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DISSERTATION

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University of Kentucky

1972

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN NIGERIA

IN MODERNIZING ATTITUDES AND VALUES

CONDUCIVE TO NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

DISSERTATION

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Kentucky

By

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Lexington, Kentucky

1972

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

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

The drive for modernity has now become the pas-

sionate preoccupation of developing nations around the

world of which Nigeria is no exception. "The belief

has spread that poverty and weakness are not tolerable

facts of life but intolerable liabilities, and that

through conscious effort man can realize more fully than

ever before his own potentialities and those of his

environment."[1]

The efforts of the emerging nations to bring about

social, economic and political modernization is usually

threatened by traditional forms of organization and be-

haviour, including traditional attitudes, beliefs, and

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[1] David B. Abernethy, The Political Dilemma of
Popular Education. (Stanford: Stanford University
Press, 1969), p. 3.

values towards people and things. Social and economic development aimed at modernization implies change in traditional attitudes, values and practices. "The school is one of the few institutions available for changing such popular traditional attitudes, values, and practices, and it deals explicitly with young people, who are presumably more flexible in outlook than their elders and from whose ranks future national leadership will emerge."[1] Developing societies all over the world are putting their faith in modern education and viewing it, in the words of James Coleman, "as the master determinant of change."[2]

The purpose of this study is to examine the relation between formal education and the modernization of traditional attitudes and values in contemporary Nigeria; knowledge upon which far-reaching educational policy decisions could be based.

This study emanates from the general assumption that the efforts of the developing countries to bring about social, economic, and political modernization also involves the modernization of traditional attitudes and values, and that education, one of the universals in the development of individuals and nations, has a pivotal role

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[1]Ibid., p. 9.

[2]James S. Coleman, (ed.), Education and Political Development (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 3.

to play in this task. Understanding the developmental
role of education is not an optional matter; it is
required if education is to achieve its great expec-
tations.

Several more specific assumptions underlie this
study. First, it is assumed that formal education is
a precondition of modernization, however undesirable
some of its characteristics may be. The second as-
sumption is that the kind of education employed in a
society has much bearing on the degree of modernization
of the society. The third assumption is that the
schools could help quicken the pace of modernization in
Nigeria if meaningful educational programmes and teach-
ing roles responsive to the needs of the society were
judiciously employed. Actually these assumptions receive
some verification in this study both in the literature
which the writer explored and in the results of the trial
survey.

During the 1961 Addis Ababa Conference of African
States on the Development of Education in Africa, there
was a unanimous agreement by the delegates that African
States should "make necessary changes in traditional at-
titudes and should also achieve, in their curricula, a
synthesis of their own values, as well as of the require-
ments of economic and technological development."[1]

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[1]UNESCO. Final report. Addis Ababa: Conference of

Such an education will not discard the heritage of the
past; rather it will draw virility from the strengths
that existed in its heritage, but demand that the very
strengths of this heritage meet the terms of new times.

In essence, then, the national purpose for educa-
tion in Nigeria is, as Professor John Hanson points out,
"to equip people to participate in, and contribute to,
the modernization process in Nigeria -- the process of
creating a style of life that will bear the imprints
of traditional strengths even as it adapts new stra-
tagems and technologies to its corporate life."[1]

The Federation of Nigeria, with a population of over
60 million people, is predominantly rural and is plagued
with traditionalism in many facets of its social and
economic life. Even its educational systems is flawed
with many traditions which often militate against modern-
ization.

Modernization of the Nigerian economy is inescapably
bound up with science and technology; science and tech-
nology have become part of the world's culture. If
Nigeria is to be truly a part of this world culture, the
masses in Nigeria must be helped to adjust their lives to
the new age of science and technology. This calls for a

African States on the Development of Education in Africa,
1961. p. 39.

10. Ikejiani, et al., Nigerian Education (Ikeja:
Longmans of Nigeria Ltd., 1964), p. 39.

change in attitudes; but it is easier to build dams,
roads, factories, power stations, and multimillion dollar
hotels than to change the social and economic attitudes of
the would-be users.

Some attitudes of the young toward some important
aspects of life and work (the realm of values and beliefs)
have left much to be desired in the light of modernization.
There are low levels of work discipline and punctuality.
A large sector of the population is superstitious,[1] unmo-
tivated, unadaptable, too much family-oriented[2] (including
veneration of elders), and is past-oriented as opposed to
present-future orientation. There are some native laws
and customs in terms of marriages, birth and inheritance,
and religious and social attitudes toward life and work
that militate against modernization.[3] In addition to
these, there is a tendency to show greater respect for
erudition than for practical knowledge and also a tendency
to respect the symbol of success rather than actual com-
petence. Most of these attitudes and values are home-
brewed while some seem to have been distilled overseas and
consciously or unconsciously encouraged in Nigeria through
the British colonial policy. The seriousness of these un-

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[1] Babs Fafunwa, New Perspectives in African Education
(Lagos: Macmillan & Co., (Nigeria) Ltd., 1967), p. 34.

[2] Ibid., p. 49.

[3] Ibid., p. 50.

desirable attitudes is shown in the following statements
by some leading Nigerian educators and politicians who
express much concern over the functional aspect of
Nigerian education. Professor Uduaroh Okeke, writing
on education for efficiency, states that

> We [Nigerians] have imprisoned the minds of
> our youth instead of releasing them to invent,
> discover, build and produce. Our education
> has been barren. . . .

> The cult of the certificate has impeded good
> education in our country. Many a school boy
> or girl associates education with the possession
> of a certificate as an end product of education.
> They memorize in order to pass the required
> examination set and marked by experts in a
> foreign curriculum; but when they forget what
> they have learned, as all of us do in the
> course of years, they remain perpetual il-
> literates in spite of the certificates which
> they flash before employers at interviews.[1]

Hon. O. Ikejiani, a leading Nigerian politican,
was apprehensive of the ascendacy of grammar schools over
any other kind of education in Nigeria. He agrees with
many other Nigerians that to push a pen behind an office
desk is the dream of an educated Nigerian, and that any-
thing less is held to be derogatory and below his dignity.
He thinks that the whole attitude of the nation toward
work has some bearing on the British colonial policy in
Nigeria. Ikejiani states:

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[1]O. Ikejiani, et al., Nigerian Education (Ikeja:
Longmans of Nigeria Ltd., 1964), p. 97.

Here is where example speaks louder than pre-
cepts. The Nigerian clerk tries to imitate
his European boss who works with him in the
office. He has never seen him dirty his hands
and why should he dirty his own? So Nigerians
learnt and believed that it is more respectable
to go to grammar schools. The grammarians
snub others not of their type. The whole at-
titude of the nation toward labour derives
from this gentleman's education of the ad-
ministrative elite destined, under the British
education system, to be the repository of
ideas that keep the nation going.[1]

Professor Okeke contends that if Nigerians hope to
free themselves from the educational fetters imposed by
their colonial past, "we must disabuse our minds of many
notions:

a. that the end-product of education is the
    possession of a degree or certificate;

b. that the road travelled in education by
    the British must _ipso facto_ be travelled
    by Nigerians;

c. that if we examine our students inter-
    nally standards will fall;

d. that government is the job provider for
    all who went to school."[2]

And when Nnamdi Azikiwe, the former Governor General
of Nigeria and Chancellor of the University of Nigeria
opened the new University (an institution operated on the
lines of an American land grant college, with its emphasis
on vocational training) he said;

---

[1]_Ibid._, p. 8.

[2]_Ibid._, p. 107.

> We cannot afford to continue to produce. . .
> an upper class of parasites who shall prey
> upon a stagnant and sterile class of workers
> and peasants. . . We must frankly admit that
> we can no longer afford to flood only the
> white collar jobs at the expense of the basic
> occupations and productive vocations. . . .
> particularly in the fields of agriculture,
> engineering, business administration, edu-
> cation and domestic science.[1]

"It seems ironical," wrote one leading Nigerian educator, "that the Nigerian community is approaching the point at which every child allowed to proceed to secondary school becomes a liability, not only in his unproductiveness, but also in his demand from society for a place he does not merit."[2]

For more than a century now Nigeria has faithfully copied Western education with all its flaws and obvious inconveniences. Whenever Nigeria has had the opportunity to revise the system, it has almost always opted for a so-called liberal education after the grand old English tradition to make sure that it was not receiving anything inferior to what the typical English public school gives to its youths. As a result, Nigeria has built up a system that is now top-heavy administratively and has taken the Nigerians almost completely away from their environment.

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[1] Inaugural address as chancellor, quoted in University of Nigeria, Prospectus, 1962-63, p. 7.

[2] U. Okeke, Educational Reconstruction in an Independent Nigeria, (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, New York University, 1955).

Education is a social function through which the Nigerian society can renew itself. If used judiciously, it could help chasten vice and guide virtue. It must be invested with its role as galvanizer of Nigerian values. In modern societies, formal education provides the most important single means of developing people.[1] A good formal education can also act as a single important means of altering the traditional outlook of the people of Nigeria. The most important function of education with regards to social change may be precisely one of "detachment" from the traditional environment.

Nigerian leaders are wrestling with the problems of poverty, disease and ignorance. That this process is slow is partly due to the fact that they are attempting to solve their problems by relying on an old and unsuitable type of education. But, to borrow an apt phrase, "You cannot use yesterday's tools for today's job and expect to be in business tomorrow." There is no greater force for social and economic advancement than a good functional educational programme applied with skill and insight. Modern attitudes to life and work have to be

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[1]F.F. Hill, "Education: Key Issues for Policy Makers," in Gove Hambridge (ed.), Dynamics of Development: An International Development Reader, (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1964), p. 232.

built into the personality of the Nigerian youths through formal education.

Productivity, the measure of efficiency with which a nation's resources are transformed into commodities and services, is not simply a function of the raw materials, physical capital and equipment available and in use. Productivity also depends heavily on the attitudes, values, and skills of the people, which in turn reflect the education, training and complex organizations which modern technology requires.

Some attempts have been made toward modernization of certain attitudes and values held by rural Nigerians but with limited success, and the process seems tortoise slow. This limited success seems to stem partly from failure to make the changes meaningful and relative to the heart of the problem. If such changes were made more functional and less theoretical by ensuring transfer of the desirable attitudes and values imparted by the school to after-school life, the modernization process would, hopefully, be expedited. Current literature on change in Nigerian education has indicated that change in rural school programmes is often based on conventional assumptions applicable to highly developed countries with almost entirely different social and economic fabric.

School education in rural Nigeria, with all its

shortcomings, is looked at by the Nigerian youths and their parents as the chief means of advancement on the social and political ladder, and of emancipating them from the drugery of subsistence production and the restrictions of the traditional way of life.

Many youths, with a few years of primary schooling, have fled the land and poured into the cities without preparation for useful service there. Most of these young people could be gainfully employed in the production of food to satisfy the rural needs and to provide a surplus. There is a need for the rural Nigerians to overcome the prejudices in favour of a literary type of learning and direct their energies toward the creation of a more functional system in which instruction is characterized by beginnings rather than endings.

No independent value attached to education is considered to be valid if it conflicts with the value of education as an instrument of development.

The term "attitudes" used in this study refers to the stand the individual upholds and cherishes about objects, issues, persons, groups or institutions. The referents of a person's attitudes may be "a way of life"; economic, political, or religious institutions; family, school; or government.[1]

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[1] Carolyn Sherif, et al., Attitude and Attitude Change (Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders Co., 1965), p. 4.

For the purpose of this study, the twin concepts "attitudes" and "values" will be lumped together. In sociological as well as educational literature on development, these two terms are frequently used without being explicitly distinguished from each other.

"Traditional" refers to the characteristics of the native society or state that existed before modernizing influences began to transform it. Because the process of modernization has become discernable in most areas only in recent decades, "traditional" usually means "what many living persons remember or were told of the former way of life; in some cases, the traditional culture still survives with great strength."[1]

This study is exploratory in form and it draws heavily on studies centered around education and modernization; chief among them are those of Gerald Hursh and associates' work in Nigeria,[2] Joseph Kahl's work in Brazil and Mexico,[3] Havighurst and Gouveia's work in Brazil,[4] Philip Foster's work in Ghana,[5] and Andreas

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[1]Bengt Stymne, Values and Processes in Traditional Societies (Siar: Studentlitteratur, 1970), p. 22.

[2]Gerald D. Hursh, et al., Innovation in Eastern Nigeria: Success and Failure of Agricultural Programs in 71 Villages of Eastern Nigeria. (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1968).

[3]Joseph A. Kahl, The Measurement of Modernization: A Study of Values in Brazil and Mexico (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968).

[4]Robert J. Havighurst, et al., Brazilian Secondary

[5]Philip Foster, Education and Social Change in Ghana

Kazamias' work in Turkey.[1] These and other related
researches will provide valuable insight for the study.

Hursh's work in Nigeria indicates that the success
villages in the agricultural programmes carried out had
a significantly higher level of education than the
failure villages. So, education is believed to have a
major role to play in the modernization process.

Kahl's work in Brazil and Mexico indicates a number
of attitudinal problems in the two countries that are also
common to Nigeria, and the role of education in tackling
them. The same is true of Havighurst's, Foster's, and
Kazamias' works in Brazil, Ghana, and Turkey respectively.
Much of the work of these men could be gainfully appli-
cable or adaptable to Nigeria.

In addition to drawing from the above mentioned works,
much has been drawn from experimental new programmes in
the field of comparative and development education in
such places as India, Pakistan, Malaysia, and Thailand.

This study is presented as the first phase of a con-
tinuing research programme which the author intends to pur-
sue upon his return to Nigeria. The first stage of the
study is to state the problem and indicate how it is to be

Education and Socio-Economic Development. (New York:
Praeger Publishers, 1969).

(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965).

[1]Andreas Kazamias, Education and the Quest for Mod-
ernity in Turkey (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1966).

approached; this is the purpose of Chapter One. The
next stage is to review the background, resources and
problems of Nigeria today as the context in which the
role of education will be examined. This is accomplished
in Chapter Two. The third task is that of examining the
role of attitudes and values in development and review-
ing the literature from research on traditional and mod-
ern societies and the process of modernization; Chapter
Three reports the results of this study. Chapter Four
discusses the role of education in development, drawing
extensively on literature in this field and the experi-
ence of many developing countries. The fifth stage is to
study the educational situation in Nigeria, pre-inde-
pendence and post-independence, analyzing its relationship
to development and the modernization of attitudes and
values. The results of this review are contained in
Chapter Five. The sixth stage is to develop an instru-
ment to assess modernization of attitudes and values, to
try-out that instrument with Nigerian students on a limited
basis, and to analyze the results of the try-out. This
stage is reported in Chapter Six. The final task, pre-
sented in Chapter Seven, is to project the ways in which
this exploratory study will be carried forward in Nigeria,
making use of the experience of this exploration and going
considerably beyond it.

CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEMS, LAND, PEOPLE AND BACKGROUND

Possibly the most powerful force behind the
African revolution. . . is the African's compul-
sion to prove both to himself and to all other
men that he is their equal -- a man of dignity
worthy of their respect. . . So long as a sense
of equality and dignity depend upon a demonstra-
tion of a capacity for development and moderni-
zation, political independence may render a man
free, but he will not perceive himself, or more
importantly, will not believe that others per-
ceive him as their equal so long as his country
is characterized by ignorance, poverty and
disease. . . Thus, modernization is one important
aspect of nation building. To be free, one's
country must be independent; to be equal one's
independent country must be modern.

F. Burke

"Of all the social forces shaping a new Africa,"
writes W. Stanley Rycroft, "discerning Africans seem to
agree that education is the most important, because it is
the basic factor in vital economic and social development.
It might well be considered also as determining the
degree of success in self-government of many new inde-
pendent countries."[1]

Thus Africans, both educated and uneducated, look
with eagerness and expectation to a much more widespread
educational system as the basis of their hopes and the

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[1] W. Stanley Rycroft and Myrtle M. Clemmer, A Fac-
tual Study of Sub-Saharan Africa. New York: Commission
on Ecumenical Mission and Relations, 1962, p. 66.

key to future development. Education is the very core
of any development in Africa. . .[1]

To most Africans education is the most revolutionary
part of a revolutionary age. It represents a flying
leap from the tenth to the twentieth century.[2]

Even a much older, more established country such
as Ethiopia is excited about the possibility of improv-
ing and enlarging its educational programme. In a dra-
matic gesture Emperor Haile Selassie turned over the
royal palace to the newly-established University (named
after him) in Addis Ababa in 1959, agreed to serve as
its first Chancellor and to teach a course in Ethiopian
history and government.

This craving for education is felt principally
among the boys and girls themselves. One principal of a
school explained that truancy was never a problem and
that the word did not exist in the local vernacular.

> A sick headache, a slight cold, helping
> mother out at home, so familiar as excuses for
> dodging a day's school in some more sophisti-
> cated countries simply do not exist.
>
> A French-Canadian teacher in a little village
> 120 miles from Leopoldville (Kinshasa) said,
> "This craving for knowledge is almost unbe-
> lievable by some Western standards."[3]

---

[1]Richard Greenough, Africa Calls. UNESCO, 1961, p. 12.

[2]Norman Cousins, Editorial, "A Kingdom for Edu-
cation" in Saturday Review, January 20, 1962, p. 28.

[3]Greenough, Op. cit., p. 17.

