type of school simply by noting the appearance of its buildings and its compound. There is, therefore, a further illustration in the schools of the physical contrasts between the inner, traditional community and the spacious and better maintained outer or suburban areas of Ife.

Reference has already been made to contrasting physical appearances in the more modern and the more traditional sections of Ife. Whereas the residential areas in Ilode appear depressing and unhygienic to the Western eye of this Research Director (and to University students working as Research Assistants), areas such as the new residential layouts appear orderly and basically hygienic by comparison. Physical differences between Ilode and Akarabata, therefore, like those of other areas, may be examined on a continuum ranging from the traditional to the modern. Indeed, Ilode and Akarabata were chosen as contrasting areas for detailed examinations of households. Akarabata area does not lie at the extreme modern end of the continuum, particularly if the University area north of Ife is included. The Eleiyele layout area appears even more spacious and pleasant in appearance than Akarabata. Nevertheless, the points being made here are that

contrasting ecological areas of life exist, and that residentially and occupationally these contrasts are most vividly illustrated in a comparison between the more traditional areas of Ilode or its neighboring quarters and the more modern areas of Iremo, Modakeke, and the layout areas. (See Plates 15 and 16.)

Patterns of Social Expressions of the Community

Tied to the physical or ecological expressions of the community of life are the social and economic ways of life of its inhabitants. As indicated, craft and commercial activity is associated particularly with the areas of Iremo and Modakeke, and not with Ilode and neighboring areas. The larger market is in the Iremo quarter. Banks and government business are located in the Iremo and Modakeke areas; traffic on the streets is very heavy there, congested by taxis, lorries, bicycles, petty traders, and pedestrians. Traditional areas, particularly Ilode, are relatively very quiet and uncongested.

Meetings of craft masters, businessmen, lawyers, and government officials concentrate in the more modern areas. Meetings between heads of families, chiefs, and visitors are seen periodically in all sectors of the community. Assemblies of the chiefs and town officials may focus on special occasions at the Afin, or less often at the palaces of the Bales of the various quarters. But most major decisions and almost all commercial and official community

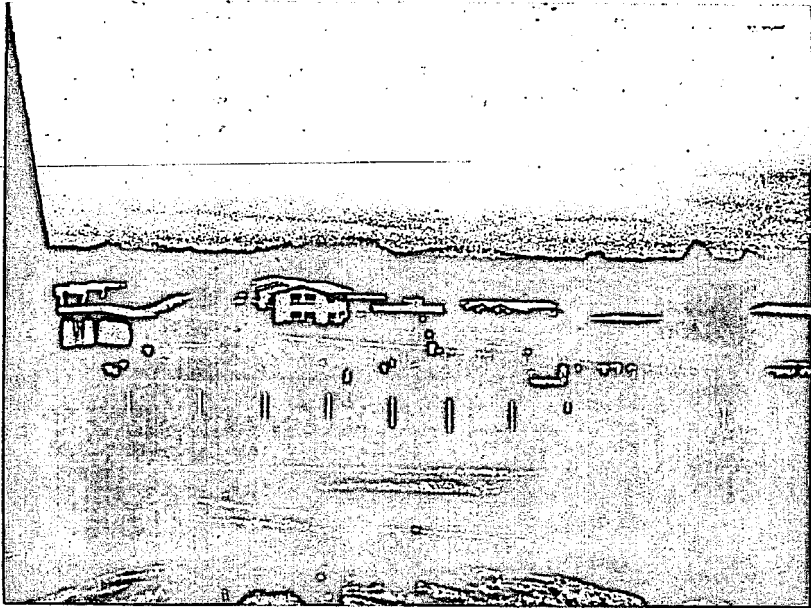


Plate 17.--Residential area, senior staff quarters, University of Ife

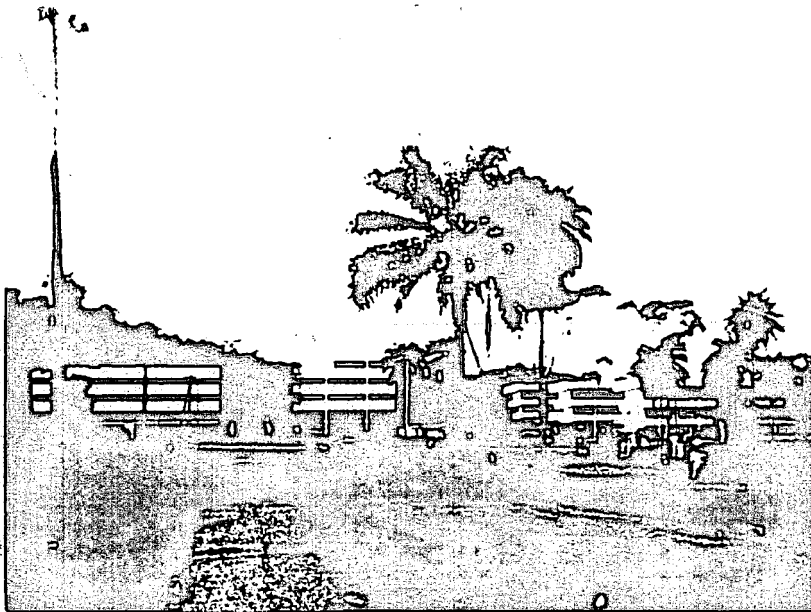


Plate 18.--Library (left) and Humanities buildings, University of Ife

wide activity takes place in the Magistrates Courts, Community Center, Town or District Council offices in Iremo, Modakeke, and associated areas (Akarabata, Eleiyele). It may be said that for the adult world of Ife most commercial, legal, administrative, and major political activity concentrates in the more modern sections of Ife, except for activities associated with kin groupings and some small craft businesses in the more traditional sections.

Religious activity is distributed more evenly throughout the community space. Churches and mosques, as well as certain traditional shrines, are found throughout Ife. Nevertheless, most of the larger churches and mosques are located in Iremo and Modakeke; most of the affluent members of churches seem to attend these, as evidenced by the number of automobiles used as transportation.

Patterns of interactions by an individual are dependent upon the status and roles of that individual. Case examples can be given. One master printer spends much of his time at his place of work in Iremo, doing jobs for the two hospitals, the town council, smaller businesses as well as individuals interested in having invitations printed or personal or family records printed and bound. His travels about Ife are usually associated with this work. He attends the S.D.A. church on Saturdays, and has many friends within that church congregation with whom he travels and converses regularly. His travels about town are on his motor scooter. Trips to Ibadan for printing supplies are normally on the lorries,

although he sometimes is able to travel in a private car of one of his more affluent friends. A barrister lives in the same two-storey building above his printing office and is a very good friend. There are some occasions when this printer is introduced to the friends of the barrister, and attends get-togethers with them. The printer is secretary for the printer's union (guild) in Ife, which requires extensive contact with other printers, informally and at the regular meetings of the union. His wife takes care of the house, and does the marketing. He knows several goldsmiths, photographers, and carpenters, usually in Iremo quarter, and is able to assist the Researcher in finding these people. And his acquaintance with many of the chiefs of Ife is strong, as he is a member of one of the royal families of Ife (from which the Oni of Ife is chosen).

The Local Education Officer (until the creation of the School Board in late 1968) lives in Eleiyele, and works in Akarabata nearby. He has his own car, and travels a great deal throughout Ife and to Ibadan and Ilesha on official business. His close friends and acquaintances are barristers, town officials, and school principals. His travels are almost always by car, often accompanied by his assistant. He attends a Protestant church in Ife. Unlike the printer, he is not a native of Ife. His acquaintance with chiefs and influential Ife citizens is much more limited, usually arising in connection with his work. Unlike the printer, he has few relatives in Ife, and does not appear

to associate with a broad range of individuals with different social statuses in the community.

Patterns of interaction are dependent upon whether one is native or not to life, upon the formal educational attainment of the individual, and upon the residential and occupational ties of the individual. Although there has been illustration above concerning the world of adults, the same is true of those who are younger, whether or not they are attending school. This topic will be covered in later paragraphs when an examination of the educational experiences of young people is undertaken in some detail. But first, it is necessary to examine in some detail the patterns of formal educational attainment within the community.

Patterns of Formal Educational Attainment

There are significant differences noted in the formal educational attainments of apprentices in crafts. These attainments are fairly consistent within individual craft businesses. In addition, Table 34 summarizes the attainment levels for apprentices in crafts arranged into nine general classifications, and reveals some significant patterns. Whereas there is often a spread of several different years of schooling for apprentices in a given craft business, generally, one may associate a given formal educational attainment with a particular craft type. And one may usually associate a given educational attainment with a

TABLE 34
 FORMAL EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENTS OF APPRENTICES
 IN CRAFT TYPES

Craft Type	Highest Formal Schooling Attended					
	Total ^a	None	Pri.	Sec. Mod.	Sec. Gram.	Other
Woodworking	147 (100%)	51 (34%)	85 (57%)	10 (7%)	- (0%)	1 (1%)
Mechanical	299 (100%)	40 (13%)	226 (76%)	28 (9%)	3 (1%)	2 (1%)
Building	21 (100%)	1 (5%)	14 (67%)	5 (24%)	1 (5%)	- (0%)
Tailoring	633 (100%)	67 (11%)	469 (74%)	89 (14%)	4 (1%)	4 (1%)
Barbering, Hair- drssing.	37 (100%)	18 (49%)	17 (46%)	2 (5%)	- (0%)	- (0%)
Metalworking	68 (100%)	10 (15%)	50 (74%)	6 (9%)	2 (3%)	- (0%)
Electrical	43 (100%)	2 (5%)	27 (63%)	11 (26%)	3 (7%)	- (0%)
Printing, Photog.	137 (100%)	- (0%)	59 (43%)	68 (50%)	9 (7%)	1 (1%)
Food processing	7 (100%)	1 (14%)	4 (57%)	2 (29%)	- (0%)	- (0%)
Total	1,392 (100%)	190 (14%)	951 (68%)	221 (16%)	22 (2%)	8 (1%)

^aThe percentages are based on the total number of apprentices in each craft type; 15 no-responses are not included.

specific craft business, due to common minimum qualifications for employment there. The same is true for larger businesses in life, but with one important exception. It is clear from data presented in Chapter Seven that one must examine the formal educational attainment of workers in larger businesses in terms of the role played within the business. Laborers, managers, technicians, and clerk-typists, for example, may all work within a given business but perform different roles and have different backgrounds. There is a primary affiliation and immediate normative reference of a worker with those fulfilling the same basic role within the business, and therefore with those of a similar if not identical formal educational attainment. Affiliations with those involved in other roles are an essential part of the operations of any business, nevertheless, and must be viewed as significant factors in the operation of normative reference to those with higher status, and hence, normally, higher formal educational attainment.

Students at any educational level have a primary peer group of fellow class-mates. There are influences on the student from other social contacts, such as those with parents, relatives, friends, in which the individuals may have differing formal educational attainments. And one must even include influences of mass media on those who can read. Yet during the period of formal schooling, the major influences are those within the school, particularly significant in the secondary boarding schools. For the majority

of the grammar school students who are boarders, contact with other influences is minimal, usually limited to infrequent weekend trips and extended holiday periods. The grammar school environment is the dominant environment in terms of both the length of time spent in it and the type of social contact and activity he experiences. For the student in the secondary modern school, or in the non-boarding secondary grammar school, there is less time in contact with the school personnel and school processes; there is a mixture of daily contact with parents, early childhood peers, and new school peers and masters.

Overall, the world of the young child in life pivots about the school. Most children in the six to twelve year age range are attending primary schools. For several hours each day throughout most of the year, they are away from their residences and are placed in a common physical and social activity. Differences in the facilities and backgrounds and qualifications of teachers in the primary schools is minimal, all schools receiving the same basic financial support by the government, and all teachers subject to placement by local school officials. An exception may be found in the private school operated by the Seventh Day Adventists.

For the apprentice in a craft, the greatest length of time is spent in contact with peer workers, less time spent in contact with the journeyman and master. Perhaps

only five free waking hours a day are available to the apprentice. A few continue to live with their parents; most do not, since the majority of apprentices are not native to Ite. Residential and social life away from the craft activity is largely with peers.

Teachers affiliate usually with peers of the same educational level. Primary, secondary modern, technical, and secondary grammar school teachers each associate with their own unique sets of peers in daily assemblages. Each of these groups has fairly common educational attainments. Contacts with other teachers and with other individuals within the community take place in various points of time and space, sometimes formally, and sometimes informally. But it can be maintained that group affiliation is primarily with the co-workers at schools, and secondarily with other teachers of the same level of attainment. One may mention here the practice at some grammar schools of having separate rooms for senior (graduate) and junior (non-graduate) teaching staff.

The unemployed may be seen within the community as having the greatest affiliation with those of a common educational attainment. Here peer group influences are most significant, often with former classmates who are similarly unemployed. Unemployment signifies a temporary rejection of affiliation by groups of individuals with higher formal educational attainment (but does not signify

a rejection of these as normative reference groups). The primary school leavers, for example, sitting in the lorries in the lorry parks (to entice customers who believe the lorry is almost filled and hence ready to leave for its destination) are a group sharing a common status and a common school background; their almost negligible remuneration can classify them as being unemployed. Many unemployed spend time with each other discussing strategies, common frustrations, and common aspirations. Several young boys have been observed repeatedly staying with friends of the same age and schooling while the friends work in the markets, lumber yards, or lorry parks. A few unemployed reside with friends or relatives in the more traditional areas of life; but most often those friends or relatives are those with similar formal educational attainments.

There is within life, therefore, evidence that the individual tends to associate at most times and places with those of similar formal educational attainment. In the case of students in schools, this type of association among peers is natural and fairly precise. In the case of apprentices in crafts, this association is fairly complete, since most apprentices within a given craft business have similar educational backgrounds. In both of these examples, however, it is the role of the master or teacher which modifies this social system in a significant way. In the case of those in other businesses, the more complicated system of role structure and status relationships does not hide the fact

that again primary association in the large business is usually with those in similar roles and with similar formal educational attainments, and hence generally similar status. Overall, formal educational attainment is a prerequisite for entry into these roles, and thus for association not only with other similar roles but also with different but normatively influencing roles within the specific institutions.

Within institutions, the interaction of different roles affects certain groups of individuals, through the operation of normative group influences. It has now become necessary to illustrate how this generalization results in the types and extent of mobility, and to examine in some detail the educational processes taking place within certain of these social and institutional settings at various times and places within life; there will be special consideration given to the interaction between students and teachers within the formal school setting, but with reference necessarily also to other educational processes within the community.

Educational Processes in the Patterning of Mobility

The educational processes of the child begin at birth with the family, which continues for many years to play a major part in the formation of attitudes, beliefs, and modes of behavior. Along with influences of the larger family and residential groupings and increasingly of peers, the

family dominates the life of the child. It is through the attitudes toward, comments about, and reactions to other people and places of these groups that the child begins to develop his own personality of beliefs, attitudes, and modes of behavior. In life, differences in family, residential, and peer groupings throughout the community therefore begin to be reflected in differences in the children of life.