Perhaps the most dramatic event, of tremendous significance for the development of education in Africa, was the Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa, convened by UNESCO in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia from May 15 to 25, 1961. Commenting on the Conference, Richard Greenough said, "Never before has there been such a meeting of minds from many countries, all expert in their separate educational fields and all determined to try and reach some constructive answers to Africa's problems. What's more, they did."[1]

During the Conference emphasis was laid on the need to orient education more and more to the cultural and social needs of Africa. There was a unanimous agreement by the delegates that African states should make necessary changes in traditional attitudes and should also achieve, in their curricula, a synthesis of their own values as well as of the requirements of economic and technological development.[2] Such an education will not discard the heritage of the past: rather it will draw virility from the strengths that existed in its heritage, but demand that the very strengths of this heritage meet the terms of the new times.

Wherever a community school exists in the world it is usually devoted to the improvement of the quality of

[1]Greenough, Op. cit., p. 13.

[2]Final Report, Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa, UNESCO, 1961, p. 8.

living of the people.[1] The curriculum of such a school reflects the problems of living of the people. Studies of the needs of the people for better living are constantly being made, and educational programmes for both the young and the mature adults are organized to bring increasing understanding of community problems and efforts to help in the solution of such problems.

The problems of rural communities are connected with securing food, clothing, and shelter. There is a need for better health and sanitation, and a need for improvement of the roles which citizens have to play in a society where the members work together to achieve a government responsive to the will of the people.[2] Without some fluency and freedom in the use of a common language, people are unable to share ideas and make intelligent decisions regarding their own welfare. Without the ability to read and write, the people are not capable of profiting from the experiences of those in other regions who may have found ways of solving life's problems. Nor are they able to record for posterity the results of their own experimentation.

The Federation of Nigeria is predominantly rural and is plagued with the above mentioned problems to-

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[1]Clifford P. Archer, et al., Improvement of Rural Life, (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1960), p. 1.

[2]Ibid., p. 1.

gether with traditionalism in many facets of its social
and economic life. Even its educational system is flawed
with many traditions which often militate against moderni-
zation.

Philosophy, indeed, is a guide to action. Nigerians
must see clearly the road to their destiny before they
are able to train boys and girls to fulfill their destiny.
In their quest for education, for what is real, education
for use, education applied to the solution of their prob-
lems of living in African society, they must surely answer
the questions: What is a good education? What is the
national purpose of education in Nigeria?

In the words of P. Uduaroh Okeke, "A good education
must be dynamic: it must be rooted in the society it
purports to serve, and provide, as conditions require,
for the orderly progress of that society."[1]

No independent value attached to education is con-
sidered to be valid if it conflicts with the value of
education as an instrument of development.[2] "From a
development point of view," writes Gunnar Myrdal, "the
purpose of education must be to rationalize attitudes
as well as to impart knowledge and skills.[3]

In essence, then, the national purpose for education
in Nigeria is, as Professor John Hanson points out,

[1]Okechukwu Ikejiani, ed. Nigerian Education (Ikeja:
Longmans of Nigeria Ltd., 1964), p. 97.
[2]Gunnar Myrdal, Asian Drama, Vol. 3, (New York:
Twentieth Century Fund, 1968), p. 1621.
[3]Ibid., p. 1621.

"to equip people to participate in, and contribute to, the modernization process in Nigeria -- the process of creating a style of life that will bear the imprints of traditional strengths even as it adapts new stratagems and technologies to its corporate life."[1]

Although it is true that education must serve national purposes, it must always be remembered that in a democracy the nation is ultimately designed to serve the individual, not the reverse. It is never only the nation's political, social and economic development that is sought; it is also an improved quality of individual social participation, economic betterment, and political contribution. Democracy rests its case on its ability to harmonize the freedom and well-being of the society.[2] The aim is to produce a nation that will be both modern and free. It is only within this framework that education for economic growth, education for civic and political development, and education for social and personal integrity have democratic meaning.

In one of the most signficant twentieth-century volumes on ethics a noted philosopher at Harvard University caught the spirit of this forward thrust of democratic education when he commented:

> Through education men acquire the civilization of the past, and are enabled both to take part in the civilization of the future... Because the future is only partially and un-

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[1] Ikejiani, op. cit., p. 21.

[2] Ibid., p. 22.

certainly predictable, and because human
faculties are inventive and resourceful,
education for the future implies education
for a future which is of man's own making.
This has been held to be the essentially
. . . democratic idea of education.[1]

Investment in Education, the report of the Ashby

Commission on Post-School Certificate and Higher Edu-

cation in Nigeria, has early and deservedly earned a

place in the history of educational planning. Much

tribute has been paid to this report on the soundness

of its basic orientation. It is an orientation toward

the future: an orientation toward the type of Nigeria

one might envisage with the passing of two decades. The

Commission recognized that only when the vision of the

goal is clear can sound programmes of action be planned.

The framework within which the Commission did its think-

ing can best be illustrated in its own words:

> To approach our task, therefore, we
> have to think of Nigeria in 1980: a nation
> of some 50 million people, with industries,
> oil, and well-developed agriculture; inti-
> mately associated with other free African
> countries on either side of its borders; a
> voice to be listened to in the Christian
> and Moslem worlds; with its tradition in
> art preserved and fostered and with the
> beginnings of its own literature; a nation
> which is taking its place in a technological
> civilization, with its own airways, its
> organs of mass-communication, its research
> institutes.

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[1]Ralph Barton Perry, Realms of Value (Cambridge,
Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952), pp. 411-12.

Millions of the people who will live in
this Nigeria of 1980 are already born. Under
the present educational system more than half
of them will never go to school. Like people
elsewhere, their talents will vary from dull-
ness to genius. Somehow, before 1980, as
many talented children as possible must be
discovered and educated if this vision of
Nigeria is to be turned into reality. This
is a stupendous undertaking. It will   cost
large sums of money. The Nigerian people
will have to forgo other things they want so
that every available penny is invested in
education. Even this will not be enough.
Countries outside Nigeria will have to be
enlisted to help with men and money. . .[1]

Size, Climate, and Ethnic Diversity

Nigeria, a former British colony now an independent

republic, is a block of West Africa bordered on three

sides by former French-governed countries, and on the

south by the Gulf of Guinea, which lies about 5 degrees

north of the equator.

In size, Nigeria is nearly four times the area of the

United Kingdom, about equal in area to Pakistan and roughly

equal to the combined area of Texas and Colorado. Within

its compact area of 356,700 square miles live more than

61 million people[2] representing a mixture of various cul-

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[1]Investment in Education: The Report of the Commission
on Post-School Certificate and Higher Education in Nigeria
(1960), p. 3.

[2]This author knows from personal experience that census
taken in tropical Africa faces a task of prodigious diffi-
culties. First, there is the difficulty of getting about.

tural and ethnic strains derived from successive
migrations of Arab-Berber stock from the north-west and
the indigenous Negro people of the more humid areas of
the south.   Nigeria is the most populous country of the
African continent and the largest unit of people of the
African origin in the world.   The average density of
population is estimated at 172 persons to the square
mile: but in some parts of the southeast, rural den-
sities exceed 900 persons to the square mile. The dis-
tribution of the population density, however, is not
always consistent with a favorable physical environment.
In the southwestern part of the Northern Region, the den-

Second, because of the prevailing illiteracy it is ex-
tremely difficult for a census taker to communicate the
meaning and purpose of a census.   Third, most Africans
are still reluctant to stand up and be counted, lest, by
doing so, they later find themselves paying heavier
taxes, and rounded up for civil or military service.
Fourth, many of them still live under a tribal taboo again-
st the disclosure of numerical facts.   This taboo is very
common among the cattle keepers.   Fifth, in a world that
has more than its share of rough terrain, trackless swamps
and dense forests, it is no great feat for a man to elude
the census taker.   Sixth, the seminomadic way of life of
many pastoral peoples and the migrations, seasonal and
otherwise, of many agricultural peoples to and from the
mines and cities pose tricky questions for those who
must plan an enumeration.   Seventh, over much of the region
the arm of the law is neither long nor strong.   Administra-
tive staffs are small and frequently so encumbered with
regular duties that their attitude toward special tasks like
a census is apt to be less dutiful than philosophical.   For
more problems of enumeration see George H.T. Kimble,
Tropical Africa Vol. I (Garden City, New York: Doubleday
& Co., Inc., 1962), p. 88.

sity of population sometimes falls below 25 person to the
square mile, and large sectors of the Middle Belt are
virtually depopulated. Historical evidence suggests that
in the past much of this region was under cultivation,
but as a result of slave-raiding much of the land reverted
to bush allowing the tsetse fly to flourish. Furthermore,
the slave-raiding led some communities to migrate to rel-
atively inhospitable areas of land.[1]

However, the distribution of population in Nigeria
cannot be explained in simple terms. Although many would
say that the southern margin is too wet for optimum
living, the density of population is greatest there. Al-
though some would argue that the northern border with its
violent summer rains and long drought is not very favor-
able, it is fairly densely populated in at least the area
around Kano. Perhaps the explanation of the population
distribution lies in a combination of factors, such as
the distribution of tsetse fly and other disease-carrying
organisms, the varieties of soil, the type of vegetation,
and the degree of Europeanization (modernization - author's
preference for 'Europeanization').[2]

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[1]L.J. Lewis, Society, School and Progress in Nigeria
(Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1965), p. 7.

[2]Samuel H. Dickens and Forrest R. Pitts, Introduction
to Cultural Geography (Waltham, Mass.: Ginn & Co., 1970),
p. 70.

Nigeria's population is a youngish one and net addition is 1.5 million each year. The age-sex pyramid is typical of that of any developing country - flat at the bottom and narrowing towards the apex, forming a pyramid at the bottom of which are the under fifteen years olds. In a society undergoing a revolution of rising expectations, such a high concentration of consumers, to the tune of about 42 per cent of the population, constitutes a heavy burden of dependency. The savings which should go into investment in factories, industries, agricultural modernization and other capital projects, go instead into feeding, clothing and educating the children, into building more schools and training teachers.[1]

The thirst for education among Nigerians is great. The average Nigerian parent has high aspirations for his children. He wants to give them the best of life's advantages. He wants to equip them effectively for the challenges in the world tomorrow. Many Nigerians have therefore realized that a large family is incompatible with the fulfillment of these aspirations.

It is said that Nigeria has approximately 200

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[1]Phyllis T. Piotrow, Africa's Population Problem (Washington, D.C.: International Planned Parenthood Federation, 1969), p. 22.

languages,[1] each of which is spoken as a mother tongue
by members of a particular ethnic group and is the normal
medium of everyday communication within that group's home
territory. The uncertainty arises because some of them
are spoken by only a few hundred people, while others
are the daily speech of millions; each, regardless of
the weight of its supporters, is indivudally precious in
the opinion of its speakers. No one language is under-
stood by a majority of the population. Hausa, the mother
tongue of at least seventeen million[2] and the usual
auxiliary language in most of the North, is best known,
followed by Ibo and Yoruba, languages of the second and
third largest ethnic groups, and English, the language of
the former colonial power. Larger additional numbers,
difficult to estimate but in the millions, speak a dis-
tinctive West African pidgin adaptation of English as an
auxiliary language. Ethnic groups are distinguished from
one another more by language than by any other cultural
feature.[3]

Throughout Nigeria men tend to have more abundant
and varied contacts with strangers, and therefore are the
ones with greater knowledge of additional languages. A

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[1]John A Cookson, et al., U.S. Army Area Handbook for
Nigeria (Washington, D.C.: The American University, 1964),
p. 91.

[2]Rex Niven, Nigeria (New York: Frederick Praeger,
1967), p. 14.

[3]Cookson, op. cit., p. 94.

higher percentage of men have had some schooling. They
know relatively more English and far more likely to be
literate than the women in their families. Sex dif-
ferences are greatest in the far north because of stern
Moslem conservatism regarding sex roles, seclusion of
women and opposition to girls' education, though even
there changes are gradually beginning.

Although most adult males learn to speak languages
of ethnic groups other than their own, ethnic pride and
antipathies with political or commercial dominance may
make the process one-sided. The Yoruba are known to be
less willing to learn Ibo than the Ibo are to learn
Yoruba. The Ibo are immigrants into Yoruba territory.
The Yoruba seldom go to Ibo lands; in addition they are
apt to scorn the language associated in their eyes with
an inferior "bush" background.[1] A common Yoruba epithet
is Kobo-Kobo, meaning either Ibo specifically or any
African who does not understand the Yoruba language. It
is a fighting taunt in Lagos.

The use of standard British English as a supple-
mentary language has been expanding along with accele-
rated access to schools; it is the main medium of literacy
and publication, dominates in specialized modern sectors
of the country's life, and serves as the sole official.

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[1]Cookson, op. cit., p. 94.

language of the governments of the Federation. This is
likely to remain unchanged since the many national groups
speak more than two hundred different languages.[1]

While the far north has had its West Sudan Moslem
literate tradition for many centuries, most of the Nigerian
people had no writing whatever until the arrival of Western
influences by way of the coast. Christian missionaries
pioneered in providing written expression for previously
unwritten languages, primarily for religious purposes but
also for general education.

The Nigerian governments have given their sponsorship
and financial help for the development of printed materials
using the Roman alphabet and beginning primary school in-
struction by means of the local languages thus written.
For each separate language certain modified letters (such
as ɔ or ö, and ñ) have been added to the alphabet where
needed for additional distinctive sounds. Missionaries
or other research and training agencies have not always
been in agreement on details of writing methods for a given
language, but within the past decade Nigerian governments
have officially recommended a more uniform system of
writing and printing conventions for use with all vernac-
ulars.[2]

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[1]Rueben K. Udo, Geographical Regions of Nigeria
(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), p. 1.

[2]Cookson, et al., op. cit., p. 93.

The word "tribe" is not now very popular in West Africa; it is regarded as having a derogatory meaning, though it is hard to convince outsiders, especially the Western world about this, and harder still to think of a suitable and convenient synonym. "Clan" is too small: "people" is too wide: "sect" is too technical. The Military Government (of Nigeria) has forbidden reference to tribes,[1] but the difficulty persists.

The climate of Nigeria is tropical and is influenced by two wind systems. These are the rain-bearing southwest monsoon, which blows from the ocean; and the dry, dusty north-east trades or harmattan which comes from the Sahara Desert. There are two seasons: the rainy season and the dry season; the lengths of which vary from north to south. In the south, for example, the rainy season lasts for eight months (April to November), but in the far north, it lasts for only four and a half months.

Rainfall is a critical factor in farming and delays in the onset of the rains have been known to cause crop failures and famine. The beginning of the rainy season is marked by great heat and destructive storms, accompanied by lightning. Crops as well as mat-thatched houses are often destroyed during these thunderstorms, when as much as one and a half inches of rain may fall in less

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[1]Niven, op. cit., p. 14.

than one hour.[1] The actual amount of rainfall as well as the length of the rainy season decreases from south to north.

Shade temperatures exceeding 100°F have been recorded in the northeast, where frosts have also occurred during the dry season. Elsewhere, but particularly in the south, the temperatures are fairly constant. The idea that the sun always shines very fiercely in Nigeria is inaccurate because during the rainy season, clouds usually hide the sun, while dust-haze plays the same role during the dry season.[2] What makes the climate of Nigeria so trying is not the high temperatures, but the relative humidity which exceeds eighty per cent along the coast for most of the year. Indeed the picture of the "hot, steaming, impenetrable jungle" is false.[3]

The harmattan, which blows during the dry season, is a cold, dry and dusty wind. It brings about a considerable drop in the relative humidity, making the weather rather invigorating. The unpleasant aspect of this wind includes very cold nights, cracked lips and furniture as well as thick deposits of dust all over the house. Bush

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[1]Udo, op. cit., p. 2.

[2]Ibid., p. 2.

[3]John E. Flint, Nigeria and Ghana (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), p. 2.

fires, which are very destructive of woodland and occa-
sionally of human settlements, are common during the
harmattan.

In several districts, water for domestic use and
for cattle is difficult to obtain during the dry season,
when streams and wells may dry up. At this time of the
year, many villagers may travel three to seven miles to
fetch water from the nearest stream.[1] Recent efforts to
combat the water problem include the tapping of under-
ground water resources through the digging of wells and
pressure pumps, as well as the construction of puddle
dams across streams.

Despite the muggy, soporific climate of the South,
Nigeria is an exacting and exhilarating country, for its
own people as well as for visitors. No one can know much
of it intimately. Its society ranges from the shy, almost
naked pagans of the Jos Plateau to the sophistication of
the Permanent Secretary, with a First at Cambridge, who
may have seen more of life and power at thirty-five than
his European counterpart at fifty. Yet, despite its vast
range, it is a society without the awful contrasts of India
or Egypt. No one starves and the beggars are few and un-
obstrusive.[2]

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[1]Udo, op. cit., p. 4.

[2]Walter Schwarz, Nigeria (New York: Frederick Praeger,
1968), p. 2.

"It is not generally realized outside Africa," writes Professor John Flint, "that these countries (referring to Nigeria and Ghana) contain great variations of climate and vegetation, . . . There is no jungle in Ghana or Nigeria."[1]

The People and Their Ways of Life

The 61 million people of Nigeria belong to many ethnic groups, each of which has its own customs, traditions, costumes and language. The larger groups are the Hausas, Fulanis and Kanuris in the north, the Tivs and Nupes in the middle belt, and the Yorubas, Ibos, Ibibios and Edos in the south. In pre-British days, the northern groups were organized into larger states with an effective system of government; and so were the Yorubas and the Edos of the south. The Ibos and the Ibibios, on the other hand, were rather disorganized; the largest political grouping amongst them being the village-group.[2] The extended family system was and still is, however, a common aspect of the traditional society of all ethnic groups.

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[1]Flint, op. cit., p. 2.