Up to the time the child enters primary school, there has been a fairly common framework of influences, reflecting the fact that peers, residential groupings, and family tend to be similar in background, experience, and educational attainment. Within the traditional areas, such as Ilode, this framework is oriented more toward farming, small crafts, and lineage; within the modern areas, such as Akarabata, this is oriented more toward larger businesses, nuclear family, and shorter term associations with a highly mobile residential group. There are differences also in the physical surroundings of the children from these contrasting areas. But at the time of beginning schooling, all young children begin to be in contact with a common physical setting and a common framework of attitudes, beliefs, and modes of behavior, represented, significantly, by that of the highly mobile and more highly educated teachers, and by peers with the same educational attainment.

The attrition of students in primary schools is greater in schools serving the more traditional areas than in those

serving the more modern areas of Ife. Four primary schools in the Akarabata area had a much lower attrition in 1968 than four schools in the Ilode area. Since primary schools draw their students from adjacent areas, it is clear that the desire to remain in school, and the encouragement of the parents for the child to remain in school, is different. This may reflect as well the stronger assumption of those from the more modern areas, learned from their parents, that formal schooling is desirable and necessary. Thus, although mobility of these young people is not expressed yet in occupational or residential movement, and inclinations toward mobility are not manifest in measured attitudes, the behavior of remaining in school is different throughout the community. And those remaining in schools are increasingly from areas where there is high mobility within the families.

At the secondary level, changes take place in the grouping of the children. Most of the Ife students in modern schools remain in Ife, usually attending nearby schools. Based on the 1969 questionnaires, 70 per cent of all secondary modern students were born in Ife. Of those attending a day secondary grammar school, the figure was also 70 per cent. But for the technical school, a boarding institution, only 9 per cent were from Ife. In the secondary commercial school, also boarding, the figure was 17 per cent. And in the other grammar school surveyed, a part-boarding, part-day school, the figure was 50 per cent.

Thus, there is evidence of increased student mobility at the secondary level, particularly in the boarding schools.

Patterns of residential movement within Ife can be discerned among those students in secondary school who were born in Ife. For secondary modern school students born in Ife, 24 per cent had moved at least once to a different quarter or area. A few modern school students are known to be living with peers or relatives. But almost all of these students are living with their parents, some of whom undoubtedly have moved their residence since the student's birth. For the non-boarding secondary grammar school, the percentage was similar (20 per cent had changed residence from the quarter of their birth). Of the non-boarding native students at the other secondary grammar school, 90 per cent were residing in the quarter of their birth. Overall, residential movement is evident for families of about one-quarter of all secondary level students born in Ife.

Students in schools, therefore, are in contact with many peers who have moved their residences within Ife and to Ife, or with peers who will move away from Ife. Moreover, secondary level students are largely boarders, except for the modern school students: 58 per cent of secondary level students in the technical, junior high, commercial, and grammar schools were boarding in 1968.

There are many other differences in family backgrounds among the secondary-level groupings. Comparing only the

secondary modern and grammar school students, for example, 73.1 per cent versus 60.0 per cent, respectively, of the parents of the students were farmers. Similarly, 1.5 per cent versus 8.6 per cent, respectively, of the parents were clerical or government workers. Whereas for secondary modern school students 50.4 per cent of the parents had no schooling and only 4.0 per cent of the parents had completed grammar school, for secondary grammar school students 44.4 per cent of the parents had no schooling and 7.4 per cent of the parents had completed secondary grammar school. And 0.9 per cent and 2.1 per cent of the parents of secondary modern and secondary grammar school students, respectively, had attended a university.

Although the majority of secondary level students want to complete as much schooling as possible, there are some significant differences for various types of schools. Whereas 50.8 per cent of the secondary modern students surveyed in class one thought they would definitely finish school, 87.6 per cent of the secondary grammar school students surveyed in the same class thought they would definitely finish.

It is obvious that the different types of secondary schools may be distinguished not only in terms of different educational programs or objectives, but also in terms of the different sets of family and residential backgrounds and experiences of the peers. The higher the level of

schooling, the greater the number of peers who have moved residence, have parents who are not from life, and have parents who have a higher level of schooling and are less likely to be farmers and more likely to be professionals. This is more pronounced within the grammar schools than in the modern schools, and most pronounced within the boarding schools.

The normative reference of the individual student to the framework of attitudes and behavior of his peers is supplemented and reinforced by reference to the framework of his teachers. It is apparent that most teachers assume they will change schools in a few years (see Table 35). About twice as many plan to change schools than will probably or definitely remain at their respective schools. It is also apparent that many teachers do not feel that they will continue teaching; there are as many who think they may not as think they may (see Table 36). What they might do after leaving teaching has not been determined. However, from discussions with many teachers, it is apparent that almost all aspire to higher degrees: those with non-graduate degrees hope to obtain external certificates to enter universities; and those with the first graduate degrees hope to enter masters or higher degree programs or work in business or government. It is indeed usual in discussions with teachers to hear of plans to continue schooling or part-time education through correspondence schools and.

TABLE 35

PLANS OF TEACHERS TO REMAIN AT THEIR SCHOOLS

Question: "Do you plan to remain at this school as a teacher for at least the next five years?"

Response	Pri.	Sec. Mod.	Comm. & Tech.	Sec. Gram.	Total ^a	Per Cent
Very definitely	37	-	1	8	46	9.6%
Probably	51	7	6	21	85	17.8
Perhaps	80	10	3	11	104	21.8
Probably not	42	1	1	12	56	11.7
Definitely not	119	21	7	40	187	39.1
Total	329	39	18	92	478	100.0%

^aThe calculations do not include 15 no-responses.

TABLE 36

TEACHERS' PLANS TO REMAIN A TEACHER UNTIL RETIREMENT

Question: "Do you plan to remain a teacher all your working life?"

Response	Pri.	Sec. Mod.	Comm. & Tech.	Sec. Gram.	Total ^a	Per Cent
Very definitely	91	4	1	32	128	27.0%
Probably	56	8	5	10	79	16.6
Perhaps	59	9	5	11	84	17.7
Probably not	28	1	1	12	42	8.8
Definitely not	92	17	6	27	142	29.9
Total	326	39	18	92	475	100.0%

^aThe calculations do not include 18 no-responses.

evening classes or more directly through entry into universities. The Researcher was continually approached by teachers for aid in further studies and private tutelage. Such higher degrees are not necessarily to prepare for teaching qualifications; more generally they are to attain higher qualifications for entry into the more lucrative fields of government service or business.

There do not appear to be significant differences in the nature of responses by teachers in the different types of schools, with the exception of the modern school teachers' responses on remaining at their respective schools: The high percentage of these teachers who stated that they probably or definitely won't remain at their respective schools may be explained fairly well by the common knowledge that these schools will probably not remain in existence for many years to come.

Many teachers also indicated that they definitely or probably will not remain in Ife as residents. In 1969 the question was asked if each teacher planned to remain in Ife all his life. The results of the multiple-choice responses were analyzed in terms of two categories: Those born in Ife, and those not born in Ife (see Table 37).

Several important features of the responses must be noted. First, a number of non-natives plan permanent residences in Ife, while a number of natives plan to move away from Ife. Second, although a majority of the native

Ife teachers plan probably or definitely to remain in Ife, a majority of the non-natives plan definitely not to remain. One would expect that most of the non-natives would plan to return to their hometowns, and that most of the natives would plan to remain in Ife, particularly after retirement.

TABLE 37
PLANS OF PRIMARY TEACHERS TO REMAIN IN IFE^a

Question: "Do you plan to remain as a resident in Ife all your life?"				
Responses	Born in Ife		Not born in Ife	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Very definitely	29	26.1%	14	6.5%
Probably	29	26.1	25	11.6
Perhaps	24	21.8	26	12.1
Probably not	7	6.3	20	9.3
Definitely not	22	19.8	130	60.5
Total	111	100.1%	215	100.0%

^aN=326, not including 14 no-responses.

Caution must accompany any analysis of the data given in Table 37, since the question may have been interpreted by some to signify continuous settlement, and not to allow for temporary residence outside Ife. Assuming that interpretations are allowed for temporary residence changes, there are appreciable numbers of both groups who plan permanent

settlement outside the towns of their birth.

The mobility patterns can be explained in part through an examination of the teachers' attitudes toward various areas within Ife, various communities in Western Nigeria, and various occupational roles. These attitudes were measured in the 1969 questionnaires to all Ife teachers. Prestige rankings of areas of Ife, measured along a five point scale, have been calculated and are presented in Table 38. (See Appendix T, question 32.)

The very high ranking of the University was expected. According to the tentative hypothesis, the rankings of prestige should be similar to the rankings of percentages of primary teachers born in a quarter who still reside there, on the premise that one is more apt to remain in a quarter if it has a relatively high prestige. Table 19 (Chapter Seven) has presented information on the percentages of those still living in the quarter of birth. One finds that Irewo is ranked high, Ilode and Sabo are ranked relatively low, and More and Modakeke are ranked in the mid-range of both Tables. The low number of responses for Ilare in Table 19 may explain why it is ranked quite differently. One can note a higher correlation here for females, although this is due undoubtedly to the practice of wives moving away from the residences of their fathers. However, Okerewe also shows a significantly different ranking which cannot be accounted for in this manner. Okerewe must possess some features

TABLE 38

PRESTIGE RANKINGS BY TEACHERS OF AREAS OF IFE, 1969

Places in Ife	All Teachers	Male Teachers			Female Teachers		
	Rank	Rank	Mean	Std.Dev.	Rank	Mean	Std.Dev.
University	1	1	1.18	0.51	1	1.12	0.52
Iremo	2	2	1.72	0.82	2	1.51	0.70
Akarabata	3	3	1.98	0.80	3	2.03	0.79
Eleiyele	4	4	2.30	0.97	4	2.35	1.02
Modakeke	5	5	2.56	0.95	5	2.42	0.85
More	6	6	2.71	0.83	6	2.59	0.77
Sabo	7	8	3.12	1.10	7	2.78	0.99
Ilare	8	7	3.01	0.75	8	3.05	0.81
Okerewe	9	9	3.18	0.97	9	3.42	0.85
Ilode	10	10	3.56	0.96	10	3.55	0.82

Mean Range: 1 = Very high prestige to 5 = Very low prestige

which make it residentially more attractive to primary teachers than, for example, Sabo or Ilode, and yet can be assigned a relatively low prestige. Only one of the six grammar school teachers born in Okerewe was residing there, which leads one to believe that the lower incomes of primary school teachers and the low rent costs in Okerewe may help to explain this discrepancy. It is also adjacent to the most prestigious of the traditional quarters (Iremo), which would be another attractive reason for residence in Okerewe. Overall, it is clear that whereas prestige ratings of areas of Ife are not expressions of the choice of residence of teachers, these ratings do explain in part the general preference for residence in certain areas, and are in part limiting attitudes to such preferences.

Attitudes toward Ife as a community can be examined with reference to attitudes toward other communities in Western Nigeria. Prestige rankings of selected urban communities (over 20,000 population) in the West and Lagos were derived from the responses of teachers to a five point scale similar to that for areas of Ife. (See Appendix T, question 33) Results are presented in Table 39.

There is not a strong correlation between these rankings and the rankings of these communities according to population size, except in the four extreme cases. Ijebu-Ode, Oshogbo, and Ondo are ranked low in population, but high in prestige. Undoubtedly features such as amenities and the

TABLE 39

PRESTIGE RANKINGS BY TEACHERS OF COMMUNITIES IN WESTERN NIGERIA, 1969

Communities	Population ^a	All Teachers	Male Teachers			Female Teachers		
	Rank	Rank	Rank	Mean	Std.Dev.	Rank	Mean	Std.Dev.
Lagos ^b	2	1	1	1.16	0.53	1	1.07	0.33
Ibadan	1	2	2	1.35	0.64	2	1.24	0.48
Ile-Ife	8	3	3	2.09	0.86	3	2.01	0.79
Abeokuta	4	4	4	2.10	0.67	5	2.09	0.56
Ijebu-Ode	11	5	5	2.22	0.73	4	2.08	0.75
Oshogbo	12	6	6	2.23	0.64	7	2.19	0.70
Ondo	10	7	7	2.36	0.68	6	2.17	0.74
Ilesha	5	8	8	2.39	0.66	8	2.19	0.72
Oyo	9	9	9	2.68	0.91	9	2.51	0.89
Mushin ^b	3	10	10	2.84	1.05	10	2.61	1.04
Iwo	6	11	11	3.16	0.71	12	3.17	0.82
Ede	7	12	12	3.29	0.82	11	3.12	0.74
Ikirun	13	13	13	3.52	0.92	13	3.55	0.85
Gbongon	14	14	14	3.61	0.79	14	3.62	0.77

Mean Range: 1 = Very high prestige to 5 = Very low prestige

^aPopulation rank is based on the 1963 Census figures for these communities.

^bLagos and Mushin are in Lagos State, but are predominately Yoruba communities.

excitement of metropolitan areas are major criteria for such a rating. This is supported by conversation with many teachers. The relationship between population and this ranking, as apparent in the extreme cases, points out a more general relationship which undoubtedly would be seen more clearly if non-urban areas (under 20,000 population) had been included in the list for ratings. The high ranking of Ife explains in part the reasons for a high influx of teachers, and others, into Ife from other urban areas. It also explains in part the reason for the appreciable number of teachers, even those from outside Ife, who plan permanent residence in Ife.

Attitudes of teachers toward various occupations have been measured in a similar manner, using prestige ratings in order to rank occupations. (See Appendix T, question 34.) Results are presented in Table 40 for all teachers, and for male and female teachers. It is clear that, with a few notable exceptions, there is a high correlation between the prestige rankings of occupations and the formal educational attainments normally associated with those occupations. And this is usually linked strongly to the factors of income.¹ Exceptions to this include soldier, chief, farmer, and perhaps secondary modern and primary school teachers. The high rank of soldier can be explained as part of the recognition of the tremendous efforts of the

¹See Foster, op. cit., pp. 268-277.