[2]Udo, op. cit., p. 5.

The unit of the social organization is the family,
not just a man, his wife, and children, but the extended
family embracing three or four generations and including
cousins. The lineage, the group tracing its decent back
through three or four generations, retains its cohesion,
and people belonging to the same clan with a common
ancestor say ten generations back recognize certain ties
and in some circumstances may act in concert. Lineage
ties have the greatest symbolic and practical importance
and form groupings of the largest size among peoples of
the Eastern Region and Middle Belt of Nigeria, whose
traditional nonkinship institutions are comparatively few
or weak. Here, ancestor cults, corporate lineage land
tenure, and rule by lineage elders have been the key
principles in religious, economic, and political aspect
of traditional life.[1] Among such people as the Ibo, Ibibio,
and Tiv, corporate kinship units are often the exclusive
traditional bases for local political authority.

In many Nigerian societies lineages and clans are
exogamous. Sexual relations between members of the same
lineage are regarded as incestuous and marriages take place
with only people outside that lineage.[2] This leads to the
development in time of a web of interconnecting strands be-

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[1]Cookson, et al., op. cit., p. 116.

[2]A.T. Grove, Africa South of the Sahara (London:
Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 44.

tween individuals in villages through a wide area.

The transference of bridewealth from the husband's family to that of the bride signals the completion of a marriage. This is not simply a payment for property; amongst other advantages it has the effect of helping to stabilize marriage. Marriage is regarded primarily as the means of acquiring children. Fertility is of paramount value; sterility is dreaded and may be used as a ground for divorce.

The life cycle of an individual is often believed by pagans to begin with incarnation of a dead forbearer. The destiny of a child is believed to be signalized by various circumstances such as the weekday upon which birth occurs, commonly used as a basis for naming; thus "Nwafor" in Ibo means "child born on Afor," one of the four days in the Ibo week. In the southeast, until well within living memory, twins and other unusual births, such as those coming feet first, were customarily killed because they were considered accursed. By contrast, in parts of Yoruba land and farther north twins are considered a blessing.[1]

Among the diverse social traditions in Nigeria, a number of patterns of common family relationship emerge, such as respect for age, the high value set in having children,

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[1] Cookson, et al., op.cit., p. 116.

sharply separate roles for the sexes, bridewealth payments, and polygamy. Most traditions stress descent through the male line; in non-Moslem areas the male links, reckoned through many generations, serve to join cousins into extensive corporate lineages which are the basic traditional sources for an individual social identity. The Northern Moslem societies differ mainly through their adoption in varying degrees of Islamic family principles, reducing the importance of lineages, increasing the accent on male dominance, and establishing of female seclusion.

Ties, obligations, rights, and distinctions defined in terms of kinship carry great weight in traditional Nigerian societies. Groups which are bound by common ancestry form the principal or exclusive basis for the organization of social life, land tenure, political roles, and even religion in many of the local traditions. In the Moslem North, where land tenure, religion, and civic relationships are not systematically organized on kinship lines, extended lineage ties are not maintained except among the aristocracy, whose privileged status does rest in part on genealogy.[1]

Where neither Islam nor Christianity has as yet supplanted the indigenous religions, kinship ties remain most conservative in form, strongest, and most extensive,

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[1]Ibid., p. 113.

because kinship and the pagan religions are logically interlocked with each other and with the whole heritage of custom. Ceremonies are held to propitiate spirits of recently deceased relatives and of various more remote ancestors as far back as those acknowledged as lineage founders.[1]

The emphasis on spiritual continuity with the past generations is linked with the corporate kinship basis of relations between man and the land. In any given local area the land itself, or the right to farm it and enjoy its usufruct, is traditionally regarded as belonging in perpetuity to a body of kindred as a whole rather than to any individual. Expressing this typical view, a prominent Ijebu Yoruba chief said, "I conceive that land belongs to a vast family of which many are dead, few are living, and countless members are still unborn."[2]

Less than ten per cent of the population of Nigeria live in cities which have more than 50,000 inhabitants; and most of these towns are concentrated in Yorubaland. The majority of Nigerians, therefore, live in rural villages in which the compound, which is an enclosure con-

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[1] Ibid., p. 116.

[2] F.A.O., Agricultural Development in Nigeria 1965-1980 (Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 1966), p. 331.

taining the house of a man, his wife and in some cases, the houses of his brothers, is the unit of settlement.

Islam is the predominant religion in the far north, but the south is predominantly Christian, although Moslems out-number Christians in parts of Yorubaland. Christianity has also made great inroads into the middle belt, but by far the greater majority of Nigerians are pagans, worshipping several gods and practicing polygamy.[1]

Nearly all shades of acknowledged Christian leanings are represented among Nigerian Christians. Christianity predominates heavily among English-speaking literates and are drawn mainly from the younger age levels of ethnic groups near the coast, particularly the Ibibio, Ibo, and Yoruba, who are oriented toward Western-style enterprise, including cash-crop farming and literate careers in urban areas. Often the young, educated Christians are members of families who remain mostly unconverted.

Only one ethnic group, the Ibibio of extreme southeast, has a preponderance of Christians over non-Christians. Nearly half the Ibo and a slightly smaller proportion of Yoruba are Christians.[2] These three groups account for the overwhelming majority of all of Nigeria's professed Christians.

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[1] Udo, op. cit., p. 6.

[2] Cookson, et al., op. cit., p. 174.

Distinctive set of social values characterize the
various ethnic groups. In the far North, the major ethnic
traditions are strongly influenced by the comprehensive
value system of Islam and centuries of experience with far-
reaching political and commercial relationships. Near the
coast, new values have been introduced by contacts with
Western civilization; there is much overlapping or uncer-
tain compromise in transition from old to new standards.[1]

In all regions of Nigeria there are contrasts between
rural and urban values. In the Moslem North, city dwellers
are more thoroughly Islamized and look down on country
people, including pastoral Fulani, for being less observant
of the faith. In the South, urban-rural differences are
not acute among the Yoruba, but in other ethnic groups,
whose traditional backgrounds are entirely rural, rapid
twentieth-century urbanization, tied to Western enterprise
and education, is associated with a shift in values over
which there is some degree of conflict between young
migrants and their rural relatives. Throughout Southern
urban areas, the pidgin-English adjective "bush" is commonly
applied to rural areas and used to ridicule unsophisticated
migrants bringing rustic ways to the city. Frequently the
epithet is pugnaciously resented. There is a tendency
among the townsmen in some parts of Nigeria to scorn the
country people as ignorant fools, and country people may

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[1]_Ibid._, p. 129.

retaliate with a sterotype of townsmen as "wayo" (equiv-
alent of swindlers).

Among opposing value systems, rooted in the past,
most powerful is that of Islam lined to the Northern
emirate system. On the whole, the emirate areas in
Nigeria have been kept insulated from Western influences,
so that the Moslem emphasis on submission to authority
and the historic forms of state authority in the Moslem
North are hardly yet faced with extensive democratic
challenge on their home ground.[1] Democratic values of
equal opportunity and open competition are still new
and not widely accepted as valid inspirations. Emphasis
is rather on maintaining reverent submission to the tra-
ditional inequalities.[2] An individual is encouraged,
however, to enhance his personal position by hard work,
through which as a craftsman and a trader he may become
relatively prosperous. Prestige is accorded to religious
knowledge which may be gained through study under a
mallam, and to pious observance of the wide range of
Moslem religious requirements for a virtuous life, such
as daily prayers and dietary restrictions, including
abstention from alcohol. The conservative values of the
"Holy North" are reflected in the motto chosen for the
former Northern Region's coat of arms, "Work and Worship."

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[1]Ibid., p. 129.

[2]Ibid., p. 130.

The Ibo and Ibibio of Eastern Nigeria, by comparison with the Hausa in the north, are less respectful of formal authority and static class barriers, largely because of their democratic tendency in their traditional social values, and their Westernized tastes in many things.

The Yoruba remain more conservative in their values than the Ibo and the Ibibio. They place a high value on age, and age-sets continue to act as the basic factor in the social structure. Even educated Yoruba city dwellers follow the traditional practice of prostrating themselves before an elder member of their family or the family of friends as a symbol of respect.[1]

In the South in general, the traditional flexibility of personal status has increased in this century. Old emphases on the virtue of hard work and individual striving for competitive achievement have come to be expressed through new concrete goals, emphasizing school certificates and higher degrees as stepping-stones toward the others. Formal education itself has become the object of urgent zeal both for each community as a whole and for individuals.

The modern prestige of educational qualifications and their practical linkage with access to government employment or other profitable urban livelihoods has had much to do with upsetting the traditional prestige of age and

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[1]Ibid., p. 131.

seniority. Young people have often become aggressively
critical of their elders and ridiculed their illiteracy
and ignorance of the wider modern world. The new self-
confidence and assertiveness of youth is based in part
on the traditional value attended to superior wealth,
since young migrant wage earners and holders of salaried
urban positions, especially in government, are often much
more prosperous than their stay-at-home rural elders.

The high priority of kin solidarity and seniority
discipline has been weakened somewhat among young people
from parts of the coastal areas because of their edu-
cation, new economic opportunities, and geographic mo-
bility. They have often become noticeably more indi-
vidualistic in their striving for success.[1]

Health Problems

The health and work pattern of the people of Nigeria
is influenced less directly by the climate than it is by
dietary deficiencies and the high incidence and variety
of diseases characteristic of developing tropical countries.

> Disease, malnutrition, and low agri-
> cultural productivity form, in face, a
> vicious circle in Nigeria as in the re-
> mainder of Tropical Africa; the peasant,
> because of the multiplicity of diseases

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[1]Ibid., p. 133.

to which he is exposed and which sap
his energy, is often an inefficient
agriculturalist; because he is under-
nourished he is more susceptible to
the wide range of diseases to which he
is exposed. The breaking of this vicious
circle is one of the main problems facing
the territory.[1]

Any survey of disease in Nigeria is hampered by a
lack of accurate statistics, making it impossible to give
figures that are completely reliable for the country as a
whole.[2] Statistics are neither plentiful nor easily
interpreted.[3] Fairly accurate figures for the causes of
death are kept for the federal capital of Lagos, however,
and these are given in Table 1 and compared with the
figures of the United States.

Doctor Giles, commenting on the Akufo Village Scheme,[4]
pointed out that

irrespective of whether one is dealing
with disease in urban or rural areas of
Africa, the outstanding obstacles to a
rational approach to disease control is
the lack of valid statistical data relating
to the African population, and describing
its distribution, birth rates, death rates
and incidence of disease in Africa can be

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[1] K.M. Buchanan and J.C. Pugh, Land and People of
Nigeria (London: University of London Press, 1955), p. 56.

[2] J.C. Lawson, Health Problems in Nigeria (Lagos:
National Press, 19-6), p. 3.

[3] Wolfgang F. Stolper, Planning Without Facts
(Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966), p. 6.

[4] The Akufo Scheme, organized under the auspices of the
University of Ibadan (Department of Medicine) with the

Table 1.   Deaths, According to Cause, in the Federal
           Territory of Lagos, Nigeria, and in the
           United States, 1960.

Cause of Death	Federal Territory of Lagos	United States
	Deaths*/ 100,000 Population	Deaths*/ 100,000 Population
Pneumonia & bronchitis	197.0	34.5
Dysentery, all forms (including gastritis, enteritis & colitis)	119.2	4.4
Malaria	119.0	---
Tuberculosis, all forms	33.5	5.9
Meningitis, all forms	17.8	1.5
Measles	11.0	0.2
Other infective & parasitic diseases	63.0	5.0
Anemia	16.8	1.9
Deliveries & complications of pregnancy, childbirth & puerperium	20.9	0.8
Birth injuries, postnatal asphyxia & atelectasis	42.3	16.3
Infections of newborn	8.5	2.6
Other diseases of early infancy.	86.0	18.1
Cirrhosis of liver*	11.3	11.2
Motor vehicle & other accidents	50.2	51.8
Homicide	4.4	4.5
Suicide & self-inflicted injuries	0.8	10.8
Hypertension, with or without heart disease	13.5	43.6
Vascular lesions of central nervous system	27.8	107.1
Malignant neoplasms	6.9	147.4
Arteriosclerotic & degenerative heart disease	8.8	305.6

*Excluding fetal deaths.
Source: Lawson, op. cit., p. 5.

soundly formulated, it will be necessary
to receive substantial data on actual
incidence of disease. . . in both rural
and urban areas.[1]

The general level of health and the eradication of

disease pose formidable problems, as the ratio of doctors

to population is only about 1:35,000.[2] Nevertheless,

curative and preventive services are making headway

through new hospitals and the building of dispensaries,

maternity homes, and clinics in all areas.

Protein deficiency is a serious problem. The absence

of protein and paucity of calories cause the dreadful dis-

ease Kwashiorkor[3] which in an African dialect means "red

head." "In actuality the hair of these black-haired in-

fants turns a dull, brick red. Kwashiorkor babies become

hugely swollen, have bellies like pregnant women and

extremities like piano legs. The skin cracks and the

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collaboration of the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine,
is designed to study the village area in statistical and
technical terms in order to focus attention on the com-
munity as a unit and to stress the importance 'in its
health patterns of the interplay between diet, environment,
social and genetic background in a rural population in
Western Nigeria. One of the outcomes of the study em-
phasized the importance of orientating the curriculum of
medical training in Nigeria in the direction of the cur-
rent needs of the community if a rational approach to the
development of a health service is to be attained.

[1]H.M. Giles, Akufo, *An Environmental Study of a
Nigerian Village Community* (Ibadan: University of Ibadan
Press, 1964), p. 5.

[2]"Nigeria," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. XVI, p. 507.

[3]During the 30 months of the Nigerian Civil War, nearly

weeping serum which exudes is caked with flies."[1]

Ranking with malnutrition as a major hazard to health in Nigeria is malaria.[2] Malaria not only accounts for a significant portion of deaths in infants and children, but is an aggravating factor of anemias in pregnant women.[3] Tuberculosis, smallpox, and cerebrospinal meningitis are other diseases of serious significance. African trypanosomiasis, or sleeping sickness, is significant not only because of its effect on human beings but also for its effect on cattle, with resulting loss of protein source.[4] It is particularly prevalent in the areas of Northern region of Nigeria. In previous years major epidemics have swept across the country, decimating the population. During the 1930's 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 people were estimated to have been affected with this disease, and at the present time several thousand new

a million Biafrans were reported to have died of starvation. Many were children who suffered from Kwashiorkor. See "Biafra: End of a Lost Cause," _Newsweek_, January 26, 1970, p. 49.

[1]Phyllis T. Piotrow, _Africa's Population Problem_ (Washington, D.C.: International Planned Parenthood Federation, 1969), p. 11.

[2]L.J. Lewis, Society, _Schools & Progress in Nigeria_ (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1965), p. 8.

[3]Lawson, _op. cit._, p. 4.

[4]Lawson, _op. cit._, p. 4.

cases are still detected annually.[1] Smallpox control is
another problem, with 4,140 cases reported in 1960 and
3,538 in 1961.[2] Nigeria is surpassed only by India and
Indonesia in the total number of cases recorded from a
single country during this period.[3] Relatively few
Nigerians are free from worms of one kind or another
in their intestines, and these, together with bacillary
and amoebic dysentery, contribute to poor health. The high
incidence of intestinal illness occurs during the rainy
season, the period of greatest agricultural activity. The
economic consequences of this are difficult to assess, but
there is undoubtedly a direct relationship between the in-
cidence of intestinal disease and productive efficiency.

The paucity of medical facilities and the inevitably
slow rate at which they can be provided are recognized
as major handicaps to the country.

> The major emphasis of the Ministry of Health
> programme (in the Federal Government Develop-
> ment Plan 1962-8) will be on the training of
> doctors. The ratio of doctors to the population
> in Nigeria is at present about 1 to 32,000.
> Clearly the present number of doctors is in-
> adequate, particularly when it is realized

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[1]Lawson, op. cit., p. 4.

[2]Lawson, op. cit., p. 4.

[3]Lawson, op. cit., p. 6.

> that in many areas villages are situated
> as much as a hundred miles from the nearest
> medical facilities. Disease and injury
> take a severe toll of life and result in
> costly losses of labour, time, output
> and efficiency. The Government realizes
> therefore that a carefully co-ordinated
> health programme is essential, not only
> for the physical welfare of the Nation,
> but also to contribute to the increased
> productivity which is essential for
> the success of the Plan.[1]

Modern medical facilities have as yet been made available only to a few largely urban people. Outside Lagos, medical facilities comprise only about 17,000 beds in hospitals and other institutions -- roughly 1 for each 2,100 persons[2] (see Table 2). Hospitals are maintained by regional governments or Christian missions, and in a few cases jointly by both. Standards are for the most part good, particularly in those accredited for nurses' training by British medical authorities. The University Teaching Hospital at Ibadan is considered the finest hospital in Africa and one of the best equipped in the world.[3]

At the end of 1959 (eve of independence) Nigeria had only 938 doctors, approximately 1 for each 40,000 people (see Table 3). Approximately two-thirds of all the doctors

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[1]Federal Government of Nigeria, National Development Plan, 1962-1968 (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Economic Development, 1962), p. 9.

[2]Cookson, op. cit., p. 239.

[3]Ibid., p. 239.