TABLE 40

PRESTIGE RANKINGS BY TEACHERS OF OCCUPATIONS, 1969

Occupations	All Teachers	Male Teachers			Female Teachers		
	Rank	Rank	Mean	Std.Dev.	Rank	Mean	Std.Dev.
Doctor	1	1	1.22	0.50	1	1.31	0.69
Univ. Lecturer	2	2	1.40	0.73	2	1.31	0.69
Clergyman	3	4	2.12	1.12	5	2.10	0.95
Author	4	3	2.09	0.84	8	2.21	0.97
Barrister	5	6	2.25	0.95	3	2.03	0.87
Soldier	6	7	2.37	1.10	4	2.04	0.95
Businessman	7	5	2.18	0.87	10	2.44	0.91
Nurse	8	9	2.43	0.90	6	2.11	0.80
Chief	9	8	2.42	0.96	7	2.19	0.81
Gram. School Teacher	10	10	2.66	0.79	9	2.39	0.71
Govt. Clerk	11	11	2.71	0.84	13	2.73	0.78
Policeman	12	12	3.01	1.08	11	2.50	1.02
Farmer	13	16	3.12	1.36	12	2.65	1.25

TABLE 40--Continued

Occupations	All Teachers	Male Teachers			Female Teachers		
	Rank	Rank	Mean ^a	Std.Dev.	Rank	Mean	Std.Dev.
Auto Mechanic	14	13	3.03	0.90	16	3.04	0.84
Printer	15	15	3.07	0.78	15	3.03	0.78
Photographer	16	14	3.04	0.66	19	3.10	0.71
Radio-TV Repair	17	17	3.15	0.35	14	2.94	0.92
Political Party Worker	18	18	3.26	1.18	20	3.24	1.06
Imam	19	19	3.31	1.21	22	3.33	1.14
Secondary Modern Teacher	20	23	3.49	0.88	17	3.06	0.86
Petty Trader	21	20	3.38	0.89	24	3.44	1.08
Tailor	22	22	3.47	0.86	21	3.30	0.96
Primary School Teacher	23	26	3.61	1.24	18	3.09	1.23
Small Businessman	24	21	3.41	0.84	26	3.56	0.84
Goldsmith	25	25	3.58	0.84	23	3.36	0.90
Carpenter	26	24	3.55	0.92	25	3.55	0.95
Mallam	27	27	3.85	1.02	27	3.78	0.96
Woodcutter	28	28	3.96	0.96	28	3.96	0.87
Farm Laborer	29	29	4.33	0.98	29	4.06	1.18

military regime in Nigeria to maintain unity and win the war with Biafra. This was a period of extreme patriotism, and there was generally wide support for the war effort by the military. Chiefs traditionally have held high prestige, and many still have the allegiance of many people in all walks of life. Farmers should not be equated with farm laborers; the latter is placed lowest on the scale of occupations, while farmers as a category can include successful cocoa, rubber, and kola nut farmers who are perhaps better identified as farm managers than as toilers in the fields, which accounts for their relatively high ranking. There was significant variation in the ranking of farmer by various teachers, as evidenced by the high standard deviation for both males and females. It is possible that another contributing factor to this high standard deviation is the fact that a large number of teachers' parents were farmers. And finally, secondary modern and primary school teachers were ranked quite differently by sex: The rank of secondary modern school teachers was twenty-third by male teachers, and seventeenth by females; similarly, the rank of primary school teachers was twenty-sixth by male teachers and eighteenth by females. Male teachers seem to look upon teaching as less desirable than do female teachers. One might predict on the basis of this data that females will be more inclined in the future to enter and stay in the teaching professions than males.

Primary, secondary modern, and secondary grammar school teachers did not rate these areas, towns, and occupations in significantly different ways. Sabo was ranked lower (ninth) by the primary teachers, who also ranked soldier higher (fourth) and farmer lower (sixteenth), than by the other teachers. Except for these notable differences, there were almost no other changes in the three sets of rankings.

Are these modes of behavior and attitudes reflected in the framework of attitudes of students? If indeed teachers are an influence on the individual child, one would expect to find a high correlation between the prestige rankings of areas, communities, and occupations by students and by teachers. Nevertheless, if high correlations are found, can one attribute these similarities to the school processes and specifically to the success of secondary level teachers in determining attitudes? Clearly, these are significant questions which require careful answering.

There is, first, a very high correlation between the prestige rankings by students and teachers of areas of Ife, communities in Western Nigeria, and occupations. Table 41 gives the prestige rankings by students of areas of Ife. (See Appendix S, question 19.) One will notice that there is no area of Ife which is ranked differently more than two positions for students of either sex. Rank correlation between teachers' rankings and rankings by male students is 0.951; the rank correlation by female students is 0.970.

TABLE 41
PRESTIGE RANKINGS BY STUDENTS OF AREAS OF LIFE, 1969

Places in Life	All Students	Male Students			Female Students		
		Rank	Mean	Std.Dev.	Rank	Mean	Std.Dev.
University	1	1	1.22	0.79	1	1.12	0.41
Iremo	2	2	1.65	0.99	2	1.62	0.89
Akarabata	3	3	2.13	1.18	3	2.15	1.12
Modakeke	4	4	2.28	1.18	4	2.29	0.98
More	5	5	2.36	1.15	6	2.46	1.10
Eleiyele	6	6	2.38	1.32	5	2.44	1.24
Ilare	7	8	2.82	1.14	7	2.69	1.03
Sabo	8	7	2.78	1.29	8	2.95	1.26
Ilode	9	9	3.17	1.24	9	3.09	1.25
Okerewe	10	10	3.26	1.24	10	3.25	1.20

Mean Range: 1 = Very high prestige to 5 = Very low prestige

Both of these are very high.¹ Rank correlations between all teachers and students in the various classes and types of schools are all above 0.879. Not surprisingly, the very high correlations for all groups of students makes any attempt to discern significant differences between the various levels of classes very difficult.

The results of the student ratings of the prestige of communities in Western Nigeria have been ranked (see Table 42). Here again the correlation is very high between the results for teachers and students. Rank correlations are 0.952 for male students and 0.962 for female students in a comparison to the rankings by all teachers. There are no significant differences for the various levels of classes, sex of students, or types of schools. In all the fourteen possible classifications of students based on these three criteria, rank correlation is never lower than 0.850. Attitudes of students toward these communities are almost identical to those of the teachers, and are undoubtedly the result of learning which took place before secondary level schooling began, reinforced by the attitudes of the secondary level teachers. No differences in ranking by students in the various classes could be discerned. (See Appendix S, Question 20.)

Results of the students' prestige ratings of various

¹A rank correlation of 1.00 is a perfect correlation between two ranking orders. The calculation of the rank correlation is based on the formula $R.C. = 1 - \frac{6\sum d^2}{n(n^2-1)}$

TABLE 42

PRESTIGE RANKINGS OF COMMUNITIES IN WESTERN NIGERIA
BY STUDENTS, 1969

Communities	All Students	Male Students			Female Students		
	Rank	Rank	Mean	Std.Dev.	Rank	Mean	Std.Dev.
Lagos	1	1	1.13	0.52	1	1.10	0.43
Ibadan	2	2	1.27	0.61	2	1.25	0.55
Ile-Ife	3	3	1.87	0.90	3	1.84	0.84
Abeokuta	4	4	1.91	0.86	5	2.04	1.02
Ijebu-Ode	5	5	2.14	0.99	4	1.88	0.92
Oshogbo	6	5	2.14	0.89	6	2.12	0.87
Oyo	7	5	2.14	1.01	8	2.40	1.06
Ilesha	8	8	2.30	0.86	7	2.22	0.86
Mushin	9	9	2.37	1.14	9	2.43	1.17
Ondo	10	10	2.40	1.01	10	2.44	1.08
Ede	11	11	2.87	1.04	12	2.86	1.01
Iwo	12	12	2.99	1.06	11	2.81	0.97
Ikirun	13	13	3.17	1.15	13	3.25	1.18
Gbongon	14	14	3.47	1.03	14	3.47	1.05

Mean Range: 1 = Very high prestige to 5 = Very low prestige

TABLE 43

PRESTIGE RANKINGS BY STUDENTS OF OCCUPATIONS, 1969

Occupations	All Students	Male Students			Female Students		
	Rank	Rank	Mean	Std.Dev.	Rank	Mean	Std.Dev.
Univ. Lecturer	1	1	1.36	0.79	1	1.39	0.75
Barrister	2	2	1.71	0.88	2	1.54	0.78
Doctor	3	3	1.80	1.01	5	1.83	0.98
Chief	4	4	1.90	1.01	3	1.68	0.85
Clergyman	5	5	2.04	1.06	7	1.94	0.98
Nurse	5	9	2.12	1.09	3	1.68	1.02
Grammar School Teacher	7	6	2.10	0.89	6	1.88	0.82
Government Clerk	8	7	2.11	0.95	8	2.04	0.95
Soldier	9	7	2.11	1.15	11	2.23	1.21
Policeman	10	10	2.21	0.97	10	2.13	0.96
Farmer	11	11	2.22	1.29	9	2.11	1.18
Author	12	11	2.22	0.98	13	2.33	0.96
Radio-TV Repairman	13	13	2.46	1.06	12	2.25	1.02
Businessman	14	14	2.60	1.09	20	2.72	1.12
Photographer	15	15	2.76	0.95	15	2.58	0.84
Political Party Worker	16	15	2.76	1.12	19	2.69	1.06

TABLE 43--Continued

Occupations	All Students	Male Students			Female Students		
	Rank	Rank	Mean	Std.Dev.	Rank	Mean	Std.Dev.
Secondary Modern Teacher	17	19	2.82	1.03	14	2.57	0.96
Printer	18	18	2.81	1.02	17	2.67	1.09
Auto Mechanic	18	17	2.79	1.14	21	2.78	1.05
Primary School Teacher	20	20	2.88	1.09	16	2.65	1.07
Petty Trader	21	21	2.93	1.15	18	2.68	1.09
Imam	22	21	2.93	1.25	22	2.93	1.27
Tailor	23	23	3.08	1.03	23	3.05	1.07
Goldsmith	24	25	3.31	1.08	24	3.09	1.15
Mallam	25	24	3.27	1.19	25	3.23	1.14
Woodcutter	26	26	3.34	1.19	26	3.24	1.18
Small Businessman	27	27	3.35	0.99	27	3.32	1.07
Carpenter	28	28	3.46	1.14	28	3.39	1.13
Farm Laborer	29	29	3.62	1.32	29	3.40	1.34

Mean Range 1 = Very high prestige to 5 = Very low prestige

occupations are given in Table 43. Rank correlation for all students and all teachers is 0.926. Rank correlation for male students to all teachers is 0.934; for female students to all teachers, it is 0.847. (See Appendix S, Question 21.)

There are some interesting differences in prestige ratings by students and teachers. Listed in Table 44 are the occupations which were different by three or more positions, based on a comparison of the lists by all teachers and all students.

TABLE 44

COMPARISON OF OCCUPATIONS WHICH WERE THREE OR MORE
RANKINGS DIFFERENT BETWEEN PRESTIGE RANKINGS
BY STUDENTS AND THOSE BY TEACHERS

Occupations Ranked			
Higher by Students		Lower by Students	
Occupations	No. of Rank Shifts	Occupations	No. of Rank Shifts
Barrister	3	Soldier	3
Chief	5	Businessman	7
Gram. School Teacher	3	Author	8
Sec. Modern Teacher	3	Auto Mechanic	4
Primary Teacher	3	Printer	3
Govt. Clerk	3	Imam	3
Radio-TV Repairman	4	Small Businessman	3

Students tended to rank higher those occupations which have a normally higher formal educational requirement, and to rank lower those occupations which do not have a high formal educational requirement. Of the fourteen occupations listed in Table 44, only those of chief, radio-TV repairman, and perhaps author can be considered exceptions to this basic pattern. Although chiefs are not always high in the ranks of those with appreciable incomes, they do enjoy a high degree of traditional status and often much power. Radio and TV repairmen are sometimes those who are graduates of the Technical College in Ibadan, which has a School Certificate entrance requirement; they are not always poorly trained and educated products of the commercial radio institutes existing in Ife and mentioned in Chapter Five. And it is felt that the occupation of author, as it might be perceived by secondary school students, has little value in the scheme of economic and social development. According to this view, there is little equation between being an author and being an educated, scholarly person. An author can also be a writer of plays, which in Western Nigeria normally requires only a skill and creative talents, and not an extensive formal education, as illustrated in the large number of traveling troupes of play actors and playwrights.

The tendency by secondary students to equate most occupations of high prestige with those with higher formal educational attainment is supported by the knowledge that

these young people feel that formal schooling is the best means to achieve high prestige. Although ratings by teachers are very similar generally to those by students, the greatest discrepancies in these ratings are due apparently to this specific perception by the students.

There are few differences in rankings of items by students for the various classes. One may conclude from this that the attitudes of teachers did not effect change in the ratings of the students. This assumes that some measure of change in the ratings by students can be derived from data of students in various levels of classes. Logically, this is not possible, since a dichronic study of attitudes of individual students was not attempted. One would have expected a shift in rankings for higher classes of students toward a stronger correlation with the rankings by teachers, if teachers were a determining influence. Nevertheless, the high correlations for all students support the conclusion that the attitudes of teachers were at least a reinforcing element in the attitudes of students.

For determination of attitudes of students as measured by prestige ratings of areas, communities, and occupations, one must conclude that these were the result of influences which were at work prior to the secondary level of schooling. It must be noted that teachers included in the survey were not only secondary but also primary teachers, and that there were few differences in the rankings by these diverse

classifications of teachers. It is reasonable to assume, even if tentatively in the argument here, that the specific attitudes of students toward areas, communities, and occupations were shaped during the primary level of schooling. The normative reference by students to these attitudes of primary teachers can be considered valid, and can help to define the determinants of attitudes of secondary level students, attitudes which were then reinforced by normative reference by these secondary level students to the attitudes of secondary level teachers.

Nevertheless, such an assumption of a source of these student attitudes within the primary level of schooling could not be deduced without reference to prevailing attitudes of parents, peers, and influences outside the environment of the schools. Indeed, based on first-hand knowledge, there is a strong correlation between the prestige ratings as measured for teachers and students in Ife, and the explicit and implicit prestige ratings by many others within the community. With the Researcher's familiarity with attitudes of persons in craft businesses, larger businesses, those in the traditional and modern residential areas of Ife, the prestige rankings by teachers and students were not unexpected. An independently derived set of rankings of areas in Ife, communities in Western Nigeria, and occupations was very similar in the results for students and teachers. This leads to the conclusion that it is the

larger social context of the community which is the source of these specific attitudes, subject understandably to some notable local or specific variations. And to place this in some perspective these attitudes are similar to those held by apprentices and other youth without secondary or even primary schooling.

A Summary of Chapter Eight

Overall, one may draw certain significant conclusions from the empirical data and analysis presented in this chapter:

First, the attitudes of secondary students are the product of normative influences which have taken place over time in the context of the family, peer groupings, and other social groupings including the school.

Second, these attitudes are reinforced by correlated attitudes of secondary school teachers which are classified as normative, rather than determinative.

Third, this process of attitudes being reinforced by normative reference to peers and other normative reference groups such as teachers is evidenced in a variety of contexts within the community, defined in terms of various social groupings in which the specific individual participates.

Fourth, this same argument is applied to the formation of attitudes and expected behavior of individuals toward residential, or occupational mobility. Since prestige ratings are held to be measures of attitudes which are partially

determinants of the choice of residence and occupations, this assists in explaining the mobility of individuals.

Fifth, formal schooling provides the means for occupational mobility through the opportunity for entrance into a great variety of occupational roles within the community. Similarly, this schooling provides the means for mobility within a context which is often even greater than the community, as evidenced by the number of life people who plan to and do leave the community, and by the number of non-life people who enter the community.

Sixth, the prestige ratings of areas, communities, and occupations can assist in understanding the motivations to change residence, or occupations. This knowledge of the relative prestige of those items must, however, be viewed in reference to the traditional practices and attitudes which also determine the choices governing mobility. Such a reference is thus to the total community, and not specifically to the schools or the participants in those schools.

Seventh, it is necessary to view the community in terms of social groupings and social classifications, including that of formal educational attainment, in order to understand the totality of the community as an abstraction of social behavior and attitudes. Such a view reveals that there are specific groups which have common characteristics (i.e., criteria for classification), such as, particularly, formal educational attainment.

Eighth, these groups are not randomly connected, but are a part of a ~~matrix~~ matrix of interconnected processes which are those of individual affiliation, and, most significantly, the processes of sequential normative reference for the individual. Moreover, those individuals affiliated with groups who have higher formal educational attainments are also affiliated with those of greater tendency toward occupational and residential mobility. And those individuals affiliated with groups with lower educational attainments are also affiliated with those who are less inclined toward mobility occupationally and residentially. Affiliation with a given group is controlled or affected partly by a particular educational attainment requirement, partly by normative patterns of affiliation, and partly by the relative prestige ratings of those groups.