Table 2. Number of Medical Facilities in Nigeria

	Lagos (1958)		Northern Region (1959)		Eastern Region (1957)		Western Region (1955)	
	Facilities	Beds	Facilities	Beds	Facilities	Beds	Facilities	Beds
General Hospitals	2	389	44	4,421	45	3,789	40	
Orthopedic Hospitals	1	230						
Infectious Diseases Hospitals	1	192	2	105	4	163		
Mental Hospitals	1	423			1	144	2	
Tuberculosis Hospitals	1	59						
Maternity Hospitals	1	76	6	117	8	502		
Nursing Homes	---	---	5	110	3	44		
Leper Settlements	---	---	14	---	10	546	1	
Rural Health Centers	---	---	3	---	4	---	235	
Maternity Homes	---	---	44	178	247	1,241	235	
Dispensaries	---	---	604	---	288	---	301	
Total	7	1,369	722	4,931	610	6,429	579	4,000[a]

Total for Nigeria -- Facilities, 1,918; Beds, 16,729
Number of inhabitants for each hospital bed -- Lagos ----------- 198
Northern Region ----------- 3,009
Eastern Region ----------- 1,122
Western Region ----------- 1,521
Nigeria ----------- 2,092

[a] Estimate

Source: Adapted from Northern Region of Nigeria, Information Service, You and Nigerian Independence; Nigeria, Department of Medical Services, Report of the Medical Service for the Federal Territory of Lagos for the Year 1958; Eastern Region of Nigeria, Department of Medical Services, Annual Report, 1957; Western Region of Nigeria, Department of Medical Services, Annual Report, 1955.

were Nigerian. Many of the special branches of medicine rely almost entirely on foreign doctors. There were (1960) no Nigerian pathologists, dermatologists, anestheticians, or radiologists. There were only 42 dentists in the entire country.[1]

Table 3. Medical Personnel in Nigeria[2] (end of 1959)

Doctors	938
Dentists	42
Registered Midwives including Health Visitors . .	5,015
Registered Nurses	5,242
Diplomaed Pharmacists	485

Nigeria had (1966) about 263 hospitals with 18,537 beds; 911 maternity homes with 2,755 beds. There were over 1,574 registered medical practitioners, and 59 dentists. There were over 7,894 nurses and 7.763 midwives, and 618 pharmacists.[3]

Millions of Nigerians still rely on ancient curses, and in rural areas modern practitioners often find that

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[1]Ibid., p. 241.

[2]Cookson, op. cit., p. 241.

[3]One Hundred Facts About Nigeria (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information, 1966), p. 24.

they are most successful in their work when they are able
to adapt modern methods to traditional remedies and
beliefs.[1]

With only meager medical facilities throughout most
of the country (see Table 3) until recent times the major
portion of the medicine has been practised by native
medicine men.   Each village has its established "doctor"
who may prognosticate on the future of a yet unborn child,
administer tonics and other therapeutic medications, set
fractures, or officiate at deliveries.   These herbalists
are usually highly respected members of the community.

The folklore of medical therapy varies from ethnic
group to ethnic group and even among individual medicine
men.   The native medicine man primarily practices psychoso-
matic medicine aimed at the entire patient, mind as well
as body.   Disease is often ascribed to witchcraft or the
breaking of taboos.   Natural remedies are used for spe-
cific effects, real or fancied, and their action is made
more efficacious by varied ritual and the judicious use of
accouterments kept in a medicine bundle or doctor's bag.
The majority of the tribal religions are animistic, and
it is believed that the spirit possessed by this para-
phernalia can counteract and overcome the spirit causing
ill-health. Certain medicines are for healing, and
others for other activities such as hunting, business or

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[1]Cookson, op. cit., p. 231.

sorcery.

Many indigenous cures are strongly connected with
the supernatural, and traditional medical practitioners
are usually persons believed to possess exceptional
powers. Pagan beliefs among the Yoruba include smallpox
god, Shopona, who has his own temples and priesthood.
The priests are men who survived the disease; the as-
sumption is that they are endowed with special grace,
and therefore, only they can minister successfully to
sufferers from smallpox. Since modern medicine has re-
duced the incidence of smallpox, some priests are alleged
to have deliberately infected people with the disease in
order to maintain their priestly prestige and to safe-
guard their incomes.[1]

In the Moslem North, the Mallam -- one learned in
the Koran -- is usually the traditional doctor. His
cures include amulets carried on the person or displayed
prominently in the home, herbal potions and potions pre-
pared from the ink washed from a written magic formula
or religious slogan -- often a verse from the Koran.

In obstetrics the majority of women are delivered at
home attended by a village midwife, and parturient patients
usually enter the hospital only in the event of a severe
complication. It is estimated that less than 20 per cent

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[1]Cookson, et. al., p. 232.

of pregnant women receive medical care from either a
doctor or a trained midwife.[1]

Infant and childhood mortality rates in Nigeria are
very high, up to 50 per cent before age 10 (1961).[2] The
major causes of these deaths are diarrheal diseases,
pneumonia, malaria and the secondary complication of
measles. . .[3] The estimated crude birth rate and death
rates are compared for Lagos and the United States (see
Table 4). It is generally agreed that approximately 480
of 1,000 infants born die by the age of five years, and
this figure is stated to reach 800 per 1,000 in parts of
the Northern region.[4] The maternal mortality rate for
the country as a whole is unknown; but in Lagos, where
maternal care is relatively good, the rate was 57 per
10,000 live births in 1958 -- as compared with 10.2 for
the non-white population and 3.7 overall in the United
States during the same year, (see Table 4). In some
parts of Nigeria the maternal mortality rate may approach
1 per cent. The life expectancy at birth is approximately
thirty years in Nigeria as compared with 68.4 years in the
United States.[5]

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[1]Lawson, op. cit., p. 5.

[2]Cookson, op. cit., p. 117.

[3]Lawson, op. cit., p. 3.

[4]Ibid., p. 3.

[5]Ibid., p. 3.

Table 4. Crude Birth Rate and Mortality Rates for the Federal Territory of Lagos, Nigeria, and for the United States.[1]

Area	Crude Birth Rate No./1000 Population	Late Fetal Death Rate No./1000 Live Births	Perinatal Mortality Rate* No./1000 Live Births	Infant Mortality Rate No./1000 Live Births	Maternal Mortality No./1000 Live Births	Crude Death Rate‡ No./1000 Population
Federal territory of Lagos	60.2	29.9	52.4	62.9	57.0	11.8
United States	23.6	12.7	29.6	25.6	3.7	9.5

*Sum of late fetal deaths + deaths of infants 1 wk. of age

†Deaths of infants 1 yr. of age, excluding fetal deaths.

‡Excluding fetal deaths.

1959.

[1] Ibid., p. 3.

In general, literacy rates, percentage of water
supply, per capita income and per capita consumption
of animal protein are inversely proportional to the death
rates of a given society, and this truism appears to be
the case in Nigeria (see Table 5). Although there are
obvious difficulties in relating these measures of socio-
economic developments to mortality, these data strongly
suggest interrelations. There is at present almost uni-
versal education for children in the country, but the
illiteracy rate among the adult population creates a
formidable barrier to reaching the rural populace with
health education. In general, the adult population re-
ceives an adequate quantity of food as measured by
caloric intake, although this is extremely variable in
different areas, and in general, the children receive less
than the daily recommended requirements. Cookson ob-
serves, "Children in both North and the South rarely re-
ceive a large enough share of the available food; the
men, by custom, have principal title to food, and women
and children eat what remains."[1] Malnutrition tends to
retard the growth of children in many parts of Nigeria.

Factors of medical importance that are inimical to
the establishment of a high standard of health include
poor sanitation and a lack of adequate supply of pure

[1]Cookson, op. cit., p. 233.

Table 5. Measures of Socio-economic Development.[1]

Area	Literacy	Water Supply	Caloric Intake	Total Protein Intake	Total Animal Protein	Income	Urbanization Population
	Per Cent Literate*	Per* Cent	Kilocalories/Capita/Day	GM.	GM.	$	Percentage
Nigeria	11.5	5	2500	50	15**	70-85	8.5
United States	97.8	74	3130	90	66	2200	64.0

*Those   15 yr. of age.   **1-29.
Those with water service   1950.
U.S. dollars
1952-53.
1100-2980
36-85

1Lawson, op. cit., p. 4.

water in most areas. The spread of diarrheal diseases
presents a problem of considerable magnitude since
proper latrine facilities are in rare evidence. Poor
home conditions also contribute to the ill-health, with
overcrowding and inadequate ventilation in the humid
climate and inability to isolate those who are ill with
communicable diseases. Malnutrition is an important
contributory factor to the morbidity of infectious dis-
ease. Poverty is also a problem since seasonal variations
result in fluctuations in food prices, depending upon
availability, and in some areas medical care may not be
given without a substantial fee.

Of the factors concerned in establishing an adequate
standard of health, ignorance is perhaps the most common,
the most widespread and the most difficult to overcome
and is evident in inadequate care and feeding of children
and in lack of appreciation of the value of immunization.
Various tribal customs and beliefs, such as taboos against
the eating of nutritious foods, also militate against the
establishment of optimal health.

> In spite of the difficulties caused by infection
> and disease and the great distances and areas to
> be covered by the perserving but meagre health
> services, the energy of the Nigerian on his farm
> or at his task, when working for himself, is
> quite startling. His optimism and cheerfulness
> are proverbial and his conversation endless,

full of curiosity and wit. They are friends
of all who pass on the road and to all men
goes God's greeting of peace.[1]

Batten, commenting on the problem of "Prevention or
Cure" of disease in Africa, writes that

the crux of the health problem is the edu-
cation of the great majority of the people
who live in the rural areas. The most
pressing need is that they should become
willing to cooperate in measures to improve
their own situation. Measures which do not
have this as their aim are merely palliatives
which leave the basic causes of poverty, mal-
nutrition, and ill health untouched. The
low wages received do little to offset the
socially harmful results of the migrant
labour system in the villages. Poverty due
to these and other causes leaves many people
both unable and unwilling to themselves, and
sometimes even unwilling to be helped, if
some effort of their own is also required.
Poverty, too, is the underlying cause of
conditions of housing and malnutrition which
directly lead to a vast amount of preventable
disease and human suffering. Highly trained
staffs in the tropics are much too costly for
them to be endlessly multiplied to deal with
these problems in detail. Their most im-
portant function therefore, is to help the
people to help themselves. More and more
education must be provided. It is important
in two ways. It is a powerful force in
creating new needs and in arousing the desire to
have better living conditions. It also pro-
vides the knowledge by means of which many
present barriers which block the way to
prosperity, health, and freedom from dis-
ease can be broken down.[2]

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[1]Niven, op. cit., p. 18.

[2]T.R. Batten, Problems of African Development (London:
Oxford University Press, 1960), Part I, p. 24. For a fur-
ther review of the development of medical activities, the
disease of Africa, and problems of nutrition, health ser-
vices and education, see Lord Hailey, An African Survey
(New York: Oxford University Press, 1957), Chapter XVI.

Agricultural and Mineral Products

Nigeria, a country in an early stage of social, political and economic modernization, belongs to the economic category now euphemistically termed "developing,"[1] and like all countries in this category it has, in fact, not one economy, but two -- the traditional and the modern. The former is predominantly rural and subsistence. Its distinguishing features are that it lies largely outside the monetary system and that its operations are small-scale and peasant. It comprises the immemorial activities of tilling the land, keeping livestock, some local crafts, and petty trading. The modern sector is a full market, monetary and mainly urban economy to which belong the infrastructures of transport, communications and public utlities, larger scale commercial and industrial activities including commercial agriculture, and the whole apparatus of government, both central and local. The two economies are not completely separate but merge into each other. Although the subsistence farmer is self-employed and lives by consuming what he produces, he enters the monetary sector by selling produce if only to pay government taxes or school fees. This is the original derivation of the

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[1]A whole gamut of terminology has been employed, e.g. "backward," "emergent," "underdeveloped," "non-industrial"; all have had their day. The current one is "developing."

phrase "cash crop," i.e., a crop providing not a liveli-
hood but money for a specific short-term purpose. It is
still regarded as supplementing, not replacing, tra-
ditional activities.

The Nigerian economy is largely dependent upon the
agricultural production of peasant farmers using prim-
itive methods of cultivation. Agriculture, forestry
and fishing provide the source of livelihood for some-
thing of the order of 80 per cent of the people and con-
tribute approximately 61.75 per cent of the gross do-
mestic product of the country.[1] The economic develop-
ment of the country and the improvement of its living
standards in the forseeable future are therefore de-
pendent upon growth and development of the agricultural
sector more than anything else. Two paramount reasons
are given for this by Coppock, an agricultural economist:
"First, agriculture is the chief occupation of most of
the population; second, development of other segments of
the economy and the nation can only be successful if there
is a balance between agriculture and other production
activities."[2]

Generally both subsistence and cash crop farming are
a family venture in which men, women, and children all

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[1]Lewis, op. cit., p. 10.

[2]Fred E. Cohrs and Lawrence M. Sommers, (ed.)
Economic Geography (New York: Thomas Crowell Company,
1970), p. 61.

work at specifically and traditionally designated tasks. Neighbours cooperate at planting at harvest time, either on a reciprocal basis or for payment in kind. Young men, in particular, organize themselves into groups according to age and offer their services in return for payment in kind.

Land tenure and usufruct systems are varied and complicated, but in essentials they are communal in character, rights to land and usufruct being held by either a family group, a village group -- or a tribal group.[1] Individual ownership is rare.

There are as many different land tenure patterns as there are ethnic groups. This traditional system is based upon a number of concepts which are common to most tropical Africa. Four of the most important concepts are:

    (a)   The land is regarded as the joint property
          of the community and there is no basic
          concept of individual rights of permanent
          ownership. The meaning of the term
          "community" in the foregoing sentence may
          vary, from one district to another, from
          an extended family through a clan or small
          village to a tribe or larger village con-
          sisting of hundreds of families. As the
          land in beneficial occupation by any in-
          dividual member of the community is only on
          loan from the communal pool, he is not
          entitled to dispose of its to anyone out-
          side the community. He may, however, trans-
          fer his temporary rights in the land to any
          other member of the community, such as a
          relative, with the consent of the head of
          the community.

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[1]Lewis, op. cit., p. 11.

(b) The right of an individual to obtain land
for farming within the area to which the
community lays claim is derived from his
membership of the land-holding community.
He may only become a member of this com-
munity by birth, or by adoption in cases
such as marriage to a member of a group.

(c) In each land-owning group there is a single
traditional custodian of the group's rights,
who exercises control over the land of the
group and allocates parcels of it to members
in accordance with the traditional law and
custom. The customary land-allocating
authority is usually the chief or admin-
istrative head of the group, but he may be
some other person, such as a respected elder
or a direct descendant of the first family
which settled in the area. Whoever he may
be, the administrator of the land and customs
concerning land use does not have any superior
rights in the land conferred on him by his
position, compared with the other members
of the group.

(d) Any individual rights which a member of the
group may have over a particular piece of
land only continue for as long as he actively
cultivates the soil of the plot in question.
As soon as cultivation ceases and the fallow
period begins, the land reverts back to the
community, and at the end of the fallow
period may be allocated to another indi-
vidual.[1]

Within the various land-owning groups the customary

rules of land allocation, inheritance, etc., have never

been committed to writing, and the way in which they are

applied depends on the memory of the person authorized to

allocate land and the group of elders who advise him.

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[1]F.A.O. (U.N.), op. cit., p. 332.

Consequently, the details of application of customary
law are in a state of continuous modification—owing to
the influence of new factors as:

(a) the adoption of a sedentary way of life
     by people who were formerly nomadic,

(b) the rapid growth of population, which
     has increased the demand for usable
     land as a source for both food and
     income;

(c) introduction of cash crops for export,
     which has led to an appreciation of the
     value of land as a source of wealth;

(d) the introduction of new religious beliefs,
     both Islam from the north and Christianity
     from the coast, which accept individual
     property rights and a systematic inheri-
     tance system.[1]

Palm-oil products, cocoa, and groundnuts (peanuts)
are among the leading Nigerian field export products.
Other export crops of importance include benniseed, cotton,
rubber and bananas.

The improvement of agriculture faces a number of ob-
stacles, of which the most important are the attitudes
and the ignorance of the peasant farmer himself.[2] The
application of existing knowledge and techniques could
produce dramatic changes in both the quantity and quality
of crops. In part the failure to adopt new methods is
due either to lack of knowledge of their existence or lack

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[1]Ibid., p. 332.

[2]Dohrs and Sommers, op. cit., p. 63.

of appreciation of their value.

That the change from a traditional to a modern economy requires radical changes in attitudes can probably be taken for granted. It is likely, however, that a proper organization of the economy will force the development of these attitudes where they do not already exist.[1] In the traditional pattern of some African societies the desire for education is very strong and leads easily to increased efforts. Yoruba mothers have traditionally been responsible for the education of their children and have traditionally taken an active and effective part in trading to fulfill their social responsibilities. This sort of attitude can be "transferred," while others must be changed. In the old days a man with increased income got himself another wife; now he acquires more textiles and housing, "a step in the right direction."

Nigeria also has some exploitable mineral resources. There are working tin and columbite mines on the northeast plateau, coal and enough iron ore and limestone in the southeast to support a projected steel mill, and sizeable oil deposits in the delta area of the River Niger. If one adds to these the timber supplies and the large but only partially exploited fisheries in the Gulf of Guinea,

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[1]Wolfang F. Stolper, Planning without Facts (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966), p. 24.

he cannot but conclude that Nigeria's endowment in natural resources is by any standard respectable.[1]

Potentially, Nigeria's most valuable resource is its fast-growing labour force. At present, the quality of labour is poor -- barely 20 per cent of the workers are literate, very few are skilled in modern production techniques, a large majority are ill-nourished and disease-ridden. But within these limitations they are as a group vigorous, hard-working, and eager to improve their level of material well-being. Provided, then, that Nigeria maintains and expands its large-scale effort in education and preventive medicine, the productivity of its labour force is virtually certain to rise in due course to levels as high as any in the world.[2]

Farming enterprises in Nigeria may be classified into three more or less distinct types; the numbers in each class, however, will not be known until an agricultural census is taken. There are, first, the subsistence farms, producing only enough to feed the farmer and his family. Very likely, there are more farms of this kind than any other, but it is just as likely that the number has been

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[1]Clair Wilcox, et al., Economies of the World Today (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1966), p. 128.