In conclusion, relations of the individual to the ecological and social patterns of the community are identical with the processes of determination of attitudes toward, and of specific behavior in, occupational and residential mobility. Prestige ratings of areas, communities, and occupations are seen as indices of determinative influences in this mobility, and correlate highly with the specific mobility choice. Traditional patterns, as well as existing patterns which might be classified as modern, of occupational and residential choice are a function of a specific social grouping. The variety of social groupings within the

community is seen as patterned, particularly with regard to specific criteria such as family background and formal educational attainment. Derivatively, the patterns of occupational and residential choice throughout the community are a function of the social processes of the various groupings integrated throughout the community.

CHAPTER IX
CONCLUSIONS

This report has presented a detailed picture of education in a specific urban community. Such a view has gone beyond the usual focus on processes in its many formal schools to an examination of a variety of educational processes.

The report has gone beyond a mere descriptive view of the forms and processes of education to an analysis of the links between education and certain prominent aspects of community life in life: the high occupational and residential mobility of its residents. The hypothesis linking higher formal educational attainment and increased mobility has been empirically validated. But, theoretically, the hypothesis as a means of explanation of the mobility is rejected, requiring attention to the more comprehensive educational processes of the community.

The educational processes and forms are integral features of the patterns of life of the community--integral in the sense of their being causal features producing both change and continuity in the patterns of life of the community, and in the sense of their being abstractions of these patterns. The functional link between education and the community is the necessary and

sufficient causal relationship between the two conceptual entities.

Empirical reference for these linkages has revealed in life the variety of educational forms and processes which totally can be claimed to produce mobility in occupations and residence, through the operation of normative reference group influences in a variety of patterned assemblages. Such patterning in the social interactions of various individuals is, most significantly, consonant with differential patterns of formal educational attainment. Since higher formal educational attainment has been shown to be associated with high mobility, particular patterns of social interaction present causal determinants of mobility in patterned forms.

Traditional patterns of mobility--such as that of patrilocal residence of Yoruba culture--are overlaid with newer patterns linked with expanding formal education. Non-formal educational patterns are seen to be differentially affected by this expansion--such as the various requirements and patterns of formal schooling attainments of apprenticeship youth. And since those with higher formal educational attainments are more likely to leave traditional compound residences, the residence patterns are spatially and educationally differentiated within the community.

General Results of the Study

Perhaps the most significant result of this study has

been to show that the mobility of persons of the community is more than (a) the traditional occupational and residential mobility within the community, and (2) the commonly recognized movement of persons from the rural to the urban areas. What is seen in Ife is a more complex picture of inter-urban movement and linkages. Thus, the Yoruba cultural patterns as modelled by ethnographers are shown to be inadequate models of present reality. Moreover, it is argued that perhaps the traditional model of social patterns among the Yoruba should have included such inter-urban networks in the occupational and residential patterns.

The unemployed of Ife were not examined in great detail. Thus, the complete picture of the unemployed school leaver remains to be drawn in further study. This study did reveal, however, that apprentices and most other workers do not move immediately from the schools into employment positions, but remain outside the formal school system and the occupational system for several years. They also do not take correspondence work or enter home study institutes immediately. It also revealed that many young people, increasingly with higher schooling, leave the traditional residences and the community for other areas. Thus, at least in the urban setting, the unemployed school leaver, as well as the employed school leaver, is a highly mobile individual, and not merely in the direction of larger urban centers.

Rather, the mobility is more complex than just in the rural to urban direction, but includes inter- and intra-community movement.

The picture of life as a rapidly changing social system shows that new patterns of residence and occupational selection are overlaid on the traditional patterns, and is not merely in the direction of the break-up of the traditional rural family and residential patterns. Some individuals with higher schooling do remain at the more traditional compounds, as integral members of the ile. Some individuals with no or little schooling do move in and out of the urban community, do reside in the newer residential areas, and do take some occupational positions not normally associated with the traditional patterns. But as a general process, it is clear that there is an important linkage between higher schooling and mobility, and that this linkage can be observed not only in the rural setting, but also in the urban setting.

The Need for Further Study

Many questions have arisen as a result of this study. First, it is clear that more needs to be known of the unemployed sector of the urban community. There are real problems in undertaking such a study, including the problem of locating the subjects. Whereas some important data on this problem has been obtained in the residential surveys in contrasting areas of life, these areas are not

claimed to be representative of larger areas. This makes estimates of the quantitative dimensions of the problem very difficult. More generally, this study has shown important linkages between schooling and mobility for many individuals, including unemployed.

Second, the study was undertaken in one short span of time, during a difficult period of Nigerian history. Clearly, no period of time will see an absence of all problems and strains. But it is important to know more objectively how extensive the effect of the war was on the patterns of schooling, informal education, occupations, and residences. Further studies, especially after several years of continued influence by the university, are required.

Third, greater attention to the processes within the schools would be useful. This can be extended to attention to processes within the various alternative educational forms, such as apprenticeship. If causal links are to be established more validly, there is a need to understand in greater detail what is going on within the educational forms.

Fourth, attention to the formal schools, apprenticeship, Koranic schools, businesses and residences merely scratches the surface of the social interactions and processes in Ife. Statistically, far less than one half of the Ife population have come under review. Understandably, the study has focused on certain visible processes and forms of life

and education, particularly on the modern sectors of the occupational system. Most of the inhabitants are farmers, a group not studied in much detail. Although these modern sectors are "where the action is," there is need to extend coverage of concern in urban communities to activities of even a larger group of individuals.

Fifth, there is need to test the general conclusions of the study of this specific community in other contexts--temporal and spatial. There is no way to conclude that what is derived from this study is applicable to other communities. Perhaps within the Yoruba-speaking areas of Nigeria one may assume that many of the results are valid. But this must be tested in other communities for proof. And clearly other urban communities in Nigeria outside the Yoruba-speaking areas are morphologically, socially, and historically different. This study does not claim that Ife is representative of all urban Nigerian communities. Empirical reference to education and society in other communities is necessary.

Overall, then, there are many areas of research left open, and perhaps stimulated by this specific study. Perhaps the details of this study will advance the fund of knowledge we have and need for more effective understanding of the role of education in the urban context.

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APPENDIX C

"Stage One Summary of Points at First Meeting with R.A.s"

D. W. McDowell
13th February 1968

The Study:

1. Purpose

A survey of educational facilities in Ile-Ife township: primary schools, secondary schools, commercial and technical schools, teacher training colleges, others; also a survey of where those who don't attend these recognized institutions receive their vocational training.

2. Reasons

- (a) The need for more to be known about the educational alternatives in Nigeria, since education is the key process in national development.
- (b) The need to know more about education in the context of a community--no study of community education has been done before.

3. Stages of the Study.

- (a) A mapping survey of Ile-Ife, to locate all schools and places where young people receive vocational training.
- (b) A survey of educational facilities
 - (i) Schools: Level, number of students, number of teachers, course material.
 - (ii) Other vocational systems (apprenticeship): type of vocation, entry qualifications, number of persons involved, length of training.

How Research is Done:

1. Professionally.

Any study must be done seriously and properly. Goals must be clear, methods must be exact; all of you who assist in the study must know your jobs well. You will be professionals now, in this study.

2. Carefully.

All information must be very exact for the study to be of use. When you ask questions, you must report the answers carefully, and even report if there is no answer given to a question, or no one who can answer it. This is important information, too.

3. Thoroughly.

If the study is begun, it should be completed. Anyone who is unable to continue with the study should not attempt to be in it. This is so, since one person will not be familiar with another's work, and would not be able to do a

APPENDIX C (Continued)

complete job. On the other hand, together we can all contribute to a thorough and useful survey.

4. Confidentially.

Information received should be kept confidential. There are two main reasons for this.

- (a) Trust. Information given by one person which is kept in confidence by the interviewer creates a sense of trust of the interviewer.
- (b) Objectivity. If information about one person is given to a second person before he answers the questions of the study, this information may affect the answers of that second person. Collection of information from one person interviewer should be objective--uninfluenced by opinions of others.

5. Humanly.

Although the study is a serious and, hopefully, objective survey, you are dealing with people. Be polite. If someone wants to ask questions of the same person later, the results will depend upon whether the first interviewer was polite, cordial, and trusting, or whether he antagonized the person.

A Final Note:

You should realize that many of the people you interview may be suspicious about you wanting to ask questions of them. They may think you must be from the Inspectorate Division, or are a tax collector. You should introduce yourself as a Research Assistant from the University of Ife, and act in a reassuring manner. Be ready to meet such suspicions for they are a common problem for interviewers doing social research.

APPENDIX D

"Stage One Instructions for Field Work"

D. W. McDowell
17 February 1968

Procedure for each assignment:

1. Take your folder with you on each trip. It contains your assignment material:
 - a) Map of assignment
 - b) Worksheets No. 1
 - c) Worksheets No. 2
2. Your assignment consists of the area inside the red boundary lines on your map.
 - a) Any markings outside red boundaries are for reference only.
 - b) If the red line runs on a street, you are responsible only for the inside of the street indicated on the map.
 - c) Streets marked by black lines inside your assignment should be surveyed on both sides by you.
 - d) Names of streets are shown where known. Other streets or lanes or paths have been assigned arbitrary letter designations for the survey on your map. But:
 - i) You may find the names on the map are not accurate. Note these differences.
 - ii) You may discover the names for the letter-designated streets. Note these.
 - iii) You may discover additional streets, paths, lanes. Indicate these, with names if known.
 - iv) If you find significant differences between the map and your area, report this immediately.
 - e) Some known important landmarks are shown on some maps. Put these down in your survey also.
3. In your folder are two types of worksheets.
 - a) Worksheets No. 1 are to be used for surveying streets, lanes and paths. Use one sheet per street--or part of a street if it is very long. Junctions make the best place to divide the survey onto separate sheets.
 - b) Fill in all blanks at the top first: name, date of actual survey, street surveyed, "starting point" where you begin the survey (landmark or junction).
 - c) Columns of "spaces" on your worksheets do not represent buildings, but spaces--i.e., homes, churches, businesses, landmarks, shrines, streets which join, paths, and empty areas. Buildings are only one type of space.
 - d) As you walk down a street from the starting point, indicate in the left column what spaces you see on your left; and in the right column what spaces you see on the right. Start at the top of the column as you begin from the starting point indicated. Do not draw maps--just indicate what spaces there are. Indicate spaces on both sides of the street as you walk down the street--unless you are surveying a boundary of your area.

APPENDIX D (Continued)

- e) If you prefer surveying a street in the opposite direction than suggested on your Worksheet No. 1--that is, from another starting point--then indicate what is your starting point in the appropriate space above the two columns. Always (1) define your starting point and write it above the columns, and (2) write in the spaces from top to bottom in the left and right columns.
- f) If a space (such as a building) consists of several different businesses or activities (e.g., Sewing Institute, Printing establishment, lawyer's office and residence--all in one building) then indicate all these businesses or activities in one space in the appropriate column on your sheet. Do not place each of these activities in different spaces in the columns.
- g) Signs in front of spaces may be useful in defining the buildings. Just indicate the nature of the business or activities. There is no need to write the name of the person and telephone number, etc. Just indicate the business; and perhaps the street number.
- h) There are extra Worksheets No. 1 provided, in case you discover streets and lanes and paths not marked on your map. Fill in the spaces at the top, and use this for each newly discovered street.
- i) Observe the arrow on your map to help orient you.
- j) The Worksheet will look not like a map when you finish. Don't worry. We know that. Just follow these instructions.
- k) Worksheets No. 2 are different. They are designed to fill in the areas not near streets, etc. They will look like maps, and should be drawn like maps.
- l) These Worksheets No. 2 should be first filled in at the top (Researcher's name, date, assignment, number)
- m) Also, fill in the street boundaries of the map to be drawn in the spaces indicated at the top of the sheet.
- n) Some have been filled in for you. You must do these. If you find other areas which should be mapped, there are extra Worksheets No. 2 provided in your folder.
- o) These Worksheets No. 2 are designed to show locations concerned away from roads. Draw a map of the area concerned, indicating the nature of each building located. No need to be elaborate. Just a sketch is sufficient for our purposes. A one-minute sketch is probably sufficient.

A Few Guiding Points:

Undoubtedly you will be asked: "What are you doing?" Expect this. There will be some suspicion, perhaps as well. What do you say? Only what you have to say: I am working on a survey of education in Ile-Ife, including where are schools, and where are businesses involved in training our youth. Be honest, but there is no need to elaborate. Be courteous always.

APPENDIX E

"Stage One Response Sheet"

NAME: _____ Assignment No. _____ Date: _____

1. What dates did you conduct the survey? How many hours each trip?

Date: 1. _____ Hours: 1. _____

2. _____ 2. _____

3. _____ 3. _____

4. _____ 4. _____

2. What do the people of the area you surveyed call that area?

3. What was the general attitude of the people to your conducting this survey?

4. How many people asked questions of you? _____

What did they ask? _____

5. What answers did you give? _____

6. Did you experience any difficulty? What? _____

7. Was the assignment
- | | | |
|------------------------|-------|-------|
| a) Too difficult? | _____ | |
| b) Somewhat difficult? | _____ | |
| c) Satisfactory? | _____ | (tick |
| d) Rather easy? | _____ | one) |
| e) Too easy? | _____ | |

8. Additional comments on back of sheet.

APPENDIX F

"Stage One Letter of Introduction"

UNIVERSITY OF IFE, NIGERIA
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

20th February, 1968

To Whom It May Concern:

The bearer of this letter, _____, is a Research Assistant on a special survey of educational facilities in Ile-Ife. The Assistant is a student in the University of Ife, currently enrolled in the B.A.(Education) degree programme.

The Ife Education Survey is designed to discover the many alternatives for education of the youth of Ile-Ife. The Survey thus includes examination of all schools in the town, as well as of all other institutions where these youth can receive training for their life's vocation.

I have met with the Oni of Ife, Sir Aderemi, and discussed with him this study. He has given it his blessing, and hopes that this survey will help us to know more about the education of our youth and how to improve it.