[2]Ibid., p. 129.

diminishing over time. A second type is the agricultural enterprise, which consciously produces a marketable surplus to be sold for cash in urban markets or bartered in nearby villages for cloth, firewood, pottery, and so on. Probably growing in number, the farms of this kind are best characterized as "penny capitalist." That is to say, they are "capitalist" on a microscopic scale. There are no machines, no factories, no co-ops, or corporations. Every man (with his family) is his own firm and works ruggedly for himself. "Money there is, in small denominations; trade there is, with what men carry on their own backs; free entrepreneurs, the impersonal market place, competition -- these are in the rural economy."[1] There is, finally, the cash crop farm, i.e., the enterprise engaged in growing cocoa, groundnuts (peanuts), and so on, for sale overseas through the agency of one or another of the regional government Marketing Boards. Farmers so engaged, of course, are wholly involved in the monetized exchange economy.

In and near the major urban areas economic activity has become almost fully money oriented. There is a high degree of labour specialization, based on a system of wage

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[1] Sol Tax, Penny Capitalism, Smithsonian Institution Institute of Social Anthropology, Publication No. 16, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1953), p. x. Also see Wilcox, et al., op. cit., p. 130.

and salaries. The goods and services produced are ex-
changed for cash or credit in organized markets, depart-
ment stores, and specialty shops.

The links between the modern and traditional sectors
are still relatively few, but they are increasing: the
volume of trade between urban and rural areas is steadily
growing and the monetized exchange economy is intruding
ever more deeply into the agricultural subsistence econ-
omy. The days of the "dual economy" are, in a word, num-
bered.[1]

Nigeria is not lacking in the ingredients needed for
industrial development. Mineral resources include tin,
columbite, lead, zinc, gold, iron, ceramic clays, quartz,
feldspar, silica, sand, limestone, coal and oil. Water
is available in inexhaustible supplies, and, whilst power-
generating capacity is low, there is sufficient potential
available to absorb a moderate expansion of the industrial
load. With a population of 61 million still expanding
there is a home market of great importance and a good
labour supply. What is lacking is investment capital and
skilled human expérience.

Commenting upon the labour situation in 1954, the
World Bank Mission remarked:

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[1]Wilcox, et al., op. cit., p. 131.

The general agricultural underemployment
provides a reservoir of potential industrial
labor, and a preference for cash income causes
many persons to migrate to the towns. Labor
moves freely even from region to region, despite
differences in religion and custom. This is
particularly true of the Eastern Ibo and the
Northern Hausa, the one because of competitive
conditions at home and the other motivated at
least in part by trading traditions.

Differences in productivity seem to depend
less on inherent attributes of the workers than
upon the quality of the management and training
supplied. For example, the Mission could not
fail to be impressed with the rapid advance
and high output of labor in the Ibadan cigarette
factory and the Sapele plywood mill, or the
success of the training programs of Shell-d'
Arcy at Owerri -- all three outstanding but by
no means isolated illustrations.[1]

Up to the present time, the comparative absence of

local industry has given little opportunity for Nigerians

to develop managerial skills and little incentive to seek

technical qualifications. Furthermore, for generations

the Nigerian has associated social status, the exercise

of responsibility, security and the means of enjoying

Western material standard of comfort with government

employment. The combination of these factors will tend to

inhibit the flow of persons with the requisite standards

of general education into industry and commerce and into

private business.[2]

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[1]International Bank for Reconstruction and Development,
The Economic Development of Nigeria (Baltimore: John
Hopkinds Press, 1955), p. 348.

[2]Lewis, op. cit., p. 15.

Nigerian Art

In the field of art, vigorous traditions had been
created in Nigeria. Sculpture, music, and dance are the
most highly developed media of indigenous art. Other
traditional Nigerian art forms, such as prose literature,
oral and written, painting, and architecture are either
not so strongly developed or do not achieve such public
prominence.

Nigerian and other African art has influenced
Western painting and sculpture in the 20th century, par-
ticularly the school known as _primitivism_.[1] The inter-
national influence of Nigerian music is older and still
more widely known, since as a result of the trans-Atlantic
slave trade it contributed to the development of North
American jazz and Caribbean and South American styles
which have attained world popularity. Dance patterns have
diffused abroad with musical influence, to a more limited
degree, mainly through Latin American adaptations.[2]

Sculpture and much of the dance, which employs
sculptured masks and headdresses, are intimately associated
with traditional cult beliefs and ritual. Their function
is to portray the ancestor spirits and deities and to pro-

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[1]T. Walter Wallbank and Arnold Schrier, _Living World
History_ 2nd Ed., (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1964),
p. 253.

[2]Cookson, _op. cit._, p. 135.

vide a means of paying them reverence. Wherever tra-
ditional forms of religion have found a <u>modus</u> <u>vivendi</u> in
the society, traditional art forms have survived best.

Roger Fry, an eminent British art critic is quoted
as saying: "The African artist generally accentuates
whatever has spiritual significance without regard for
natural proportions. . . The head and face receive the
most attention because the artist aims at expressing the
vital essence of man. . . African sculpture possesses an
intense inner life. . . Negro artists have penetrated
more deeply into the principles which underlie appearance
than any other people."[1]

Music and dancing play a large part in the African
culture. The village African sings of birth, the payment
of dowry, marriage and death. He sings of cattle and of
his struggle with the soil. In the cities cabaret music
reflects the effects of industrialization and of the new
money economy on human relationships, the fear of material
loss, "success" in terms of money and status. Songs are
the preservers and narrators of history in many areas.
They are also used to spread news and gossip. They exer-
cise social control and have often been employed to pillory
a public official who has outraged the ethics of the com-
munity.

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[1] Rycroft and Clemmer, <u>op. cit</u>., p. 31.

Communication through music and rhythm, such as occurs with the well-known "talking drums" of Nigeria, is possible, only because most African languages are tonal, rising or falling inflections give different meanings to the same word, and music is based on the language. An African music is simply the offering of the people's language. Each black African language is tuned to a certain fitting scale. Thus it is necessary for a person trying to master a black African music to become familiar with the language first.

The importance of rhythm is unquestioned. Wind and stringed instruments are as widely used as drums. In Nigeria, as in other parts of west, central and southern Africa, the popular instruments seem to vary with the raw materials available: in wooded areas, drums and xylophones; in swampy areas, reed flutes; in towns and cities, guitars, drums, and so on.

Western pressures influence traditional African music; Nigerian music is no exception. The missionary has perhaps been most influencial in the past; one of the major problems raised is the use of African music in Christian worship. The Church from the West has rejected and ignored the cultures of the countries of Africa, substituting Western art, architecture and music, and labeling them Christian.[1]

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[1] Rycroft and Clemmer, op. cit., p. 32.

Interest in artistic wealth of Nigeria is higher
among Europeans than among Nigerians themselves. This
is most true of the Nigerians who have been educated in
the West or by Westerners. Traditional art is viewed with
hostility by educated Nigerians because of its religious
significance. Among the literate Southerners who are
products of mission training and comprise the most whole-
hearted adherents to the Christian churches, there may be
a genuine repugnance against what they regard as the para-
phernalia of idolatry. There is at least an embarrassment
and some avoidance of such objects and a resentful reaction
to the label "primitive" even when it is used admiringly
by some Europeans.[1]

There is little doubt that the West has been destruc-
tive of African culture; and even Christianity, with its
mighty "sword of salvation" often times tended to deal
damaging, and sometimes deadly, blows on some of the cul-
tural values of the people. In many parts of Nigeria, for
example, the author's home town, Christian missionaries
destroyed many valuable works of art that, in their own
opinion, were associated with idolatry. So in their
attempt to save, they destroyed more, amounting to nothing
more or less than killing a fly on a child's forehead with

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[1]Cookson, et al, op. cit., p. 136.

a sledge hammer. The result of this is that it creates among the people, especially the educated young, a lack of pride in their indigenous cultural values and heritage, thus producing generations of people who are neither native or foreign. In some areas Western Christianity seems to have created more problems than it has solved. The African art forms and conceptions could be judiciously used to express church doctrine and liturgy.[1]

On the other hand, we must point out, Christianity in Africa has helped to accustom people to social change. It is difficult not to agree with Paul Bohannan in his "Africa for Africans" that "the great debt that Africa owes to missionaries is that in a situation in which the forces of trade, colonial government, and the missions themselves were creating cultural havoc, it was only the missions that began to rebuild."

"Though each culture has an internal unity, it is everywhere subject to change. . . When Western civilization impinges on aboriginal cultural patterns the changes come with great suddenness, and in a generation the life mode of a people may be completely altered. No part of Africa

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[1]For a further report of the arts of sub-Saharan Africa, see backgroun paper, "Changing Attitudes Toward Art in Transitional Africa", by Roy Sieber. Africa and the United States - Images and Realities. Eighth National Conference, U.S. National Committee for UNESCO, Boston, October 22-26, 1961.

has entirely escaped the Western man."[1]

There is the need to develop African culture. If education is to fulfill its many functions satisfactorily, education in Africa must be African; it must be based on African culture and on the special requirements of African progress in all fields.

For the "African Personality" to assert itself, observed Walter Goldschmidt,

> stress must be laid on the cultural and social features common to African countries. The countries of the continent must get to know each other better. An understanding of African customs, languges, psychology and sociology. . . can do much to help the work of doctors, demographic experts, statisticians, historians, sociologists and other specialists. As summed up in the words of a spokesman for Africa: 'The art forms that filled the leisure hours of our fathers must be revived. . . The old rituals and songs must be enriched with the rhythms of modern drums and the harmonies of absolute music. The dance and the incantations must be integrated with the richness of modern drama and the exquisite form of the ballet. The oral philosophy and history must blossom into a treasure of literature. The carvings in wood, the models in clay, the bronze creations, must be nurtured in our schools as distinct contributions to the world heritage of art'".[2]

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[1]Walter Goldschmidt, "Culture and Changing Values in Africa", The United States and Africa. The American Assembly, Columbia University, June, 1958, p. 173.

[2]Greenough, op. cit., p. 35.

CHAPTER III

TRADITIONALISM, MODERNISM, ATTITUDES AND VALUES:

A CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION AND DELINEATION OF

CHARACTERISTICS

Where is our school of ballroom dancing?
Who here can throw a cocktail party?
We must be modern with the rest
Or live forgotten by the world;
We must reject the palm wine habit
And take tea, with milk and sugar.

> Wole Soyinka, The Lion and the Jewel,
> 1963.

Traditionalism

"Traditionalism" and "modernism" are "loaded" con-

cepts and are not devoid of value connotations.[1] The

two terms can mean many different things to many people.

In the literature concerning modernization there appears

to be a considerable variation, if not confusion, in the

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[1]Andreas M. Kazamias, Education and the Quest for
Modernity in Turkey (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.;
1966), p. 226.

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way the terms have been used. Some writers have used the term "tradition"[1] as the polar opposite of modernism, rather than "traditionalism." The term "tradition" appears to be incorrect in the context of this study, because every society, whether "modern" or "premodern," depends for its continuity on the persistence and development of certain traditions. Traditions, therefore, are a necessary feature of every society and are not, in themselves, necessarily the obverse of modernity. In some groups or societies traditions may actually be functional for modernism.[2] "Traditionalism" involves worship of the past, but "traditions" are the dynamic modes through which society's life is maintained in changing situations. Traditions are more than stabilizing factors in time of change; they are the materials which are reformulated into new designs under the catalytic influence of oxogenous stimuli.[3] Specific traditions are sacred norms that lend themselves as ingredients in the creation

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[1]For an example of this usage see Joseph R. Gusfield, "Tradition and Modernity: A Case of Misplaced Polarities," The American Journal of Sociology, LXII, No. 4 (1967), pp. 351-362.

[2]In many instances it has been shown how "traditions" can promote rather than impede change. This will depend on the particular content and the manner in which "traditions" are utilized. See in this connection Bert F. Hoselitz,

[3]Carle C. Zimmerman and Richard E. DuWors (eds.), Sociology of Underdevelopment (Vancouver, B.C.: Copp Publishing Co., 1970), p. 36.

of novel social structures which integrate as modern
social systems. Other traditions, seemingly inimical to
development, are nullified in their negative aspects while
persisting in other situations to fulfill essential func-
tions and to give character and continuity in a period of
potential upheaval and disorganization.[1]

Thus, in seeking the polar opposite of modernism,
this study focuses attention not on traditions as such
but on a way of life that is so characterized by a rigid
adherence -- a blind loyalty, as it were -- to traditions,
that such an adherence becomes an obstacle to the pro-
motion or acceptance of change.[2]

Another term that we may come across in this study
is "traditional."[3] "Traditional" refers to the charac-

"Tradition and Economic Growth," in Ralph Braibanti and
Joseph J. Spengler (eds.), Tradition, Values and Economic
Development (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1961),
pp. 83-113.

[1]Ibid., p. 36.

[2]Hoselitz, op. cit., p. 83.

[3]Traditional should not be confused with aboriginal or
pre-colonial. Where colonialism was introduced only in the
last century, some traditional societies were aboriginal
tribal groups and others were segments of older state
structures. In much of Latin America, however, colonialism
reached many aboriginal societies four and a half centuries
ago, and transformations occurred during several major
periods prior to modernization. Latin America, therefore,
has many types of traditional societies which represent a
variety of structures and blends of Hispanic and Indian
traits. See Steward, Ibid., pp. 12-24.

teristics of the native society or state that existed

before modernizing influences began to transform it.

Because the processes of modernization have become dis-

cernible in most areas only in recent decades, traditional

usually means what many living persons remember or were

told of the former way of life.[1] In some ways the tra-

ditional culture still survives with great strength.

Modernization

Modernization is a complex multi-dimensional process.

Scholars from a variety of disciplines, development plan-

ners and political leaders of every ideological persusasion

have attempted to define the concept. Implicit in most

definitions is the view that modernization is brought about

by the widespread application of scientific knowledge to

the solution of man's problems and that this application

of science brings about marked social change.

Modernization has been given a variety of definitions

by scholars who have used the term. As Weiner points out,

> Economists see modernization primarily in terms
> of man's application of technologies to the con-
> trol of nature's resources in order to bring about
> a marked increase in the growth of output per head
> of population. Sociologists and social anthropolo-
> gists have been primarily concerned with the pro-
> cess of differentiation that characterizes modern
> societies. . . political scientists have focussed

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[1]Julian H. Steward (ed.), Contemporary Change in Tra-
ditional Societies, Vol. 1. (Urbana: University of Illinois
Press, 1967), p. 22.

particularly on the problem of nation and
government building as modernization
occurs.[1]

Other scholars suggest that, fundamentally, moderni-

zation must be viewed in psychological or individual

terms.   Thus Lerner[2] argues that persons move from tra-

ditional to modern styles of life as they increase their

empathic capacity,   or, in other words, their ability

vicariously to project themselves across social and

occupational class lines. McClelland,[3] on the other hand,

argues that the level of "achievement motivation" is the

key to the level of modernization of individual or groups.

Hagen[4] speaks of the innovational personality and con-

cludes that personality change is typically the first step

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[1]Myron Weiner (ed.), Modernization (New York: Basic
Books, 1966), p. 3.

[2]Daniel Lerner, The Passing of the Traditional
Society (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1964), p.
47.

[3]David McClelland, The Achieving Society (Princeton,
New Jersey: Van Nostrand, 1961).

[4]Everett E. Hagen, On the Theory of Social Change:
How Economic Growth Begins, Part II (Homewood, Illinois:
Dorsey Press, 1962).

in the modernization sequence involving urbanization, increased media participation, increased literacy, and further change in personality. Black, a historian, views modernization as a general term referring to "the process by which historically evolved institutions are adapted to the rapidly changing functions that reflect the unpre-cented increase in man's knowledge, permitting control over his environment that accompanied the scientific revolution."[1] According to Ward, "in logic and in etymology, modernization denotes a process of long range cultural and social change accepted by members of the changing society as beneficial, inevitable and desirable."[2] Steward uses "modernization" to designate "sociocultural transformations that result from factors and processes that are distinctive of the contemporary industrial world." He adds that "modernization" in no way implies that the transformations and new qualities of the con-temporary world are superior, better, or indicative of progress or improvement according to value judgements. Neither does it imply deterioration or worsening of con-temporary life."[3] To him, the term is neutral.

[1]C.E. Black, The Dynamics of Modernization (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), p. 7.

[2]Robert E. Ward and Dankwart A. Rustow (eds.), Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1966), p. 266.

[3]Steward (ed.), op. cit., pp. 20-21.

There is still no very widely accepted theory of
modernization. There are theories of social change and
theories of economic growth, but no adequate models
exist to explan why and how individuals, institutions,
and culture prosper or decline.[1] The confusion over
the meaning of modernization is illustrated by the various
uses of the term itself. Throughout the literature one
can find "modernization" used as a synonym for such pro-
cesses as industrialization, economic development,
Westernization, or even urbanization.