I hope you will give this Research Assistant your fullest cooperation in this important survey, by answering certain basic questions about your establishment and its training of the youth of Ile-Ife.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Sincerely Yours,

(signed)

D. W. McDowell
Lecturer in Education and
Director of the Ife Education
Survey

APPENDIX G

"Stage Two (Schools) Interview Schedule"

Q No. _____

A.No. _____

(Possible Name of School) _____

Int. _____

Date: _____ Time: _____

Typ. _____

Interviewer: _____

DO NOT WRITE HERE

schools interview schedule--stage twocomments

1. What is the name of this school? _____
2. Is this school operated by _____
 - a) Mission or church? _____
 - b) Private group _____
 - c) Local Authority _____
 - d) Other? Specify: _____
3. What is your name? _____
(Last) (First or other)
4. What is your position? _____
(at the school)
5. What is the address of this place? _____
No. Street
6. When was this school established? _____ (Year)
7. Has this school always been located at this place? (Yes or no). If not, where? _____
Why was it moved? _____
8. How many students attend? _____ Male? _____ Fe? _____
9. How many students are boarders? _____ How many are day students? _____
10. How many teachers work here at the school? _____
11. Are there any assistants or non-teaching staff? (Yes or no). If yes, explain their responsibilities here: (1) _____
(2) _____ (3) _____
(4) _____ (5) _____
12. How long is the course of instruction (yrs)? _____
13. What are the entry requirements? _____
14. What is the youngest age (minimum) for entry? _____
Maximum? _____
15. What is obtained at the completion of the course (i.e., certificate, diploma, etc.)? _____
16. What fees are required each year for boarders? _____
Day students? _____
17. What will the graduates do? _____
18. What will those do who leave the school before completing the course? _____
19. What is your estimate of the number of students whose parents do not live in Ile-Ife? _____

(continued)

APPENDIX G (Continued)

20. What courses are taught?

_____, _____, _____, _____,
 _____, _____, _____, _____,
 _____, _____, _____, _____.

21. How many students are in each class?

	<u>Class or Form</u>						
	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>VI</u>	<u>HSC</u>
Total no. of students:	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Number of boys	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Number of girls	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

22. What are the names, sexes, ages, qualifications and years of experience of the teachers?

	<u>Last Name (Last only)</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Qualifications (degrees, cer- tificates, etc.) of teachers</u>	<u>No. years teaching at this school</u>	<u>Total No.</u>
						<u>of years teaching ex- perience at all schools</u>
1.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
6.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
7.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
8.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
9.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
10.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
11.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
12.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
13.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
14.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
15.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
16.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
17.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
18.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
19.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
20.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

DWM/15.3.68.

APPENDIX H

"Stage Two Instructions for Field Work"

21 March 1968

D. W. McDowell

Procedure:

1. It should be possible for you to conduct all interviews on one day. You will not be assigned more than three schools, except in special cases.
2. Take your folder with you when you go to the town. In it, be sure you have your letter of introduction given you earlier (dated 20 Feb.), your instruction sheet (this one), your several interview sheets, your several letters to the Principals, your several response sheets, the map, your small notebook, your biro, and your good manners. Don't forget any of these-- you will need them all. Check this list before leaving for town each time.
3. You will be assigned to certain schools. They will be located in a particular part of Ile-Ife, so you will not need to do much travelling. The schools assigned to you are indicated on the map.
4. Each school will require (a) a separate interview schedule sheet and (b) a separate response sheet (for completion after the interview). Also there will be a separate introduction sheet for the Principal.
5. When you arrive at the assigned school, ask to see the Principal (or Headmaster). If he is available, then give him the introductory letter, and explain why you have come. Then begin the interview if he is agreeable and has the time. Assume that he will allow you the time, and attempt to begin the interview after a few moments of "pleasantries." If he hesitates, then explain that the questions are very simple, and will not take much time.
6. If the Principal is not available, ask to see the assistant, or one of the senior members of staff. Probably any member of staff will be able to answer the questions. But always try to interview the head of the school, and always try to meet the head of the school first.
7. At the beginning of the interview, always fill in the top section of the interview schedule sheet on the left: the date, the time, and your name. Do not write in the top right corner area.
8. Ask the questions as they are written. It is good scientific procedure to follow instructions, and in interviewing it is good procedure to ask the questions exactly as they are written. (Then the responses may be different, and these differences would not be due to differences in wording of the questions.)

(Continued)

APPENDIX H (Continued)

9. The instructions to you in the parentheses are not to be read to the person whom you are interviewing. They are guides and aids to you only.
10. If there are any problems in interpretation of the questions or in finding the appropriate way to record the responses, be sure to make notes about these in the comments column on the right. (That column is for your use, to make notes. Write your comments down--don't trust your memory later; you possibly won't remember those difficulties and problems later, or perhaps in the same way. Write it down!) Fill in all blanks. If a question is not applicable, then write "not applicable." Don't leave blank spaces.
11. Where questions of quantity are asked, then write the responses in numbers, not in words.
12. For yes-no questions, write either "yes" or "no." Do not cross out the words in parentheses, and do not put a tick in those spaces.
13. If you want to ask other questions, do that after the interview schedule has been completed. Be sure to ask all the questions listed.
14. In Question 8, the number of males and the number of females added up should equal the total number written in the first space. Check this each time.
15. In Question 22, last names only are required. No initials are necessary. Sex should be expressed as "F" or "M". Age should be expressed in numerals. Qualifications should be expressed in terms of degrees, certificates, etc. (For example, "B.A.") Number of years teaching at the school may be expressed in numerals; same for the last column.
16. Complete the response sheet immediately after leaving the school. Don't trust your memory later. It will take only about one minute to complete this response sheet, and it is important to have this information when you finish the interview.
17. Don't forget to thank the person. But don't promise him that the survey will result in improvements in his school. We can't make a promise like that. Merely state the objectives of the study, as we have stated them clearly before. (One Assistant in the first stage of the study, unfortunately stated to people of the town that the purpose of the study is "to increase educational facility of Ite town." As you know, that is not correct. In short, don't raise their expectations higher than we can meet them--don't commit the University to anything we can't do at this time. Simply state the fact that we are involved in a study of educational alternatives in Ile-Ife.)

(Continued)

APPENDIX H (Continued)

18. When you complete your interviews, please place the interview schedule sheets and the response sheets on my desk in my office. I'll pick them up before the end of the holiday period.

19. Good luck. Have a good time. I know that you will enjoy this stage of the survey, and get an education in the process about education in a community. I am very pleased with the results of the study thus far.

20. If you have any questions or problems, please contact my Assistant Director (Mrs. McDowell). She will be happy to assist you and to try to answer any questions you may have.

Your Assigned Schools:

1. _____	2. _____	3. _____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

APPENDIX I

"Stage Two Response Sheet"

NAME: _____ Assignment No. _____ Date: _____

1. Type of school: a) primary school? _____
 b) sec. mod. school? _____
 c) sec. grammar school? _____ (Tick
 d) T.T.C.? _____ one)
 e) commercial school? _____
 f) other school? (Specify) _____
2. How long was the interview (in minutes)? _____
3. How did you feel during the interview? a) very satisfied? _____
 b) somewhat satisfied? _____
 c) somewhat _____
 (tick one) d) very unsatisfied? _____
 e) unsatisfied? _____
4. Evaluate the ability of the person whom you interviewed to answer the questions you asked him (or her):
 a) very qualified? _____
 b) somewhat qualified? _____
 c) not very qualified? _____
 d) unqualified? _____
5. Whom did you see first (Position in school)? _____
6. Whom did he (she) introduce you to (Position)? _____
7. Why did this happen as it did? _____
8. What was the reaction of those with whom you spoke to your plan to conduct an interview?
 a) very cooperative? _____
 b) somewhat cooperative? _____
 c) skeptical? _____ (tick
 d) very skeptical? _____ one)
 e) hostile? _____
9. With reference to question 8 above, why? _____
10. Were there any difficulties in interpretation of any of the questions? If so, state which questions, and types of difficulties. _____
11. Additional comments on the back of this sheet.

APPENDIX J

"Stage Two Letter of Introduction for R.A.s"

UNIVERSITY OF IFE, NIGERIA
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

22 March 1968

Dear Principal or Headmaster,

This letter is to introduce _____, a Research Assistant on a special survey of educational facilities in Ile-Ife. I hope that you will be able to answer a few questions which the Assistant would like to ask you.

The survey involves interviews with Principals and Headmasters of all schools in the Ile-Ife area, as well as a study of other alternatives to schooling, such as the intricate apprenticeship systems here. This is thus a very large research study, and should provide all of us with some valuable information on possible ways by which education in Nigeria might be improved. I am sure that you will share with me the interest in and concern with education in Nigeria.

The Oni of Ife, Sir Aderemi, the Local Education Officer, Mr. Ogunode, and others are aware of this study and are keenly interested in the results we will obtain. I therefore hope that you will cooperate on this survey by answering a few simple questions which the Assistant would like to ask you at this time. The interview will not take more than a few minutes.

I hope to meet with you soon personally. Mr. Ogunode has promised to introduce me to some of the Principals. I will look forward to talking with you further about this interesting survey.

Thanking you in advance for your cooperation.

Sincerely Yours,

(signed)

D. W. McDowell
Director of the Ife
Education Survey and
Lecturer in Education

APPENDIX K

Stage Three (Apprentices) Interview Schedule"

Interviewer: _____ Code: _____
 Date: _____ Time: _____ Q.No. _____
 Street: _____ No. _____ A.No. _____
 Between: _____ and _____ Int.: _____
 (Street) (Street) Type: _____
 Don't write in this space

APPRENTICESHIP INTERVIEW SCHEDULE -- Stage III

1. Kini orukọ t'ẹfi da işe yi silẹ? _____
2. Kini orukọ yin? _____,
 (Baba yin) _____
3. Iru işe wo ni e nse nihin? _____
4. Awon oga işe melo lo gba si işe? _____
5. Awon omọ işe melo ni e nkọ nişe? _____

(If answers to Qs. 4 and 5 are given, then continue)

- | | <u>comments</u> |
|--|-----------------|
| 6. Odun wo ni o da işe yi silẹ? _____ | |
| 7. Nşe e lo si ile iwe? _____ Iwe melo ni o ka? | |
| 8. Kini orukọ ile iwe ti e lo? _____ | |
| 9. Ni ilu wo (ni ile iwe yi wa)? _____ | |
| 10. Kini işe baba re? _____ | |
| 11. Nibo ni ati bi o? _____ | |
| 12. Talo ko yin ni işe yin? (Kini orukọ ilu oga
ti o ko e ni işe?) _____ | |
| 13. Odun melo ni egbe ni ile işe? _____ | |
| 14. Odun melo ni awon omọ işe ti e nkọ fi nkọ
işe nihin? _____ | |
| 15. Bawo ni awon omọ işe yin ti nri işe? _____ | |
| 16. Nibo ni opolopo awon ti o ti ko işe nihin
wa? _____ | |
| 17. Nşe e ngba oyo lowo awon omọ işe yin? _____
(If "yes" 19. E elo? _____) | |
| 18. Iwe melo ni omọ işe yin gbọ'do ka ki o to
bere işe? _____ | |
| 19. Odun melo ni omọ.gbọ do to ki o to bere işe? _____ | |
| 20. Nibo ni a tun le ri awon ti o nşe iru işe
yin? (A) _____ (B) _____ | |

(Continued on next page)

Last Name	Sex	Age	Highest schooling	Name of school	School Town	Last year in school	Town of birth	Father's occupation	No. of years app (here)	Present Residence	Residence of parents
1.											
2.											
3.											
4.											
5.											
6.											
7.											
8.											
9.											
10											
11											
12											
13											
14											
15											
16											
17											
18											
19											
20											

APPENDIX K (Continued), Page 2

APPENDIX L

"Stage Three Instructions for Field Work (17.6.68)"

Introduction:

Stage One, the mapping stage, is nearly completed. All streets and lanes of Ile-Ife were surveyed--by yourselves and myself. The results of the work are being processed now. We have a list of potential apprenticeship places, all schools, and other institutes and commercial institutions. According to our lists, there are sixty formal schools, several commercial institutes and perhaps 1,200 apprenticeship places. These are being placed on a map of Ile-Ife now being drawn for the study by Research Assistants.

The second stage of the survey--schools interviews--are now being completed. Only two or three remain to be done. According to a preliminary survey of the results of 45 schools, there are over 11,000 students in formal schools, over 9,000 in primary schools. I will have a more detailed list in a few weeks.

The third stage of the survey will take the most time, but will be perhaps the most interesting. This will involve discovering the number and formal education of the apprentices now learning a trade in Ile-Ife. You will be given interview schedules similar to those used in the schools interviews. The main difference is that this one is conducted in Yoruba.

The Planned Organization of the Third Stage:

You will first be given a small number of interview schedules to be used on one street. These interviews will be conducted on one day and will be brought to me for examination. We want to know answers to certain questions before we begin the total interviewing. For example, what difficulties will we have in interviewing businesses; How long will the interviews take? and What is the reaction of the people to our interviewing? The answers to these, based on our preliminary survey this week will help us in the basic interviewing.

In addition to the number of interview schedules given you now, you will be given a sheet on which to indicate what happened and how the interview went. After each interview, fill out a response sheet immediately. Don't wait until later--do it just after the interview.

Choosing the Places for Interviews:

In addition to the places discussed in our meeting this morning, you should look for possible other places where there might be training--such as with apprentices. Interview all businesses where there might be apprentices on your street. You can ask people in the area about this, especially at places where you have just concluded an interview.

APPENDIX L (Continued)

Filling out the Interview Schedule:

First, write your name in the space at the top left, fill in the date and time of the interview. Fill in the name of the street and the number on the street. Also indicate what streets this is between (2 street nearest). Conduct the interview in Yoruba, unless someone prefers it to be in English. Note this fact in the comments column.

Ask to see the Master. If he is not available, ask to see the assistant (journeyman, perhaps). If the interview cannot be held, note this fact, and go on to the next place.

Introduce yourself to the person first as a student of the University's Department of Education who is working on an education survey of Ife. Explain that you are not working for the tax collectors, if they ask, and perhaps joke about this. One of the purposes of the introduction is to remove any doubts in the minds of those to whom you speak that you might be a threat to him. Show the person a copy of the letter of introduction--even if he doesn't ask for any identification.

Above all, be polite. If he doesn't want to be asked questions, state again that the questions are simple, and can be of importance to the survey. You may state that interviews are held throughout the town, and that his information will contribute to this total survey. Stress the fact that this an education survey--which includes places where young people receive training.

Ask all questions in Yoruba, but write the answers in English. If any special answers are given, write them down in the comments column, in Yoruba, if you wish. Where there is difficulty in translation, then indicate this fact.

In Q. 23, write the name and address of the places mentioned.

Final Comments:

Get some answers to all questions. Do not leave spaces on the questionnaire blank. If there are difficulties, note these.

On the back of the sheet, fill in the information for all people working for the master--his journeymen, as well as apprentices. Ask the Master for this information, but you might speak to the apprentices, if he gives you permission.

Try to do this quickly, but be as complete as possible. Thoroughness is very important.

If you discover any other problems or have other questions, please come to see me. Good luck.

D. W. McDowell

APPENDIX M

"Stage Three Instructions for Field Work (19.6.68)"

- 1) Be sure to take your folder with the letter of introduction and all your interview sheets.
- 2) Introduce yourself politely, emphasizing your work for the University's Department of Education, and not any connection with any Ministry.
- 3) Before meeting the master or owner of the business, write down the name of the business on the top of the interview sheet, your name, the date, the time, and the address of the business. For every business you visit, whether or not you interviewed the owner or master, you should have the top part of the interview sheet filled out. Be sure to put down the address in terms of the number of the house, or the nearest number you can find.
- 4) If the person refuses you an interview, then put down the number of apprentices you see, or any other information you might think important--but be sure to indicate that the number is the one you estimate, and not what the master gives you orally,
- 5) Do not fill out a space with a dash. This does not explain anything. If the person refuses to answer, then indicate this. If the person said "none," then write "none." If the person does not say anything, then write "the person said nothing." But don't put a dash in any space. And be sure to fill in all blank spaces on the front.
- 6) If you are unable to get the information for the back of the interview sheet, then fill in as much as possible, and indicate the reason why you could not.
- 7) After each interview, fill in the response sheet immediately. If no interview was possible, indicate at least what type of business it was.
- 8) There is no "apprenticeship code number," as far as you are concerned. That is a number I use, and no master or business owner is expected to have one, as one of the Research Assistants thought. Also, do not write anything on the upper right hand corner of the interview sheet.
- 9) Conduct the interviews on interview schedules which are numbered in consecutive order (for example, No. 451; then 452, etc.) That number has already been assigned to each interview sheet and response sheet.
- 10) If you think that a master will return later so that you might interview him, then, if you have time, do return. This shows you are interested in him, and it would be likely that he will cooperate.

(continued)

APPENDIX M (Continued)

- 11) Have a good time. This should be very enjoyable work, and it should be very educational for us all.
- 12) When you complete an assignment or work for a day, then bring the completed results in to me or Mr. Aina. Then you will have less chance of losing certain interviews.

E SE PUPU

Your Assignment

On _____ St. from _____ to _____
_____ St. from _____ to _____

APPENDIX N

"Stage Three Response Sheet"

Name: _____ Appren.Code No. _____ Date: _____

1. Name of Business: _____

2. Type of Business: Tailor _____ Barber _____
 Sewing _____ Carpenter _____
 Printer _____ Goldsmith _____
 (tick one) Photo _____ Shoemaker _____
 Blacksmith _____ Drycleaner _____
 RadioRepair _____ Drafting _____
 Mechanic _____ Other (specify): _____

3. How many minutes did the interview take? _____

4. How did you feel during the interview?

(tick one) a) very satisfied _____
 b) somewhat satisfied _____
 c) somewhat unsatisfied _____
 d) very unsatisfied _____

5) What was the reaction of those with whom you spoke to the plan to conduct an interview?

(tick one) a) very cooperative _____
 b) somewhat cooperative _____
 c) skeptical _____
 d) very skeptical _____
 e) hostile _____

6) With reference to Question 5, why? _____

7) Were there any questions which the person did not fully understand? If so, state which questions, and the types of difficulties.

8) Any other comments?

APPENDIX O

"Stage Five (schools) Interview Schedule"

Name of School: _____ Sch. Code No. _____
 Date: _____ Time of Interview: _____ Type: _____
 Interviewer's Name: _____ Interviewer: _____
 Do Not Write Here

SCHOOLS INTERVIEW SCHEDULE -- STAGE VComments
here

1. What is your name? _____
2. What is your position? _____
(if not principal, principal's name: _____)
3. How many students? Total: _____
Male: _____
Female: _____
4. How many students have left school since January
of this year? _____ Major Reason: _____
5. How many students are boarders? _____
6. How many students not from Ife or Modakeke? _____
7. What is the highest class offered? _____
8. How many teachers work here full-time? _____
9. How many other teachers work part-time? _____
10. Have any of your students left in the last year
specifically to join the army? How many? _____
11. Do you have automatic promotion? _____
12. How many students are in each class? (Fill below)
(Write "0" if none. Fill all spaces)

No. of forms	Class or Form					(HSC)	
	I	II	III	IV	V	Via	Vib
No. of forms	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Total no.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Boys	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Girls	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
No. not promoted last year	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

13. How many students took the exam in Nov/Dec? _____
14. How many got credit? ___ Passed ___ Failed ___
15. What examination was taken? _____
16. In what forms do you begin to teach English? _____
17. In what forms do you begin to teach in
English? _____
18. Would you be willing to allow us to ask some of
your students questions about their background
and vocational aspirations? _____ (Yes or No)

DWM/6.6.69

P.T.O.

School: _____

INFORMATION ON TEACHERS

Int. Sch.
Schools, V
Page 2

Last Name Only	Sex	Age	Highest Qualif'n	If he/she left since March, 1968, fill below					
				Left here	To what Town	To do what	Home town	Month/Yr left	Why did he/she leave?
1.									
2.									
3.									
4.									
5.									
6.									
7.									
8.									
9.									
10									
11									
12									
13									

DWM/6.6.69

APPENDIX O (Continued)

APPENDIX P

"Stage Five Instructions for Field Work"**Introduction:**

The fifth stage of the continuing study of education in Ile-Ife involves gathering information (a) on the turnover (changes) in staff and students between 1968 and 1969, and (b) on the attitudes and aspirations of staff and students.

The fifth stage will involve, as before, interviews with principals and headmasters. It also involves giving each teacher a questionnaire for completing in private and for return through you to me directly (not through the principal or headmaster). It also involves doing a survey of selected students--some orally, some in questionnaire form.

Background Information:

Each headmaster and principal was sent a letter from me last week introducing you. If he did not receive it, then you should show him a copy, which is included in your folder (do not give it to him--it is your only copy). In the letter, it was mentioned that you would bring some information about schools in Ife. This will be (a) a list of all schools and their number of students, and (b) a map of Ife showing all schools.

Instructions:

1. Be sure your folder contains your list of schools, a corresponding number of interview schedules for the headmasters, of maps, of statistics for schools, and of questionnaires for teachers. For the latter, check the statistics on schools to determine the number of teachers last year and then add a few more.

2. Go to your schools asking to speak with the principal or headmaster, if possible. Tell him who you are and why you have come. Ask him if he received my letter last week. Show him your copy if he has not. Do not let him have the copy. If he did not receive it, ask him to give the school's postal address to you, and tell him you will check to see if this was the problem. Explain why you have come:

- a) to give him some results of last year's study;
- b) to give him a map of all schools in Ile-Ife (check the location with him of his school to see if it is correct);
- c) to ask him for his cooperation for a few minutes now
 - i) to interview him,
 - ii) to leave some questionnaires with him and his teachers on their backgrounds and aspirations, and
 - iii) to ask if you can return later to interview some students on their plans for the future.

APPENDIX P (Continued)

3. Then proceed with the interview if possible. If there is some problem of availability (time), try to persuade him in a courteous way. If it is not possible, set a definite time and date for the next day or two. But in this case, leave the questionnaires (not your school interview schedule--that has to be done in an interview) with him and each of his teachers.

4. During the interview, write any reactions you have, modifications or qualifications to answers in the right hand column. Any long reactions you have should be written on your response sheet, to be completed after the interview. Fill in all spaces with something: Do not leave blanks. If the question is not applicable, write "not applicable." If the headmaster refuses to answer, write "refuses to answer." Be exact and complete.

5. On statistics. Check question three while you are doing the interview. The number of boys plus the number of girls must equal the total number of students. If the principal says that the figures are approximate, write in the right hand column, "The principal says these are approximate." In question 12, also check the statistics. In the first row, place the number of streams or forms in each class. In the next rows, be sure the total equals the sum of the boys and girls. In the bottom row, write the number of students in the present class who were also in that class last year--i.e., not promoted. In question 14, the totals of "credit," "passed," and "failed" should equal the number given in question 13.

6. If a question is asked requiring a yes or no, then write "yes" or "no." Do not put a dash or a tick to indicate a "yes," or to indicate no response (write "no response" in that case).

7. Do not confuse questions 16 and 17. The first asks when English as a subject is taught. The second asks when (or if) English becomes the principle language of instruction in other subjects.

8. Both full time and part time teachers are to be listed on the back. Indicate which on the back.

9. If the answer to question 18 is "no," try persuasion, but do not press too hard. It is not so important to get "yes;" it is more important to maintain good rapport.

10. On the back. All teachers are to be listed. You will find written in the names of all teachers last year. If they have left, (retired, left for another job, etc.), fill in all spaces to the right. If they have not, fill in only the spaces to left (last name, sex, age, qualification). New teachers must be included: Write down their names just after the last name written in (e.g., if ten teachers were listed last year, then the new teachers will begin to be listed as No. 11, No. 12, etc.). Use extra sheets provided

APPENDIX P (Continued)

if you need more spaces. (Note: If teachers there last year were not included last year and thus not recorded, then note this carefully. Also indicate which of the teachers are part-time.)

11. Ask to give the questionnaires for teachers to each teacher personally. Give one first to the headmaster or principal. When you give each his/her questionnaire, tell each about the survey, ask for their cooperation, and state that you will return to the school to collect the questionnaires "in a day or two." Tell each that you will collect the questionnaire in person. They do not have to give the questionnaire to the headmaster; and in fact, it is best to collect each separately. Instruct each teacher to complete all questions as fully as possible.

12. When you collect the questionnaires two or three days later, check each one over before leaving the teacher, to ensure that all pages are there, that all relevant questions have been answered, and that the writing is legible.

13. When leaving, be sure to express our thanks for their cooperation, and state that we will try to make some of this information available as soon as possible (for example, statistics on schools).

Your schools are listed below, with the corresponding map number. If you require names of streets, etc., then check the map in Mr. McDowell's office.

Thanks and good luck.

D. W. McDowell
(9.6.69)

APPENDIX Q

"Stage Five Response Sheet"

Your Name: _____ School Assigned: _____

Date: _____

1. How long was the interview? (in minutes) _____
2. How did you feel during the interview?
 - a) Very satisfied _____
 - b) Somewhat satis. _____
 - c) Somewhat unsatis. _____
 - d) Very unsatisfied _____
3. Evaluate the ability of the person whom you interviewed to answer the questions asked him (or her).
 - a) Very qualified _____
 - b) Somewhat qualified _____
 - c) Not very qualified _____
 - d) Very unqualified _____
4. What was the reaction of those whom you interviewed?
 - a) Very cooperative _____
 - b) Somewhat coopera. _____
 - c) Skeptical _____
 - d) Very skeptical _____
 - e) Hostile _____
5. Was there any problems in understanding any of the questions? If so, state which questions, and the difficulties.

6. Any additional comments? (Use back if necessary)

APPENDIX R

"Stage Five Letter of Introduction for R.A.s"

UNIVERSITY OF IFE, NIGERIA
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

Dear Principal or Headmaster,

3 June 1969

It has been over one year since Research Assistants on a project I have been conducting on education in Ile-Ife visited your school. I am most grateful for your cooperation last year.

The information has been compiled, and is still being studied carefully. As part of a continuing study of education in Ile-Ife, this information has been of great value.

I will be sending these Assistants (students of the Department of Education--they are planning to be secondary school teachers) again in the next few weeks. I hope you will receive them with the same enthusiasm and cooperation as last year.

They will ask you many of the same basic questions, in order to gather information on student population changes, on changes in your staff, and other factors. Some of them will ask to have some of your students cooperate in answering some questions about their plans for the future. They will also ask to talk briefly with each of your teachers, to ask them questions about their background and plans. I hope you will cooperate fully.

To show our appreciation for your efforts in the past, and for your continuing cooperation, the Assistants will bring you some important information on schools in Ile-Ife--data collected last year (Incidentally, if you note any significant errors, please make these known to the Assistant). I hope this information will be of interest and use to you.

Once again, I thank you for your cooperation on this survey of education in Ile-Ife. This study is designed to find out more about education in Nigeria and to offer suggestions on important educational issues now facing the country. Thank you.

Sincerely Yours,

(signed)

David W. McDowell
Director, Survey on Education
and Lecturer in Education

APPENDIX S

"Stage Five Students' Questionnaire"

Dear Student,

The following questions are part of a study of education in life being done by the Department of Education, University of Ife. We would like you to tell us something about your background (your family, and your earlier schooling) and about your plans for the future. Some questions also ask you to tell us your feelings about some places and occupations.

Answer all the questions and follow the instructions carefully. Most of the questions ask you to place an "x" in a box, like this: . If you have difficulty, then raise your hand and we will try to help you.

-
1. What is your name? _____
 2. What is your age? _____
 3. Are you a boy
or a girl
 4. What is the name of your school? _____
 5. What Form are you in?
 - a) first
 - b) second
 - c) third
 - d) fourth
 - e) fifth
 - f) sixth
 6. Where did you attend primary school?
 - a) Name of school _____
 - b) Town or village _____
 - c) Division or province _____
 - d) State or region _____

(Continued)

APPENDIX S (Continued)

7. What is your father's occupation? (If he is deceased, then what did he do before he died?)
-
8. How much schooling did your father have? Place an "X" in one box which is next to the highest level that he reached.
- a) He had no schooling.
 - b) He had some primary schooling
 - c) He completed primary schooling.
 - d) He had some secondary schooling.
 - e) He completed secondary school.
 - f) He attended teacher training college.
 - g) He completed teacher training.
 - h) He attended Higher School classes (H.S.C.).
 - i) He attended a university.
 - j) He went to another kind of school.
(If so, what? _____)
 - k) I don't know about his schooling.
9. Were you born in Nigeria? Yes No
(If "no", then in what country? _____)
10. If you were born in Nigeria, where were you born?
- a) the town or village: _____
 - b) the district or province: _____
 - c) the state or region: _____
11. If you were born in Ile-Ife or Modakeke, place an "X" in the box next to the area in which your parents were living when you were born.
- a) More
 - b) Ilode
 - c) Okerewe
 - d) Ireemo
 - e) Ilare
 - f) Sabo
 - g) Modakeke
 - h) Other: _____

(Continued)

APPENDIX S (Continued)

12. Where do your parents live now? (If your father and mother live in different places, then write down where each of them lives)

FatherMother

- a) the town or village _____
- b) the district _____
- c) the state _____

13. Where do you live now in Ife? Read the list below. Then place an "X" in the one box next to the place where you live.

- a) at the school
- b) in More quarter
- c) in Ilode quarter
- d) in Okerewe quarter
- e) in Irewo quarter
- f) in Ilare quarter
- g) in Sabo quarter
- h) in Modakeke quarter
- i) in Akarabata quarter
- j) in Eleiyele quarter
- k) in the university
- l) other: _____

14. Do you want to complete your secondary schooling? Place an "X" in the one box next to the most appropriate answer.

- a) I definitely want to complete it.
- b) I think I want to complete it.
- c) I am not sure I want to complete it.
- d) I think I do not want to complete it.
- e) I definitely do not want to complete it.

15. Do you realistically think that you will complete your secondary schooling? Place an "X" in the one box next to the most appropriate answer.

- a) I very definitely will complete it.
- b) I probably will complete it.
- c) Perhaps I will complete it.
- d) I probably will not complete it.
- e) I definitely will not complete it.

(Continued)

APPENDIX S (Continued)

16. When you leave your secondary school, what will you do? Place an "X" in the one box next to the most appropriate answer.
- a) I will look for a job.
- b) I will join the army.
- c) I will enter a Grade II Teacher Training College.
- d) I will enter an N.C.E. Teacher Training College.
- e) I will go to H.S.C. (Sixth Form) classes.
- f) I will do something else: (What? _____)
- g) I am not sure what I will do. (If you are not sure, what do you think you will probably do?
_____)
17. What occupation (job) will you have when you are an adult?

18. Will you stay to live and work in Ile-Ife after leaving secondary school? Place an "X" in the one box which is next to the most appropriate answer.
- a) I will definitely remain in Ile-Ife.
- b) I will probably stay in Ile-Ife.
- c) I am not sure if I will stay in Ile-Ife.
- d) I probably will not stay in Ile-Ife.
- e) I definitely will not stay in Ile-Ife.

The next three questions (numbers 19, 20, and 21) require you to choose one of five answers for each place or occupation listed at the left. These choices allow you to express your feelings about the prestige and respect of these places and occupations. For each item listed at the left, choose one of the five boxes at the right which seems most appropriate to you.