For the purpose of this study, the term "modernization"
will be defined as a type of social change directed by a
rational belief system, whereby new social roles and new
interrelationships among roles emerge. Not only are the
emerging social roles and tasks increasingly specialized
and complex, but recruitment to roles and evaluation of
role performance are increasingly rational or achievement
oriented.[2]

Modernization began when man entered the "scientific
epoch" with the invention of the steam engine.[3] Since
then, the rate of science-based technological advancement

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[1]Don Adams, Education and Modernization in Asia.
(Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1970), p. 3.

[2]Ibid., p. 3.

[3]S. Kuznets, Modern Economic Growth, (New Haven: Yale
University Press, 1966.), pp. 8-11.

has been proceeding at an ever increasing pace. The speed with which this progress has taken place (and continues to occur) has posed a great problem for the nation-states affected by the introduction of new technology. That problem has been how to adapt their social systems to the rapid rate of change.

Change in human society is obviously not a recent phenomenon. The history of mankind, from the very beginning, is one of change. Prior to the middle of the eighteenth century, however, changes in technology were comparatively slow, and, as a result, man did not need to make radical changes in his social order.

What distinguishes modernization from previous types of change, then, is the order and magnitude of the changes brought about through the application of science-based technology. Modernization ultimately involves the transformation. As Eisenstadt puts it, "the transformation of all systems by which man organizes his society, that is, his political, social, economic, intellectual, religious and psychological systems. . ."[1]

The nation-states of Europe, North America and Japan were affected by modernization early in the scientific

[1]Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, Modernization: Protest and Change (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), p. 42.

epoch.[1] Many of the other nations are only now begin-

ning to face the problems brought about by modernization.

Contemporary "modern" societies have passed through a

number of phases on the road to modernity. At each

phase, different problems became important and required

different types of change. In the political sphere, for

example, the definition of political community, the ex-

tension of sufferage, the attainment of independence, and

the secularization of culture have been major problems

confronting nation-states at different stages in the

modernization process.[2]

  This is not to say that all states must inevitably

move through exactly the same stages during the drive to

attain modernity. The particular phases through which a

given nation must pass, in its efforts to modernize, are

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[1]The scientific epoch is characterized by ". . .
the extended application of science to the problem of
economic production. . ." Kuznets, op. cit., p. 9.
Professor Kuznets actually includes the scientific epoch
because ". . . the intellectual and cultural milieu within
which the basic steam inventions were made also produced
the burgeoning of modern science and brought about its
more extended applications." Ibid., p. 11.

[2]Eisenstadt, op. cit., p. 6.

determined, to a great extent, by the character and
history of the social system prior to the advent of
modernization. Technological change preceded, or roughly
coincided with, political and social change in many of the
nations which experienced the first stages of modernization
early in the scientific epoch. Today, political change has
preceded a drive toward widespread technological advance-
ment in many parts of the Third World.

Earlier in this chapter, it has been pointed out that
"modernization," a "loaded concept," has often been used
as a synonym for "Westernization," by some scholars. This
is probably due to the historical origins of the moderni-
zation process in the western countries.

Prior to the Industrial Revolution the West itself
was characterized by some of the features that character-
ize contemporary traditional societies. As Passin points
out, "The Western past was also a traditional society,
with its domination of sacred over secular elements, its
low mobility and hierarchy, its preference for stability
and order rather than change."[1] The change from tra-
ditional to modern society, according to him, requires in
principle as thoroughgiving a transformation of ideas,
ideals and institutions in the West as in the East.[2] De

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[1]Herbert Passin, "Modernization and the Japanese
Intellectual: Some Comparative Observations," in Marius
B. Jansen (ed.), Changing Japanese Attitudes Toward Mod-
ernization (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University
Press, 1965), p. 448.

[2]Ibid., pp. 448-449.

La Costa also makes a smiliar reference to the "western-
ization" of Japan by pointing out that "Japan in a sense
has been westernized in precisely the same way that the
West itself was westernized. For impersonal organization
and impersonal authority, far from being constants of
European culture or character were developed in much the
same way that they were developed in Japan, by process
of economic and social change."[1] In De La Costa's view,
therefore, Japan has not been "westernized" but has only
experienced the economic and social changes that have
transformed the West itself from a feudal to a capital-
istic society over the past two centuries. It suffices
to say, then, that there is nothing inherent in the
western society *per se* that should warrant the equation
of "westernization" with "modernization" -- a term with
a secular, rational and universalistic world view.

Another reason why the term "westernization" is not
an appropriate synonym for "modernization" is that many
countries of the Third World, in trying to transform
themselves, are not seeking a complete cultural identi-
fication with the West; rather they want to draw virility
from the strengths that existed in their heritage. They

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[1]H. De La Costa, "The Concept of Progress and Tra-
ditional Values in a Christian Society." in Robert N.
Bellsh (ed.) Religion and Progress in Modern Asia (New
York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1965), p. 28.

do not wish to give up their own socio-cultural heritage entirely and become a "carbon copy" of the West. Lamb points out that "within India today, the 'modern' is certainly not synonymous with the "western." Quite distinct from any fresh importation of western modernism, there is a truly Indian modernism as well."[1] Turkey has also been credited with similar remarks from Kazmias. He observes that

> During the republican period, the moderni-
> zation-Westernization movement acquired new
> dimensions. It became an all-out attempt
> to wipe out everything that was associated
> with the Ottoman-Islamic past. The means
> used in pursuing this goal were often
> arbitrary and dictorial. In the minds of
> the new leaders, there was no room for
> reconciliation, no ground for any synthesis;
> the older order must be replaced, lock, stock,
> and fez by a new one. Education became a
> major instrument for what was to be Turkey's
> 'grand transformation', hence a major focus
> of reform.[2]

Kasmias adds that "educational transfer, borrowing or innovation in the Ottoman Empire, unlike that of some ex-colonies in Africa, for example, was largely initiated by the indigneous elites themselves; Western education was not superimposed by "external" agents."[3]

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[1]Beatrice P. Lamb, India: A World in Transition (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966), p. 3.

[2]Kazmias, 1966, op. cit., p. 263.

[3]Ibid., pp. 262-263.

As Kazmias further points out, "'traditional', 'modern', and 'Western' are 'loaded' concepts and are not devoid of value connotations. To be modernized or Westernized may be good or bad, depending on what values individuals or societies attach to such states or processes."[1]

The term "modern" does not necessarily mean "desirable." Nothing is more modern, we suppose, than nuclear weapons, or the horrendous possibility that the human race can in a flash commit global suicide or at least level civilizations to the ground. The germ warfare is a modern threat. And, if democracy is modern in the world, even more modern is facism. The efficiency of its wickedness and the scale of its oppression, are historically unprecedented. In fact, in many ways, modernity is a threat.[2]

There is another word which is sometimes utilized as a substitute for the term "modernization"; this word is "development." Some have attempted to make the idea of development more discrete by adding modifiers such as "economic" or "political" or "educational" or "ideological." As Adams and Bjork see it, this diversive approach has limitations reminiscent of the old story of

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[1]Ibid., p. 226.

[2]Don Adams and Robert M. Bjork, _Education in Developing Areas_ (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1969), p. 5.

the blind men describing the elephant -- the one who
touches the trunk thinking it is like a snake, the one
who touches the leg thinking it is like a tree.

In spite of the lack of concensus on the nature of
development in the abstract sense, a perusal of the
literature on the developing countries discloses a
certain consistency in the descriptions advanced. There
are certain characteristics commonly noted as typical of
developing societies. Often-mentioned characteristics of
developing countries include the following:

1. High birth and death rates (but often
    with death rates declining and a con-
    sequent 2 to 3 per cent growth in
    population).

2. Poor sanitation and health practices
    (great lack of health services).

3. Poor housing.

4. High percentage of population in
    agriculture.

5. Low per capita income (and high
    percentage amount of this income
    for food).

6. Low food intake.

7. High illiteracy and very low enroll-
    ment in schools (particularly secondary
    and high schools).

8. Weak and uneven feelings of national
    cohesion.

9. Tradition-directed behavior and an
    ascribed system of stratification.

10. Low status for women.

11. Poor technology (communication and trans-
    port systems limited).

12. High prevalence of child labor.

13. Export of raw materials in any foreign
    trade arrangements.

14. Low savings and low net investment.

15. Poor yield on the land and much soil
    depletion.

16. Military or feudal domination of
    state machinery.

17. Wealth in hands of landlords (a very
    tiny class as a proportion of the
    population) and the absence of a middle
    class.

18. Poor credit facilities and high interest
    rates.

19. Prevalence of nonmonetized production.

20. Much of productive land in small holdings
    (often tenant-held).

21. Wealth concentrated in one or two large
    cities (or exported to "safe" developed
    countries).

22. Social loyalties and concern mainly
    family-centered or local in focus.[1]

Let us contrast modernization and development.

Modernization is stimulated by novel, recently revealed

ways of accomplishing tasks which offer improved, more

successful ways to cope with the existing, traditional

environment. This is a continuous process. The stimulus

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[1]Ibid., pp. 5-6.

for modernization may be external, or internal, or both.[1]

Development, in contrast, is used to denote the maximization of the potential of the society, regardless of any limits currently set by the goals or fundamental structure of the society.[2] In this view, development is an open-ended commitment to productive change, no matter what the consequences might be on existing goals or existing ways of doing things. For this reason, development is said to be dependent on a commitment to objectivity, that is, that innovation is accepted or rejected on the objective grounds of whether or not it contributes to maximizing the society's potential.[3]

"In these interpretations of modernization and development," observed Jacobs, "modernization may be considered as an integral part of the process of development, but not necessarily vice versa."[4]

Another distinction which may be made between modernization and development is that the former can be

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[1]Norman Jacobs, Modernization Without Development: Thailand as an Asian Case Study (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969), p. 9.

[2]Ibid., p. 9.

[3]Ibid., p. 9.

[4]Ibid., p. 10.

satisfactorily expressed quantitatively which, in the
economy at least, is termed growth. But development,
although it can also be expressed quantitatively, be-
cause it is vitally concerned with the acceptance of
novel interrelationships of human beings among themselves
and in interaction with their environment, must be ex-
pressed qualitatively.[1] Without development, modernizing
growth rates eventually reach a plateau, while development,
after perhaps an unimpressive start, will continuously
move forward until its measurable growth rate surpasses
that of the (only) modernized society.[2] And so it was
empirically in the case of modernizing Siam as compared
to developing Japan even as early as the nineteenth cen-
tury.[3] This view seems to be supported by a growing num-
ber of economists working in the non-western field.[4] De-
velopment, therefore, requires qualitative change in all
the crucial focuses of the social order, such as in the
economy.

Most modern writing is in accord with economic em-
phasis in development. It is quite unlikely that many
people would use the word "development" to apply to a

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[1]Ibid., p. 11.

[2]Ibid., p. 11.

[3]Ibid., p. 11.

[4]Ibid., p. 11.

society that was poor and getting poorer, but achieving
greater political freedom, a greater religious fervor,
or greater national solidarity. Some have used educa-
tional advance as a standard of development, but because
it has a high correlation with improved GNP per capita,
such a standard tends to measure the degree of economic
growth as well as educational advance. One interesting
effort to measure development on the basis of educational
progress was worked out by Harbison and Myers.[1] The im-
lication of the Harbison and Myers scheme is that develop-
ment necessarily involves educational advance as well as
economic growth. It may be that economic growth simply
brings in its wake more formal education. On the other
hand, it is possible that educational development is, in
many cases, a necessary condition for further economic
development as a multifaceted phenomenon in which there
is no one crucial element. Economic, political, edu-
cational, family, and religious factors may be so in-
extricably intertwined that one cannot properly view
economic growth as the sole engine of development.[2]
Rather, the focus is on the interaction of elements within
the social system in a way that creates conditions for the

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[1]Frecerick H. Harbison and Charles A. Myers, Education
Manpower, and Economic Growth (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964),
pp. 23-48.

[2]Adams and Bjork, op. cit., p. 10.

proliferation of specialized institutional structures.

There is a tendency on the part of some development planners in some of the developing countries of the world to think that the efficient development of national resources will always reduce the backwardness of the people. This does not hold true always. In Myint's view

> It does not necessarily follow that any efficient development of natural resources resulting in an increase in total output will always and pari passu reduce the backwardness of people. . . Backwardness in many countries has been made more acute, not because the natural resources have remained "underdeveloped," but because they have been as fully and rapidly developed as market conditions permitted while the inhabitants have been left out, being either unable or unwilling, or both to participate fully in the process.[1]

The implication here is that people must be thought of, in terms of development, not as underdeveloped factors of production but rather as mutable human beings whose presently backward way of life must be transformed so that better relationship between man and nature, and man and man, can be accomplished. The basic problem is not the status of the resources themselves. The development of natural resources is likely to be a necessary but not a sufficient means of solving the problem of human misery,

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[1] H. Myint, "An Interpretation of Economic Backwardness," A.N. Agarwala and S.P. Singh, eds. The Economics of Underdevelopment (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 96.

degradation, and discontent.[1]

Some Characteristics of Traditional and Modern
Societies

Many social scientists dealing with the developing
countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America have used as
a tool of analysis some aspect of the dichotomy between
"traditional" and "modern" societies, and have analyzed
the processes of transition from one to the other. The
dichotomy is used in several ways such as "folk society"
and "urban society," "traditional society" and "mass
society," and so on. One thing to be borne in mind is
that within any one of these societies, geographical
regions and some social strata are more modern than
others, and within a given individual there may exist
tensions resulting from the conflict between traditional
and modern values.

There are many characteristics that are usually used
to contrast traditional with modern societies. The ones
which follow seem most common:

1. The division of labor. The most simple
    index of this characteristic is the pro-
    portion of the labor force engaged in
    agriculture; traditional societies may

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[1]Adams and Bjork, op. cit., p. 17.

have 70 to 80 per cent of the workers
tilling the soil modern societies can
get by with less than 10 per cent on
the farm. More subtle indices divide
the nonagricultural labor force into tra-
ditional sectors, such as artisans,
priests, and lawyers, and into modern
sectors, such as industrial workers,
clerks in bureaucracies, and engineers.

2. The state of technology. A traditional
society uses customary techniques of
production, handed down from father to
son. A modern society uses sophisticated
engineering based upon the latest fruits
of world-wide scientific research.

3. The degree of urbanization. Since modern
agricultural technology permits a small
proportion of the labor force to feed
the remainder of the population, using
a low ratio of men to land, most of the
society becomes urban.

4. The economy. Traditional society is
based on localized markets, where much
of the production is for a meagre level
of subsistence although a plantation
type of crop or minerals may enter world
markets. Modern society is based on com-
plex commercial markets unifying all parts
of the nation; per capita production and
consumption are high.

5. The system of social stratification. Tra-
ditional society is deeply divided between
landlords and peasants. Modern society has
a range of statuses that reflects the range
of positions in the division of labor:
there are many, and the distinctions be-
tween them are not so sharp. The distri-
bution of prestige, of income, and of
power becomes more equalitarian, and the
rate of mobility between strata increases.

6. Education and communications. Traditional
society is in the main illiterate, although
the tiny elite may have a high level of
humanistic and legal scholarship. Modern

society is literate; there is wide-
spread secondary education that blurs
the distinction between elite and mass,
and the entire system of education moves
toward the technical and the pragmatic.
The mass media cater to the bulk of the
population, cognizant of its primary and
secondary education, and they shape
thought in new images that replace
customary symbols.

7. Values. Traditional values are com-
pulsory in their force, sacred in their
tone, and stable in their timelessness.
They call for fatalistic acceptance of
the world as it is, respect for those
in authority, and submergence of the
individual in the collectivity. Modern
values are rational and secular, permit
choice and experiment, glorify efficiency
and change, and stress individual re-
sponsibility.[1]

Turning to traditionalism, Hagen in his popular work

On the Theory of Social Change, has the following obser-

vations to make:

The image of the world of the simple folks and
the elite classes alike includes a perception
of the uncontrollable forces around them that
restricts or dominates their lives. . . The
lines of dependence extend upwards to the
spiritual powers, to whom the members of the
society appeal for protection against physical
forces. . .

The simple folk find satisfaction in
both submissiveness and domination; their
personalities as well as those of the elites
are authoritarian. . .

And members of both groups fearing to
attack its problems, preferring to avoid the
issues of the righteousness of solution by
letting them depend on authority are by

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[1]Joseph A. Kahl, The Measurement of Modernity:
A Study of Values in Brazil and Mexico (Austin: Uni-
versity of Texas Press, 1968), pp. 4-6.

virtue of these characteristics uncreative.[1]

"The traditional society," writes Horowitz, "is characterized by little change from generation to generation: a behavioral pattern governed almost exclusively by custom, status determined almost exclusively by inheritance; low economic productivity and life style grounded on the principle of hierarchial command."[2]

Some illustrations drawn from different traditional societies might help to give us some insight into the characteristics of traditionalism.

Oscar Lewis' findings in his classic account of the Mexican village of Tepoztlan, emphasize

> the underlying individualism of Tepoztecan institutions and character, the lack of cooperation, the tensions betwen villages within the municipio, the schisms within the village, and the pervading quality of fear, envy, and distrust in inter-personal relations.
>
> Gossip is unrelenting and harsh. . . Facts about people are unconsciously or maliciously distorted. . . Relatives and neighbors are quick to believe the worst, and motives are always under question. . . Successful persons are popular targets of criticism, envy, and malicious gossip.[3]

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[1]Everett E. Hagen, On the Theory of Social Change (Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, Inc., 1962), pp. 83-84.

[2]Irving L. Horowitz, Three Worlds of Development (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 61.