(Continued)

APPENDIX S (Continued)

19. Here is a list of the areas of Ile-Ife. Read the list. Then indicate the prestige and respect you feel each of these areas has.

	<u>Very High Prestige</u>	<u>High Prestige</u>	<u>Average Prestige</u>	<u>Low Prestige</u>	<u>Very Low Prestige</u>
a) More	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Ilode	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Okerewe	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Ireemo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Ilare	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Sabo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Modakeke	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) Akarabata	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) Eleiyele	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j) University	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

20. Here is a list of towns. Read the list. Then indicate the prestige and respect which you feel each of these towns has.

	<u>Very High Prestige</u>	<u>High Prestige</u>	<u>Average Prestige</u>	<u>Low Prestige</u>	<u>Very Low Prestige</u>
a) Ijebu-Ode	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Iwo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Lagos	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Ilesha	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Gbongon	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Ibadan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Ile-Ife	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) Oshogbo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) Ede	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j) Abeokuta	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
k) Mushin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
l) Oyo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
m) Ondo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
n) Ikirun	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

(Continued)

APPENDIX S (Continued)

21. Here is a list of some occupations of people in Nigeria. Read the list. Then indicate the prestige and respect which you feel each occupation has.

	Very High Prestige	High Prestige	Average Prestige	Low Prestige	Very Low Prestige
Clergyman	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Barrister/Lawyer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Policeman	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pri. Sch. Teacher	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Small Busin. Assis.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Carpenter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mallam	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Governm. Clerk	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Chief	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Farmer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Author	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Printer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Wood Cutter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Auto. Mechanic	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Imam	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Soldier	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Univ. Lecturer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Petty Trader	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gram. Sch. Teacher	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Polit. Party Wrker.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nurse	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Farm Laborer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sec.Mod.Sch.Teacher	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tailor/Seamstress	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Business/Merchant	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Medical Doctor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Photographer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Goldsmith	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Radio-TV Mechanic	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

APPENDIX T

"Stage Five Teachers' Questionnaire"

Dear Fellow Teacher,

Kindly answer the following questions, according to the instructions which are given. This will not take you very long. Most questions require only a tick or an 'x'.

This information will be helpful in our study of education in Ile-Ife. We want to know about the backgrounds, work, and plans of teachers in the schools of Ile-Ife. Other questions ask your ideas about different occupations and different places. Answer these questions as fully as you can. Please be very honest in your answers. The information will remain confidential, so you should feel free to answer all questions.

This questionnaire should be completed as soon as possible, and returned directly to the Research Assistant who has given it to you. Thank you very much for your cooperation in this study.

D. W. McDowell

Lecturer in Education

University of Ife

9 June 1969

-
1. What is your last name (surname)? _____
 2. What is your age? _____
 3. What is your sex? _____
 4. What is your highest degree (qualification)? _____
 5. What is the name of this school? _____
 6. How many years have you taught here? _____
 7. How many years have you taught (at all schools)? _____
 8. What is your father's occupation (if deceased, his last occupation)? _____
 9. Are you a Nigerian? Yes No (tick one)
 10. Where were you born? _____
 _____ (town)
 _____ (division)
 _____ (state)
- What is your nationality?

 How many years have you
 been in Nigeria?

- Go directly to Q. 24
 (non-Nigerians)
-

Proceed with the next question

11. What primary school did you attend?

<u>Name of schools</u>	<u>Town and Division</u>	<u>Number of Years Attended</u>
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

(Continued)

APPENDIX T (Continued)

12. What secondary schools did you attend?

<u>Name of Schools</u>	<u>Town and Division</u>	<u>Number of Yrs. Attended</u>
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

13. What other schools (HSC, TTCs, etc.) did you attend? What

<u>Name of Schools</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Town and Division</u>	<u>No. Yrs.</u>	<u>Degree</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

14. Did you ever do studies "externally"? Yes No
What subjects? _____

15. Have you ever taken correspondence school courses? _____

16. With what correspondence schools? _____

17. In what years? _____ 18. How much did you pay? _____

19. How would you evaluate such a programme? (total)

- (tick one only at right)
- a) Very good _____
 - b) Good _____
 - c) Average _____
 - d) Not very good _____
 - e) Very poor _____

20. Did you ever attend adult evening classes? Yes No
If "yes," what studies and where? _____

21. In what years (adult evening classes)? _____

22. How much did you pay? (total) _____

23. How would you evaluate such a programme?

- (tick one only at right)
- a) Very good _____
 - b) Good _____
 - c) Average _____
 - d) Not very good _____
 - e) Very poor _____

(Continued)

APPENDIX T (Continued).

24. List the schools where you have taught (include your present one last)

<u>Name of School</u>	<u>Level</u>	<u>Town and Division</u>	<u>Years as Teacher</u>
_____	_____	_____	19__-19__
_____	_____	_____	19__-19__
_____	_____	_____	19__-19__
_____	_____	_____	19__-19__
_____	_____	_____	19__-19__

25. List any other (non-teaching) jobs you have held.

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Town and Division</u>	<u>Years When Employed</u>
_____	_____	19__-19__
_____	_____	19__-19__
_____	_____	19__-19__
_____	_____	19__-19__

26. What do you consider your home town now? _____
and Division: (and State in Non-West) _____

27. Where do you reside in Ile-Ife? (tick one only)

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> a) More | <input type="checkbox"/> g) Modakeke |
| <input type="checkbox"/> b) Ilode | <input type="checkbox"/> h) Akarabata |
| <input type="checkbox"/> c) Okerewe | <input type="checkbox"/> i) Eleiyele |
| <input type="checkbox"/> d) Iremo | <input type="checkbox"/> j) University |
| <input type="checkbox"/> e) Ilare | <input type="checkbox"/> k) Other |
| <input type="checkbox"/> f) Sabo | (if "other," specify: _____) |

28. If you were born in Ile-Ife or Modakeke, tick one of the spaces below which corresponds to the quarter in which your parents were resident.

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> a) not born in Ife | <input type="checkbox"/> f) Sabo |
| <input type="checkbox"/> b) More | <input type="checkbox"/> h) Modakeke |
| <input type="checkbox"/> c) Ilode | <input type="checkbox"/> i) Akarabata |
| <input type="checkbox"/> d) Okerewe | <input type="checkbox"/> j) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> e) Iremo | |

29. Do you plan to remain as a resident in Ile-Ife all your life? (tick one)

- | | |
|--------------------|-------|
| a) Very definitely | _____ |
| b) Probably | _____ |
| c) Perhaps | _____ |
| d) Probably not | _____ |
| e) Definitely not | _____ |

(Continued)

APPENDIX T (Continued)

30. Do you plan to remain a teacher a) Very definitely _____
all your working life (until b) Probably _____
retirement)? (tick one only) c) Perhaps _____
d) Probably not _____
e) Definitely not _____
31. Do you plan to remain at this a) Very definitely _____
school as a teacher for at b) Probably _____
least the next five years? c) Perhaps _____
(tick one) d) Probably not _____
e) Definitely not _____

32. Here is a list of the areas of Ile-Ife. Read the list. Then indicate the prestige and respect which you feel each of these areas has. Place an "X" in the box which best represents this prestige and respect.

	Very High Prestige	High Prestige	Average Prestige	Low Prestige	Very Low Prestige
a) More	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Ilode	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Okerewe	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Ireml	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Ilare	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Sabo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Modakeke	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) Akarabata	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) Eleiyele	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j) University	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

33. Here is a list of towns. Read the list. Then indicate the prestige and respect which you feel each of these towns has. Place an "X" in the box which best represents this prestige and respect.

	Very High Prestige	High Prestige	Average Prestige	Low Prestige	Very Low Prestige
a) Ijebu-Ode	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Iwo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Lagos	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Ilesha	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Gbongon	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Ibadan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Ile-Ife	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) Oshogbo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) Ede	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j) Abeokuta	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
k) Mushin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
l) Oyo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
m) Ondo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
n) Ikirun	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

(Continued)

APPENDIX T (Continued)

34. Here is a list of some occupations people in Nigeria have. Read the list carefully. Then indicate the prestige and respect which you feel each job has. For each job, place an "X" in one of the five boxes to the right which you feel best describes the job.

	Very High Prestige	High Prestige	Average Prestige	Low Prestige	Very Low Prestige
Clergyman	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Barrister/Lawyer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Policeman	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pri.Sch. Teacher	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Small Busin. Assist.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Carpenter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mallam	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Government Clerk	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Chief	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Farmer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Author	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Printer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Wood Cutter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Auto Mechanic	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Imam	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Soldier	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Univ. Lecturer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Petty Trader	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gram.Sch. Teacher	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Polit. Party Wrker.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nurse	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Farm Labourer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sec.Mod.Sch. Teacher	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tailor/Seamstress	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Business/Merchant	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Medical Doctor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Photographer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Goldsmith	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Radio-TV Mechanic	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

APPENDIX U

"Stage Six (Apprenticeship) and Stage Seven
(Business) Interview Schedule"

Interviewer: _____ Code No.: _____
 Date: _____ Time: _____ Bus. Type: _____
 Name of Business: _____ Area Code: _____
 Street: _____ No.: _____ Int. Code: _____
 Between: _____ and _____ DO NOT WRITE HERE
 (Street) (street)

BUSINESS SURVEY INTERVIEW SCHEDULE	Comments
1. What is your name? _____	
2. What is your position? _____	
3. How many people work here? _____	
4. What is the minimum schooling for someone to work here? _____	
5. What is the minimum age for someone to work here? _____	
6. Do you require any special training or qualifications for someone to work here? _____ If "yes," what? _____	
7. Do you give any special training to your new workers or personnel? _____ If "yes," what is it, and how long? _____ Length: _____	
8. How many people worked here last year? (In June, 1968) _____	
9. How many people have left work since then? _____	
10. Where did they go? _____	
11. Why did they leave? _____	
12. Describe the work here. _____ _____ _____	
13. Now we would like to know who is working here and what is their schooling and home town. (Turn over the sheet and fill in)	

Interviewer: Fill in below after the completing the other side.

- | | |
|--|--|
| A. How many minutes did the interview take? _____ | C. What was the reaction of those whom you interviewed?
_____ a) Very cooperative
_____ b) Somewhat cooperative
_____ c) Skeptical
_____ d) Very skeptical
_____ e) Hostile |
| B. Indicate any problems of understanding the questions: _____

_____ | |

(Continued)

APPENDIX V

"Stages Six and Seven Instructions for Field Work"**Introduction:**

The Ife Education Survey is designed to understand more fully the link between the schools and the community of Ife-Ife. The Survey began in early 1968 with (a) a full-scale survey of Ife-Ife, including a mapping of all buildings, roads and major quarters, (b) a survey of all formal schools in the community, (c) interviews with all masters of apprentices in small crafts in the town, and (d) case study collection of various aspects of life in the community. This was the first four stages of the Survey in 1968.

In the past few months, other stages have begun. Stage Five is a survey of schools in 1969 to note turnover in pupils and staff. Stage Six, not yet begun (but planned to begin before now), is to be a second check on apprentices in Ife-Ife. Stage Seven, the current stage, is to be a full-scale (not sampled) survey of personnel in small, medium and large sized businesses. Stage Eight, in which you may participate in a few days, will involve censusing several compounds in Ife-Ife. More about that later.

The Basic Objectives of this Stage:

Stage Seven is to canvass all business which are not craft industries. Excluded, therefore, are mechanics, printers, tailors, seamstresses, goldsmiths, and similar "businesses" which employ apprentices--these have already been surveyed. This will focus on other types. There may well be overlaps, however, as you may well imagine.

The objectives are to find out how many persons are involved in the particular business being visited, what business is being conducted, what is the schooling of the personnel, what are their home towns, as well as other "basic data" such as age, sex, etc. A copy of the interview schedule you will use is attached, for your reference now.

Two important aspects of this Stage are the importance of the selection of the business to be visited, and the importance of the procedure of interviewing. These are discussed now.

The Selection of the Businesses:

You will be assigned a particular street. Along one side of this street, you will walk, selecting all businesses employing people, doing a service, or selling a product. Small stalls and shops are to be included, if it appears that more than two people work there, and if it does not appear to train apprentices (see the list of these businesses which Mr. McDowell has). The manager or owner or head clerk is to be approached and told about the objectives of this survey of education. Do not stress a survey of business; stress a survey of education. "We would like to know more about the

(Continued)

APPENDIX V (Continued)

schools and what people do after they leave school" is to be the basic introduction. State that you are from the University of Ife, and would like their cooperation "for a few moments only." Tell the person that all businesses are being included throughout Ile-Ife.

You do not have to ask to see the manager or owner. Simply speak to the "man in charge" or the "person on seat." This could be only a clerk, if he appears to be the person in charge of the business at the moment.

If the person does not wish to cooperate, try persuasion, stress the simplicity of the questions, and the short time which will be needed. If you are asked to return, state that that will not be possible, since you have many other businesses to visit--and that you hope they can be included. If necessary, you might return a few minutes later, but certainly not a few hours or days later.

The Procedure of Interviewing and Filling in the Schedule:

You are to fill in the schedule. It is not to be given to the interviewee to complete.

Fill in the top lines (top left section only) before the interview. Fill in the bottom few questions after the interview. The middle section is to be done during the interview.

Ask all questions. Put some answer for each question. If the answer is none, write "none." If the answer is "I don't know," write that. If he refuses to answer, write "refuses to answer." Don't use ticks; use words.

If you have any observations or personal comments, place them in the column at the right--that is for you. If you doubt a certain response, write "I doubt this."

In other words, be exact.

On particular questions:

Q. 2. "position" means title or type of responsibility. for example, "clerk," "sales manager," "owner," ...

Q. 3. This number to include labourers, typists, secretaries, etc.

Q. 6. Special training might be "Trade School Certificate" or apprenticeship certificate, etc.

Q. 7. Special training might include here "informal instruction" or special training within the company elsewhere if it is a big business. Don't forget length of training (months, years, ...)

Q. 8. Estimated number is OK, if you indicate it is an estimate.

Q. 9. Same comment as for Q. 8.

Q. 10. To what town or towns (if several left, try to get the information for all those who left)

Q. 11. This might include "army," "another job," "transfer," or "don't know."

Q. 12. Be brief.

(Continued)

APPENDIX V (Continued)

Q. 13. Read this to the interviewee, and turn the page. Second page (back). Fill in as much as possible.

After completing the back page, you fill in the bottom of page one.

Don't forget to thank the person for his cooperation.

More information will be provided during the instruction periods.

DWM/20.6.69

APPENDIX W

"Stages Six and Seven Response Sheet"

Research Assistant: _____ Date: _____

Your Assignment:

Places Visited Where No Interview Was Conducted:

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

7.

8.

9.

10.

11.

12.

13.

14.

15.

APPENDIX X

"Stages Six and Seven Letter of Introduction for R.A.s"

To Whom it May Concern,

23 June 1969

The bearer of this letter, _____, is a student of the University of Ife, Ile-Ife, and is participating on this survey of education in Ile-Ife.

The survey of education in Ile-Ife has included visits to all schools in Ile-Ife. We are now interested in learning what happens to people after they leave school--in other words, where they are and what they are doing.

I hope that you will give this special assistant your cooperation and a few minutes of your time, to answer some questions we have for you.

The Oni of Ife, Sir Aderemi, has been told of this survey of education and has given it his approval.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Sincerely Yours,

(signed)

David W. McDowell
Lecturer in Education
and Director of the Survey

Interviewer: _____
 Area: _____ Sheet: _____
 Address: _____
 (No.) (Street)

STAGE VIII 'b'
 Date: _____

Code No.: _____
 Area Code: _____
 Int. Code: _____
 DO NOT WRITE HERE

CENSUS DATA SHEET--COMPOUND CENSUS STAGE VIII 'b'

1. Name of Compound Area: _____ 2. Person being interviewed: _____

3. Name of occupant _____

4. Year born	5. Sex	19	Male <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Female <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	19	Male <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Female <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	19	Male <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Fem. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
6. Father's name											
7. Mother's name											
8. What town born (If lfe, quarter)											
9. Occupation now											
10. Married?		Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
11. No. of children											
12. Highest schooling		Prim		Sec.		Oth		Prim		Sec	
13. What school		Pri		Sec		Oth		Pri		Sec	
14. School town		Pri		Sec		Oth		Pri		Sec	
15. Comments											
Code Number (Don't fill)											

"Stage Eight (Census) 'b' (Households) Interview Schedule"

APPENDIX Y

APPENDIX Z

"Stage Eight "b" Instructions for Field Work"Introduction:

Sub-Stage 'b' of Stage VIII is designed to determine who is resident in the particular area chosen. It is done simultaneously with Sub-Stage 'c' which determines who are the sons and daughters of those resident and what they are doing.

This part of Stage VIII is to determine the number of people living in a given area, demographic data on each of those resident, and information on the educational attainment.

The Area to be Surveyed:

The area to be surveyed in each case (several areas will be done) is coterminous (the same) with that of Sub-Stage 'c'. Consult the instruction sheet for that part for further info.

Who is to be Interviewed:

Ideally, the head of each compound (either the eldest, the chief, or the owner of the house) should be interviewed. However, anyone who can validly supply the information might be consulted--either male or female, young or old. Your contacts in Sub-Stage 'c' will probably find the right person.

The Introduction:

As in the other work, you introduce yourself as a student of the University of Ife, doing a study of education. You should stress that you are interested in who is living in the houses ('ile') or compound, whether a member of the family or a stranger. All people living ('sleeping') at this house or compound are to be included. It is not necessary to interview all the people--it is only necessary to get the information on all of them.

Completing the Schedule:

You will fill in the schedule. Fill in the top portion: your name, the area (for example, Ilode), the address, the date. Then fill in the blanks and boxes, as in Sub-Stage 'c'.

On particular questions:

- Q. 1. Name the 'ile' (for example, Wasin Compound)
- Q. 2. Name of the person being interviewed.
- Q. 3. Name of resident (even if part-time, such as a farmer).
- Q. 4, 5, 6, 7. As complete as possible. Indicate no responses, "don't know's," etc.
- Q. 8. In what town was the resident born? If in Ile-Ife, indicate the quarter (More, Ilode, Ilare, Irewo, Okerewe, Modakeke).

(Continued)

APPENDIX Z (Continued)

Q. 9. As complete as possible (e.g., cocoa farmer, tailor).

Q. 10,11. As in Sub-Stage 'c'.

Q. 12-14. As in Sub-Stage 'c'.

Q. 15. Either comments by the 'informant' or notes by you.**

Do not fill in the spaces for the code numbers.

More information during our discussion periods.

DWM/30.6.69

** If the person is a 'stranger,'st put that information in the comments space. A stranger is not a member of the family which owns the house and lives in it as a family.

Interviewer: _____
 Area: _____ Sheet: _____
 Address: _____

Code No.: _____
 Area Code: 2
 DO NOT WRITE HERE

Date: _____

CENSUS DATA SHEET--SONS AND DAUGHTERS--STAGE VIII 'c'

Father's Name: _____ No. of children: _____

1. Year born	2. Sex	19	Male	Female	19	Male	Female	19	Male	Female
3. Mother's name										
4. Name of child										
5. What town born										
6. Alive?	7. What yr. died?	Yes	No	19	Yes	No	19	Yes	No	19
8. Where live now?										
9. When left here?		19			19			19		
10. Why remain here/ Why left here?										
11. Highest schooling		Pri			Pri			Pri		
		Sec			Sec			Sec		
		Oth			Oth			Oth		
12. What school?		Pri			Pri			Pri		
		Sec			Sec			Sec		
		Oth			Oth			Oth		
13. School town?		Pri			Pri			Pri		
		Sec			Sec			Sec		
		Oth			Oth			Oth		
14. Occupation now										
15. Married?	16. No. childrn	Yes	No		Yes	No		Yes	No	
Code No. (Don't fill in)										

"Stage Eight 'c' (Sons and Daughters) Interview Schedule"

APPENDIX AA

APPENDIX BB

"Stage Eight 'c' Instructions for Field Work"Introduction:

This stage of the Life Education Survey is designed to obtain data on demographic and other factors in families residing in particular areas of Ile-Ife, particularly of the sons and daughters of those now resident. Stage VIII 'c' in general is that phase of the Survey concerned with collecting information about the people resident and working in the community. Stage VIII 'a' concerns basic information about the area being sampled. Stage VIII 'b' is designed to determine who is resident in the particular area. This Stage VIII 'c' is about the sons and daughters of those now resident--whether or not the sons and daughters are themselves resident.

Thus this Stage VIII 'c' is designed to determine who was born here, and what happened to them. Particularly, we are interested in determining whether or not these sons and daughters are still resident in Ile-Ife and why; and if they are not, then where did they go and why. Questions are asked about the educational background of these sons and daughters.

The Area to be Surveyed:

Several areas of Ile-Ife have been chosen for study. Except in the relatively 'non-traditional' areas where most of the inhabitants are expected to be immigrants (born outside Ile-Ife and Modakeke), the Research Director has contacted the chiefs and Bales and obtained their permission for this survey. There has been enthusiastic response and cooperation has been promised. There still may be some individual resistance, however, which is expected in all research of this type.

You will be taken to a particular area. In some cases, the Director will introduce you to the traditional heads of the compounds or quarters. You will be assigned a particular area, geographically defined and indicated on your map.

Initial Contact and Your Introduction:

You will be expected to interview all males who are old enough to be fathers and who are fathers. Thus, you are to contact all potential fathers, and to interview all fathers (including grandfathers, of course). Your initial contact will probably lead you to the appropriate persons.

These men are to be only those resident in the defined geographic area.

You should introduce yourself as a student of the University of Ife doing a study of education. You should stress that this is a study of education--what education people have and what they do after they complete their education, and that the study is designed to understand better what our schools are doing in order to make improvements in them.

(Continued)

APPENDIX BB (Continued)

Women may be useful sources of information in the process of the interviews, and the men being interviewed may call upon them. This is perfectly acceptable. The focus is on the fathers, however, since some men may have children by several wives. Thus reaching the men reaches all the children (theoretically).

Many men of the area will not be available for interview--they may be working, travelling, visiting, etc. You will be returning to this area for several days. As many of the men resident here as possible should be interviewed in the time available.

The Procedure of Interviewing and Completing the Schedule:

You are to fill in the schedule. You are not to give it to the person being interviewed.

Fill in the top left portion: your name, the area, the address of the house visited, the date. Then fill in the name of the father and the number of children he has had--both those living now and those who have died (the total).

If possible, ask questions in Yoruba, using the terminology we have agreed upon during your orientation session.

Each column represents one son or daughter. Thus six spaces are available for one sheet (back and forth). Use a new sheet for each father being interviewed. If there are more than six children, use a second (and third, if necessary) sheet; indicate that the second is a second at the top.

If any problems emerge, write this down in your notebook and inform the Director.

On particular questions:

Q. 1 and 2: Indicate the year of birth in numerals. If "approximate" date is stated, indicate this. Then X the box corresponding to the sex of the child.

Q. 3. Be as full as possible. Several names, if possible.

Q. 4. Be as full as possible. Full name if possible.

Q. 5. If the town is Ile-Ife, indicate the quarter or major area (Particularly, Ilode, Ilare, Okerewe, Irewo, More, Modakeke).

Q. 6 and 7. If 'yes,' ignore Q. 7. If 'no,' indicate year with a numeral. Indicate if date is approximate. If 'no,' stop here.

Q. 8. If living now in Ile-Ife, indicate where precisely, as in Q. 5.

Q. 9. Numerals.

Q. 10. Choose which question is appropriate, depending on the answer to Q. 8. If another area of Ife, use "Why left here."

Q. 11. Use numerals, indicating class or form. If sec. mod., indicate this. If TTC, indicate this. If craft or trade, indicate this.

Q. 12. Name of school as fully as possible.

Q. 12 and 13. Fill in primary, even if higher schooling.

(Continued)

APPENDIX BB (Continued)

Q. 14 and 15 and 16. - Be as complete as possible.
Don't fill in 'code' at bottom.

More information available during instruction period.

DWM/29.6.69

APPENDIX CC

"Stage Eight Response Sheet"

(Fill in this sheet after each day's assignment)

Sub-Stage: _____

VIII-Census

RESPONSE SHEET FOR RESEARCH ASSISTANTS

1. Name: _____ 2. Date: _____

3. Area: _____ 4. No. of Hours Worked: _____

5. What was the general reactions of those whom you met and interviewed today?
- a) Very cooperative _____
 - b) Somewhat cooperative _____
 - c) Skeptical _____
 - d) Very Skeptical _____
 - e) Hostile _____

6. Could you assume the validity (truthfulness) of answers to your questions?
- a) Always _____
 - b) Most of the time _____
 - c) Difficult to know _____
 - d) Sometimes _____
 - e) Never _____

7. With regard to Q.6 above, what answers do you doubt are valid?

8. Additional comments, reports, statements of problems encountered, etc. (Use the back if necessary)

APPENDIX DD.

"The Rationale for Excluding the University of Ife
from the Survey of Education in Ife"

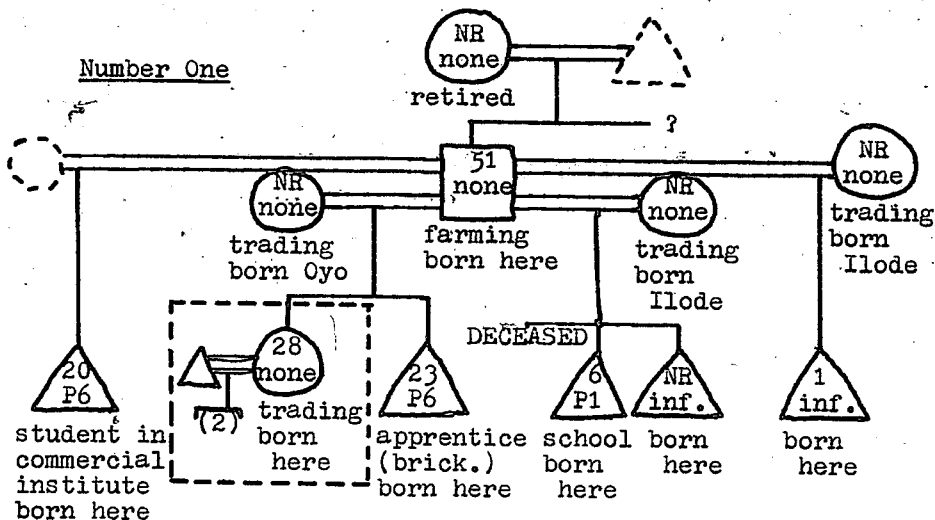
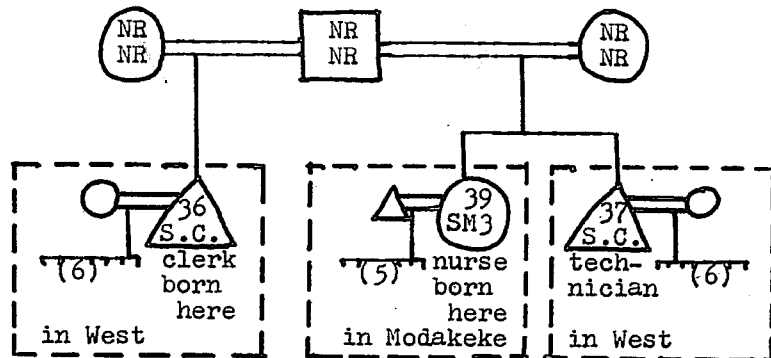
Realistically, the University was not excluded from attention. There were several points of contact between the University and the community which required attention. These included the University's Ori Olukon Cultural Centre, the evening classes of the University's Department of Adult Education, the many laborers working at the construction sites at the University and residing in the town, and the several junior staff and subordinate staff who reside in the town.

University's staff school was not included in the survey of formal schools, since almost all of its approximately 250 students were sons and daughters of senior staff of the University. The University programs were not surveyed, even though there were approximately 1,200 students enrolled; all but approximately 150 students resided on the University compound.

The University, therefore, was a fairly self-contained community. It was situated several miles from the edge of the residential and occupational space of Ife. Since the physical separation was reinforced by a social separation, there was sufficient reason for confining primary attention to the community. Perhaps a future study might be made of the linkages--and social separation of the two areas.

APPENDIX EE

"Two Sample Family Systems in Ilode Quarter (Traditional Life)"

Number TwoKEY

Ego (males) □

Males △

Females ○

Deceased △ or ○

No Response = NR

Marriage =

Residence away [dashed box]

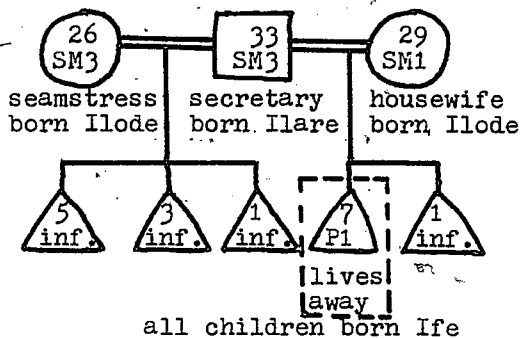
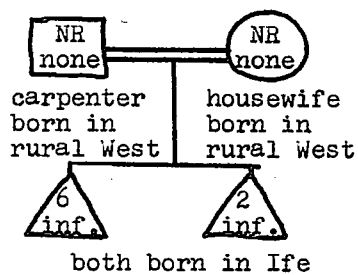
Age — XX

Formal schooling — XX

Occupation, birth place — XX

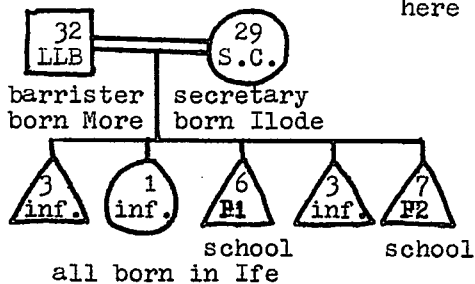
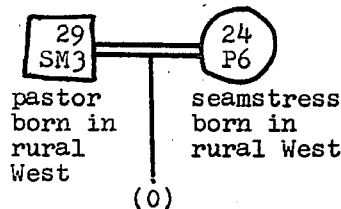
APPENDIX FF

"Four Sample Family Groups in Akarabata (New Layout)"

Number OneNumber Two

NR
P3

student
born in
rural West,
lives with
relatives
here

Number ThreeNumber FourKEY

(Same as in Appendix EE)

74

819

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