[3]Oscar Lewis, Life in a Mexican Village (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1961), pp. 429-294.

The physician-psychiatrist Carstairs found a similar picture in a Rajasthan village in India. Villagers often made enthusiastic plans to work together for the mutual good, but these plans were rarely carried out. "Within an hour or two, one of the group would warn me that someone else was only in the scheme for his own advantage... From the beginning to the end of my stay, my notebooks record instances of suspicion and mutual distrust."[1]

Opposing the centrifugal forces which are constantly tearing at traditional societies are centripetal forces which hold it together. In some places -- the Indian village is a good example -- a strong feeling of unity marks the extended family and the caste, and mutual and reciprocal obligations mark the behaviour of people bound together in such units. The Wisers, paraphrasing the villagers, write,

> No villager thinks of himself apart from his family. He rises or falls with it. . . . we need the strength of the family to support us . . . . That man is to be pitied who must stand alone against the dangers, seen and unseen, which beset him. Our families are our insurance. When a man falls ill, he knows that his family will care for him and his children until he is able to earn again. And they will be cared for without a word of reproach. If a man dies, his widow and children are sure of the protection of a home.[2]

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[1] G. Morris Carstairs, The Twice-Born: A Study of a Community of High-Caste Hindus (Bloomington: University

[2] Charlotte V. Wiser and William H. Wise, Behind Mud

In a typical traditional society, so much of the
world is not subject to control and not even understood;
it is not surprising to find that the critical sense of
its average member operates within narrow limits in many
things. He is able to believe the most improbable things.
R.N. Adams found in Guatemala that blood withdrawn in
health surveys was rumoured to be a test to see if children
were fat enough to be sent to the United States where
children were delicacies for the tables of epicureans.[1]

The Anaguta of northern Nigeria provide us with some
more insight into some of the characteristics of tra-
ditional societies. Stanley Diamond, who had spent
several years among the Anaguta, has the following ob-
servations to make about them.

> With insignificant exception, they refuse to
> migrate from their dwindling lands... They
> do not encourage their children to go to
> school, do not send vanguard groups to
> settle in the town and search out new possi-
> bilities of livelihood... The majority have
> been no further than 10 or 12 miles from
> their native hamlets... Electricity, the
> cinema, trucks, automobiles, the artifacts
> of white civilization, do not arouse
> curiosity. They believe their native
> territory is at the center of the world
> 'where space and time intersect, and that
> for them, is 'equivalent to living as close

of Indiana Press, 1958), p. 40.

Walls (New York: Agricultural Missions, Inc., 1951), p. 160.

[1]Richard N. Adams "A Nutritional Research Program in
Guatemala," In B.D. Paul, (ed.), Health Culture and Com-
munity. (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1955), p.
448.

as possible to the Gods.'[1]

> The Anaguta accept things as they are
> ... They have been fatally slow in accept-
> ing the simplest assumptions of the modern
> world... They have adopted very few of the
> "amenities of civilization," and these,
> unsystematically. Belief in their basic
> usages remains unshaken, even though the
> functions have been crippled.[2]

> All of these Pagans[3] are conservative
> by nature and their outlook is backwards,
> maintenance of contact with the past being
> of more importance, apparently, than specu-
> lation about the future.... Living in their
> own villages and preferring their own com-
> pany, they are still largely spectators of
> the approach of civilization. But just as
> in the past Tribes have sometimes adopted
> a custom from a neighboring Tribe, so in
> recent years many of them have shown an
> increasing tendency to avail themselves of
> the amenities of civilization where they
> see a distinct advantage to be gained.[4]

We defined modernization earlier in this chapter as

a type of social change directed by a rational belief

system, whereby new social roles and new interrelation-

ships among roles emerge. "Whether from East or West,"

writes Daniel Lerner, "modernization poses the same

basic challenge -- the infusion of a rationalistic and

positivist spirit.... People come to see the social

future as manipulable rather than ordained and their per-

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[1]Steward (ed.) Vol. 1, op. cit., p. 373.

[2]Ibid., p. 377.

[3]The term "Pagan" is generally used in Nigeria to
designate non-Christian, non-Islamic peoples.

[4]Steward (ed.), Vol. 1, op. cit., p. 377.

sonal prospects in terms of achievements rather than heritage."[1]

Modernization is more than assimilation of a traditional society into a state or transmission of traits of the contemporary industrialized state to an ethnic group. It consists of those processes by which qualities unique to the modern world affect any component of urban or rural population.[2] The contemporary world culture has a vast repertory of scientific knowledge, technological applications of science in industry, transportation, communications, health, and other fields, international economic instituions, religious, political alliances, and humanistic achievements. All nations contribute in some degree to this culture, and, under certain preconditions, any may potentially draw from it.[3]

Many social scientists have a conception of the modern man, but a few have submitted this conception to an empirical test to ascertain whether this type really exists in nature and to determine how often he appears on the scene. Important exceptions may be found in the work of Kahl (1968), Dawson (1967), and Doob (1967).[4]

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[1]Lerner, op. cit., pp. 45-47.

[2]Steward, op. cit., p. 7.

[3]Ibid., p. 7.

[4]Alex Inkeles, Making Men Modern - A Paper Presented at the Dallas Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in the Section on "Comparative Sociology and Contemporary Social Issues," Dec. 29, 1968,p.3.

Inkeles believes that there is a set of personal qualities which reliably cohere as a syndrome and which identify a type of man who may validly be described as fitting a reasonable theoretical conception of the modern man. Central to this syndrome are:[1] (1) openness to new experience, both with people and with new ways of doing things such as attempting to control birth; (2) the assertion of increasing independence from the authority of traditional figures like parents and priests and a shift of allegiance to leaders of government, public affairs, trade unions, cooperatives, and the like -- a democratic orientation in the opinion realm; (3) belief in the efficacy of science and technology, and a general abandonment of passivity and fatalism in the face of life's difficulties; (4) a present-future orientation; (5) ambition for oneself and one's children to achieve high occupational and educational goals; (6) an orientation towards careful planning of affairs in advance; (7) awareness of the dignity of others and disposition for showing respect to them; (8) showing strong interest and taking an active part in civic and community affairs and local politics; and (9) striving energetically to keep up with the news, and within this effort to prefer news of national and international import over items dealing with sports, religion, and purely local affairs.

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[1]Alex Inkeles, "The Modernization of Man," in Myron Weiner (ed.), <u>Modernization: The Dynamics of Growth</u> (New

Joseph Kahl's conception of modernism has fourteen value scales, seven of which are considered the "core" of modernism by him. The following are his fourteen value scales; the first seven scales are those considered the "core of modernization":

    I.   Activism

    II.   Low Integration with Relatives

    III.   Preference for Urban Life

    IV.   Individualism

    V.   Low Community Stratification

    VI.   Mass-Media Participation

    VII.   Low Stratification of Life Chances

    VIII.   Trust

    IX.   Anti Big Companies

    X.   Pro Manual Work

    XI.   Low Occupational Primacy

    XII.   Risk-Taking

    XIII.   Family Modernism

    XIV.   Low Religiosity[1]

Kahl holds that a "modern" man "is an activist; he attempts to shape his world instead of passively and fatalistically responding to it. He is an individualist, who does not merge his work career with that of either

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York: Basic Books, Inc., 1966), pp. 138-150.

   [1]Kahl, op. cit., p. 37.

relatives or friends. He believes that an indepedent
career is not only desirable but possible, for he per-
ceives both life chances and the local community to be
low in ascribed status. He prefers urban life to rural
life, and he follows the mass media."[1]

Almost all observers have stressed "activism" (its
opposite: fatalism) as central to the contrast between
the rural and the industrial value systems. The whole
structure of an average rural person's experience tends
to make him a fatalist. Lacking sophisticated technology,
he is dependent upon the existing ecological offerings;
the weather, the soil, the seeds. He is subjected to the
power of those in higher status and has little recourse
when he is exploited and plundered. He learns to take
life as it comes, to adjust to it and accept it, rather
.than try constantly to change it. He often ends up con-
soling himself with a religious belief that things will
be better in the after life.[2]

By contrast, the modern man uses technology to shape
the world to his own desires. He comes to feel that con-
trol and change are not only desirable, but possible.[3]

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[1]Ibid., p. 37.

[2]Ibid., p. 18.

[3]The modern man referred to here is the one who is
fully participant in his society; marginal men at the very

He becomes an activist. Activism can be seen as a com-
bination of Kluckhohn's "future time" and "mastery over
nature."[1]

Connected with activism is a belief that the social
system is open to individual advancement, that a man can,
if he wishes and tries and has some luck, change his status.
In sociological jargon, he sees status as achieved rather
than acribed. Kahl calls this "a perception of low
stratification of life chances."[2]

"Fatalism" (its opposite: activism), it has been
asserted by many observers, stands as a barrier to moderni-
zation. Fatalism is the degree to which an individual
perceives a lack of ability to control his future.[3] Fatal-

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bottom of the status hierarchy, even in big cities, often
behave like peasants, for they too are subject to manipu-
lation beyond their control. Low status makes a man tra-
ditional, even more than does provincial location. See
Ibid., p. 18.

[1]Kluckhohn and Stodtbeck see fatalism as being closely
synonymous with subjugation to nature and a lack of future
orientation. For more on this see Florence Kluckhohn and
Fred L. Strodtbeck, Variations in Value Orientations (New
York: Harper and Row, 1961).

[2]Kahl, op. cit., p. 19.

[3]Everett M. Rogers, Modernization Among Peasants
(New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969), p. 273.

istic individuals believe that the events of their lives
are preordained and determined by fate or supernatural
forces. Their attitudes toward self-control of future
events involve passivity, pessimism, acceptance, endurance,
pliancy, and evasion.[1] Fatalism is opostulated by Seeman,
as a sort of generalized sense of powerlessness.[2]

Fatalistic beliefs are believed to be pervasive among
most peasants. Rogers' experiences in Latin American are
supportive of this statement. "In rural Colombia," ob-
served Rogers, "when an infant dies, the parents are
likely to say, "It was his destiny not to grow up."
Whenever a Colombian announces his intention to undertake
some future activity, the counter remark is often an
automatic "Ojalla," ... (meaning if God wills): similar
epitahs may be encountered throughout Latin America, the
Middle East, and India and Pakistan."[3] Latin American
attitudes toward death is described by Erasmus in this
way: "Much of the peasant's seeming apathy and unconcern
results from the prevalent attitude that it does not
really matter what is done to help a person, if his time

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[1]_Ibid._, p. 273.

[2]"Powerlessness" is one of the five dimensions of
alienation postulated by Seeman. The other four dimen-
sions are isolation, self-enstrangement, meaninglessness,
and normlessness. For a detailed treatment on this see
Melvin Seeman, 1959, "On the Meaning of Alienation,"
American Sociological Review, 24: 783-791.

[3]Rogers, _op. cit._, p. 274.

has come to die..."[1]

There are several reasons why people are fatalistic. Probably the most important of these is that they have a relatively low degree of mastery over their natural and social environments.[2] They lack the knowledge, skills, and resources necessary to cope with phenomena such as drought, flood, and famine. The causes of these conditions are looked upon as a visitation from gods or evil spirits, whom man can propitiate but not control. A fatalistic outlook, the assumption that whatever happens is the will of God or Allah, is perhaps the best adjustment the individual can make to an apparently hopeless situation.[3] Many rural people sometimes utilize fatalistic attitudes as a means of psychological adaptation to a harsh environment. Gans suggests that this is true not only among the rural people but also among the urban poor. "It is this belief in fate," writes Ganes, "that allows the West Ender (an Italian slum dweller in Boston) to face illness and even death with resignation when there is little chance for recovery, and that softens the blow for his survivors, allowing them to continue to function."[4]

[1]Charles J. Erasmus, Man Takes Control (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1961), p. 52.

[2]Foster, op. cit., pp. 52-59.

[3]Rogers, op. cit., p. 274.

[4]Herbert J. Gans, The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian Americans (New York: Free Press, 1962), p. 248.

There is an assertion by the proponents of the
"fatalism as a barrier" school of thought that the pro-
cess of modernization itself can promote fatalism. En-
couragement to want more than they can have or possibly
get, rural people are frustrated by the difference be-
tween aspirations and actualities, and they are likely
to develop a retreatist and fatalistic disposition to-
ward change.[1] A parallel could be drawn between this
and what Lerner terms as "the revolution of rising ex-
pectations" of the 1950's which gave way to a "revolution
of rising frustrations" in the 1960's.[2] It is a well
known fact that aspirations are more easily aroused than
satisfied.

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[1]Rogers, op. cit., p. 275.

[2]Satisfaction is a ratio of "gets" to wants," of
achievements to aspirations. The conception is Lerner's.
It states that as actualities fell far short of aspira-
tions, as the denominator in the gets/wants ratio in-
creased faster than the numerator, there is bound to be
rising frustrations. This manifested itself in the 1960's
when political leaders in developing countries came to
realize that their speeches were often promissory notes
on which they could not deliver. Government instability
became prevalent in many African and some Asian and Latin
American countries. Development analysts thus concluded
that, while a certain level of aspiration for modernization
was a good thing, too much led to a general frustration
which could have hurtful consequences. Extreme discontent
and revolution act to set back the rate of development
rather than to speed it up. See Daniel Lerner, "Toward
A Communication Theory of Modernization," in Lucien W.
Pye, ed., Communications and Political Development
(Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963),
pp. 333-349. Also Rogers, op. cit., p. 12.

Some religious beliefs are fatalistic; hence they
constitute an impediment to modernization. Hunt views
the religious beliefs prominently held in many parts of
the Third World as essentially fatalistic and character-
ize them as blocks to economic development. He contends
that "the tradition-bound rigidity of Islam, the other-
worldly emphasis of Buddhism, the asceticism of Hinduism
and the fiesta-laden Catholicism of countries of Spanish
tradition, may embody important teachings, but their
emphasis is not calculated to provide industrious workers,
thrifty capitalists or daring promoters.[1]

There are certain factors that are likely to reduce
fatalism, thereby increasing the probability of innovation
adoption. It is suggested that literacy, empathy, cosmo-
politeness, and mass media exposures are likely to in-
crease an individual's self-perceived control of his life,
thereby decreasing his fatalism.[2]

Although fatalism may prevent an active search for
new ideas from the outside world and discourage an active
attempt to change one's life situation, it does not
necessarily cause avoidance of innovations injected to the
villager from external sources. Experiences have shown

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[1]Charles L. Hunt, "Cultural Barriers to Point Four,"
in Lyle W. Shannon, (ed.), Underdeveloped Areas: A Body of
Readings and Research (New York: Harper and Row, 1957),
p. 318.

[2]Rogers, op. cit., p. 275.

that the fatalistic village is likely to endure the introduction of new ideas by change agents with apathetic passivity.[1]

The qualities which serve empirically to define a modern man do not differ substantially from occupation to occupation, or more critically from culture to culture.. This means that what defines a modern man as modern in one country also defines him as modern in another. The nature of the human personality, its inner "rules" of organization, is evidently basically similar everywhere. There is evidently a system of inner, or what might be called structural, constraints in the organization of the human personality which increase the probability that those individuals -- whatever their culture -- who have certain personality traits will also more likely have others which "go with" some particular basic personality system.[2]

The modernization process is unidimension and therefore cannot be measured by a single criterion or index. One cannot assure that because an individual has a high level of living, he is necessarily modern; he could, in fact, be quite traditional. Modernization should be viewed as a process involving the interaction of many

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[1]Ibid., p. 277.

[2]Inkeles, 1968, op. cit., p. 5.

factors, so that more than one aspect of an individual's behavior must be measured in order to determine his status on the modernization continuum. Variables such as literacy and education, level of living, aspirations, political participation, cosmopoliteness, and communication are all factors determining modernization.[1]

Thus we notice that "modernity" is related to social-class background as well as to place of residence, that it can be shaped by experiences in school and also on the job, that a man can concurrently hold values that stress a somewhat old-fashioned view of professional elitism and a more contemporary view of technical skill and prestige...[2]

To sum up, we contend that not everything modern is good. Modernization brings change, which may very well produce not only benefit but also conflict, pain, and relative disadvantage. Black warns us that "modernization must be thought of.:..as a process that is simultaneously creative and destructive, providing new opportunities and prospects at a high price in human dislocation and suffering."[3] Modernism is not something that can be imported or added on, or something that can be brought and paid for; so that once one had it he then can relax and

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[1]Rogers, op. cit., p. 15.

[2]Kahl, op. cit., p. 15.

[3]C.E. Black, The Dynamics of Modernization: A Study in Comparative History (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), p. 27.

enjoy it passively. In the words of Wilfred Smith,
"Modernism is not to adopt but to participate in; not
to have, but to do and to be. And not even to be, but
to keep becoming -- a process, an orientation, a dynamic."[1]

Attitudes and Values

Attitudes, like modernization, have been given a
variety of definitions by the scholars who have used the
term. Allport defines an attitude as "a mental and neural
state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting
a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's
response to all objects and situations with which it is
related."[2] Triandis speaks of attitude as "an idea
charged with emotion which predisposes a class of actions
to a particular class of social situations."[3] Zimbardo
and Ebbesen regard attitude as "either mental readinesses
or implicit predispositions which exert some general and
consistent influence on a fairly large class of evaluative
responses. These responses are usually directed toward some

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[1]Wilfred C. Smith, _Modernization of a Traditional
Society_ (New York: Asia Publishing House, 1965), p. 18.

[2]G.W. Allport, 1935. Quoted in Harry C. Triandis,
Attitude and Attitude Change, (New York: John Wiley &
Sons, 1971), p. 2.

[3]Triandis, _op. cit._, p. 2.

object, person, or group."[1] Campbell says that "attitudes
represent consistency in response to social objects."[2]

For the purpose of this study attitudes refer to the
stands the individual upholds and cherises about objects,
issues, persons, groups, or institutions.[3] The referents
of a person's attitudes may be a "way of life"; economic,
political, or religious institutions; family, school, or
government. As can be expected with a term that has been
used by many psychologists and sociologists for a long
period of time, its definition has varied; the common ele-
ment that runs through most definitions, however, is "the
readiness to respond" to a situation.

To have an attitude means that the individual is no
longer neutral toward the referents of an attitude. He is
"for" or "against," positively inclined or negatively dis-
posed in some degree toward them -- not just momentarily,
but in a lasting way, as long as the attitude in question
is operative.[4]

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[1] Philip Zimbardo and Ebbe B. Ebbesen, _Influencing
Attitudes and Changing Behavior_, (Menlo Park, Calif.:
Addison-Wesley, Pub. Co., 1970), p. 6.

[2] D.T. Campbell, "The Indirect Accessment of Social
Attitudes," _American Journal of Psychology_: 63, 15-38.

[3] Carolyn W. Sherif, et al., _Attitude and Attitude
Change_,(Philadelphia: W.B. Saundais, 1965), p. 4.

[4] _Ibid_., p. 5.

Once a class of objects or persons is thus charged with favourable or unfavourable value for the individual, he sees things related to them in a "selective" way. His judgement or perception of objects and people in the universe of discourse in question becomes, at the same time, his evaluation, his preferential reaction.

It is from behaviour that we can infer that an individual has an attitude. In short, attitudes are inferred from "characteristic" and consistent modes of behaviour toward some class of objects, persons, events, and issues over a time span.[1]

The behaviours from which attitudes are inferred include actions and verbal utterances, provided the individual is not on guard with the concern that reflecting a given attitude is inappropriate under the circumstances or that expression of attitude is not deflected by some procedures designed to assess it. La Fave and Sherif provide us with a good example of this. They say that "at present few respondents agree with a segregationist position in a paper-and-pencil test, even in the South. Under the conditions of testing, the collegiate concern to appear enlightened influences behavior. Later, these same respondents may, in word and deed, reveal their segregation-

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[1] Ibid., p. 6.

ist sentiments."[1]

Attitudes perform many functions. People have attitudes because of the following reasons. (1) Attitudes help them understand the world around them, by organizing and simplifying a very complex input from their environment. (2) Attitudes protect their self-esteem, by making it possible for them to avoid unpleasant truths about themselves. (3) They help people adjust in a complex world, by making it more likely that they will react so as to maximize their rewards from the environment; the adjustment makes it easier to get along with people who have similar attitudes. And (4) attitudes allow people to express their fundamental values.[2] One way, therefore, of answering the question why people have attitudes is to give meaning to their behaviour.

A person's behaviour causes his attitude. The beliefs, attitudes, and values of a group of people are determined by their task experiences. If members of a given culture receive rewards in situations in which they act as individuals their "individualism" will increase; if they receive rewards in situations in which they act as members of a group, their "collectivism" will increase.[3]

[1]L. La Fave and M. Sherif, Reference Scales and Placement of Items with the Own Categories Technique. Paper presented to American Psychological Association, Annual Meetings, Norman, Oklahoma, Institute of Group Relations, mimeographed, 1962, p. 4.

[2]Triandis, op. cit., p. 2.

[3]Ibid., p. 6.

Similarly, if people frequently succeed in tasks in
which there is a leader, they will tend to become more
"authoritarian," and if they frequently succeed in tasks
in which there is no leader, they will tend to become
"equalitarian."

To summarize the present argument, behaviour is a
function of (a) attitudes, (b) norms, (c) habits, and (d)
expectancies about reinforcement. When all four factors
are consistent, there is consistency between attitudes and
behaviour; when the four factors are inconsistent, there
is much less consistency.

We can describe the typical modern man by his answers
to the items in Kahl's seven core scales outlined earlier
in this chapter. A modern man is an activist; he believes
in making plans in advance for important parts of his life,
and he has a sense of security that he can usually bring
those plans to fruition. Unlike the fatalistic peasant
who follows the routines of life and shrugs his shoulder
to indicate that much of what happens will be beyond his
control, the industrial man attempts to organize the
future to serve his own purpose.

To carry out these plans, the modern man is willing
to move away from his relatives, and to depend upon his
own initiative. For him, nepotism is more a burdensome

responsibility than a mechanism of security. Similarly,
he is an individualist who avoids extreme identification
with people in his own work group. Therefore, he says
that he would prefer to express his own ideas and make
his own decisions even if his peers disagree.[1]

The modern man perceives the city as a place which
is not rigidly stratified -- that is as open to influence
by ordinary citizens like himself. Similarly, he sees
life chances or career opportunities as open rather than
closed; a man of humble background has a chance to ful-
fill his dreams and rise within the system. He partici-
pates in urban life by actively availing himself of the
mass media. He reads newspapers, listens to the radio, and
discusses civic affairs. Thus, the modern man is a man
who seeks to control his life, plan his future, climb up
a bit in the status hierarchy, and improve his material
circumstances -- because these ends are desirable and
also because they are seen as obtainable.

The modern man trusts others and does not constantly
fear their purposes. He does not frown upon manual work
but recognizes it as a worthy contribution to life. He
is willing to take risk to gain useful ends. He feels
that within the family, women should be allowed to make

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[1]Kahl, op. cit., p. 133.

many of their own decisions and that children should
be permitted, on occasion, to disagree with their
parents.

The traditional man is the opposite. He perceives
himself as permanently stuck in a life which does not
change and which cannot be controlled to any great extent.
Therefore, he seeks little and expects to gain little;
he takes what the fates may bring; he pursues security
through close personal ties, primarily with relatives
but also with a few friends.[1]

Since values are subjective inclinations in the minds
of men, they are impossible to see and hard to measure.
Consequently, theorists of social development have usually
speculated about values and included them in their models
of societies in transition, but have been unable to be
very precise about them.

Values are defined as general orientations toward
basic aspects of life: abstract principles that guide
behaviour...[2] A good illustration of such an abstract
principle that guides behaviour manifests itself in the
thirteenth chapter of Saint Paul's first epistle to the

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[1]Ibid., p. 133.

[2]See Clyde Kluckhohn, "Values and Value - Orienta-
tions in the Theory of Action," in Talcott Parson and
Edward A. Shils (eds.), Toward a General Theory of Action
(Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951).

Corinthians which concludes with the phrase ". . .
faith, hope., and charity, these three: but the greatest
of these is charity." This phrase come close to predicat-
ing the core values of the Christian tradition.

When values are applied to specific situations to
generate precise rules of conduct, sociologists call those
rules "norms." The abstract value "charity" refers to
certain roles that we play in society. The summary and the
fulfillment of all the commandments of God, we are told,
is "love." Thus, we are told to love our neighbours,
honour our parents., and forgive our enemies.

Value is strictly a psychological reality, and is not
measurable by any means yet devised. It is to be sharply
distinguished from utility, because its reality is in the
human mind, not in the external object itself. Value is
strictly a matter of belief; an object, the utility of
which is strictly spurious, will have the same values as if
it were genuine until the deception is discovered. Ulti-
mate values are axiomatic and are inherent in human itself.
They are at the same time, the final sources of the moti-
vation of all conscious rational telic behavior.[1]

It is a common value system that holds a society
together; through it, the members are taught to perceive

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[1]Joseph H. Bunzel in Dictionary of Sociology, edited
by Henry Pratt Fairchild (Totowa, New Jersey: Littlefield,
Adams and Co., 1966), p. 332.

the world in similar ways and to act toward one another in a predictable fashion. Occasionally, the press of circumstances leads a man to violate the rules, but public opinion finds this threatening and demands punishment through law and other sanctions. A society without strong common values is unable to reach collective decisions and careate viable institutions. And a man without belief in the values of his group is a man who is confused and distraught.[1]

Traditional society has one set of values, and modern society another. The former could be described as follows:[2]

> Work is merged into life in a way that does not distinguish it as a separate activity with its own norms. Work is part of one's general status, and thus is to be accepted without deliberate plans for change. Son follows father as peasant, artisan, or merchant, and learns the techniques of work by watching his father. Life is personalized through ties to relatives, and their claims take precedence over the impersonal and abstract demands of career. Work and life are stable, and the individual takes a fatalistic view of his position.

The following synthetic view of work in urban-industrial society can be contrasted with the above description of values in traditional society:[3]

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[1] George M. Foster, "Peasant Society and The Image of Limited Good," American Anthropologist, 67 (April, 1965), pp. 293-315.

[2] Kahl, op. cit., p. 10.

[3] Ibid., p. 11.

Work in the city is separate from the rest
of life in the sense that a man works in a
place apart from his family, and his work
takes on a momentum of social relationships
unrelated to the extended family. A job is
seen as part of a long career, which is a
sequence of related activities starting with
formal education specifically designed to
prepare for work, leading through some type
of apprenticeship or learning experience
toward full master of the job, and ending
in formal retirement. Deliberate decisions
are made to further a career which are based
on values of impersonality, efficiency, and
ambition to get ahead. New ideas and techniques
are highly regarded, and general values of
active control over self and environmental are
prized.

At this point we wish to point out that, for the

purpose of this study, we are lumping together the twin

concepts "attitudes" and "values." In sociological and

educational literature these two terms are used without

being explicitly distinguished from each other. Values

are generally considered to be "inseparable from attitudes."

This does not mean that there are no distinctions between

the two terms.[1]

Attitudes are understood to be supported by and at

the same time to uphold established institutions. In

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[1]For analytical distinctions between attitudes and
values see Ralph Linton, The Cultural Background of Per-
sonality (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1945),
pp. 111-112 and Clyde Kluckhohn, Values and Value-Orienta-
tions in the Theory of Action: An Exploration in Defini-
tions and Classificaton," in Talcott Parsons and Edward
A. Shils (eds.) Toward A General Theory of Action (Cam-
bridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951), p. 423.

regard to attitudes, the general ideal of a social
revolution is commonly referred to as the "new man" or
the "modern man," the "citizen of the new state," the
"man in the era of science," the "industrial man," and
so on. Myrdal illustrates what this implies below:[1]

(1) efficiency;

(2) diligence;

(3) orderliness;

(4) punctuality;

(5) frugality;

(6) scrupulous honesty (which pays in the long
run and is a condition for raising efficiency
in all social and economic relations);

(7) rationality in decisions on action (liberation
from reliance on static customs, from group
allegiances and favoritism, from superstitious
beliefs and prejudices, approaching the
rationally calculating "economic man" of Western
liberal ideology);

(8) preparedness for change (for experimentation
along new lines, and for moving around spatially,
economically, socially);

(9) alertness to opportunities as they arise in a
changing world;

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[1] Gunnar Myrdal, Asian Drama, Vol. 1 (New York: The
Twentieth Century Fund, 1968), pp. 61-62.

(10) energetic enterprise;

(11) integrity and self-reliance;

(12) cooperativeness (not limiting but re-
directing egoistic striving in a socially
beneficial channel; acceptance of respon-
sibility for the welfare of the community
and the nation);

(13) willingness to take the long view (and to
forgo shortterm profiteering; subordination
of speculation to investment and of commerce
and finance to production, etc.).

To sum up, traditionalism is characterized by fatal-
ism, lack of aspirations, and social mobility, authori-
tarianism in interpersonal relations, lack of empathy,
and lack of individualism. Modernism, on the other hand,
is characterized by activism, high aspirations, social
mobility, empathy, and democratic interpersonal relations.
Ignorance is a bar to being modern.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATION AND MODERNIZATION

"Human history becomes more and more a race
between education and catastrophe."

H.G. Wells

"The education of our people should be
a lifelong process by which we continue
to feed new vigor into the life stream
of the Nation through intelligent, reasoned
decisions. Let us not think of education
only in terms of its cost, but rather in
terms of the infinite potential of the
human mind that can be realized through
education. Let us think of education
as the means of developing our greatest
abilities because in each of us there
is a private hope and dream which fulfilled,
can be translated into benefit for everyone
and greater strength for our Nation."

John F. Kennedy.

The Role of Education in Modernization

The relationship of education to social change in
general and to that particular kind of social change
which we are here calling modernization is a close one.
Education may foster modernization through the creation
of a population more willing to accept technical inno-

vations and make use of them: by diffusing among the
population the skills, organizational, administrative,
and technical, which are necessary for the institution
of changes and for the inevitable accommodation to these
same changes; and by instilling in students, through
the classroom and school situation, aspirations beyond
their present means to achieve while, at the same time,
equiping them with the means with which to achieve them.
"By creating thus, that necessary dissatisfaction with
the personal status quo of a significant number of in-
dividuals without which the motivation to innovate and
effect changes would be in short supply in the society."[1]

There are two contrasting views concerning the role
that education plays in society. The first position is
held by those who view education as an "adaptive" insti-
tution. Durkheim and Ottaway are associated with this
school of thought. ". . . that education has an impor-
tant role to play in social change is undoubted," ob-
served Ottaway, "but its influence is secondary and not
primary."[2] The second view, closely identified with some
American thinkers, is that education can act as a direct
agent of social change, and thus has a primary influence

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[1]Eric N. Baklanoff (ed.), The Shaping of Modern
Brazil (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press,
1969), p. 109.

[2]Andrew K.C. Ottaway. Education and Society (2nd ed.,
London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1962), p. 12.

on social change.[1] The first position, which views edu-
cation as an "adaptive" insitution reflects the values
of society and the second position which gives education
a primary influence on society generates new values in
society.

The function of education is not unidimensional.
Educational function can be viewed in two major ways,
namely the "conserving" and the "creative" functions.
In developing societies the creative function of edu-
cation would probably show preponderance over the con-
serving function. Nevertheless, both functions can
operate side by side in one society, creating and con-
serving or conserving and creating, depending on the
nature of that particular society.

The function of education in modern societies is
more than mere conserving and transmitting of culture
of the individual society concerned. As Halsey, Floud,
and Anderson put it, "No longer is it a question of hand-
ing on an unchanging or only slowly changing body of
knowledge and belief. On the contrary, education in
modern societies has more to do with changing knowledge
than with conserving it, and more to do with diffusing
culture to wider social circles, or from one society to
another, than with preserving and transmitting the par-

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[1]A.H. Haley and Jean Floud. "The Sociology of Edu-
cation," Current Sociology, VII, No. 3, (1958), p. 172.

ticular culture of a particular group."[1] In modern in-
dustrial nations of the world today, education has made
it possible for the new generations to accept and to
promote change, "whereas in earlier societies, a relative-
ly unchanging way of life and sum of knowledge were
transmitted..."[2]

The fact that education plays a pivotal role in
almost, if not all, fields of human endeavour cannot be
over-emphasized. Statements from leaders of thought
from different walks of life bear testimony to the
pivotal role of education in human societies today.
The universal belief that education is the single great-
est instrumentality of development has been well stated
by Dean Rusk in his address in the Policy Conference
on Economic Growth and Investment in Education when he
said: "Education is not a luxury which can be afforded
after development has occurred, it is an integral part,
an inescapable and essential part, of the development
itself."[3] John Hanson, an American educator, describes

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[1]A.H. Halsey, Jean Floud and C. Arnold Anderson (eds.)
Education, Economy and Society: A Reader in the Sociology
of Education (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1965), p. 3.

[2]T.B. Bottomore, Elites and Society (London: Watts and
Co., 1964), p. 254.

[3]Dean Rusk, "Address at the Opening Session at the
Department of State," Policy Conference on Economic Growth
and Investment in Education, 1 (Paris: Organization for
Economic Cooperation and Development Publications, February,
1962), 17-20.

education as "the greatest instrument man has devised for his own progress,"[1] while Ponsioen views it as "one of the mightiest institutions for political, social and economic development."[2] Philip Foster sees the key role of education as that of 'detachment' from the traditional environment and adds that, in the long run, formal schooling creates a cultural environment in which innovation can take place.[3] Adam Curle concludes the list of leaders of thought with his emphatic opinion that "education is the most effective means of altering the outlook of people; this, rather than the mere inculcation of skills, is what is needed if the structure of the society is to be modified."[4] Thus we can broadly say that the nature and goals of education are threefold: inheritance, participation, and contribution.

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[1]John W. Hanson, "The Nation's Education Purpose," Nigerian Education, Okechuku Ikejiani (ed.), (Ikeja, Lagos: Longmans of Nigeria, Ltd., 1964), pp. 20-32.

[2]J.A. Ponsioen, National Development (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1968), p. 233.

[3]Philip J. Foster, Education and Social Change in Ghana (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), p. 296. See H.K. Schwarzweller and James S. Brown, "Education as a Cultural Bridge Between Eastern Kentucky and the Great Society," Rural Sociology, XXVII, No. 4 (1962), p. 371.

[4]Adam Curle, Educational Strategy for Developing Societies (London: Tavistock Publications, 1963), p. 3.

The process of achieving modernity, the process of development, in its broadest sense, is one of fundamental transformation in the mind and character of man and in his ways of employing the material world to attain his goals. Essentially education in Nigeria has been viewed as an agent of such transformation or development in its people and society. The task before Nigeria is to move an entire society from its largely traditional base toward desired goals. Education is seen as one of the tools to effect this change. The real transition must occur in the minds of all Nigeria's millions. Attitudes primarily and skills secondarily are the principal ingredients in desirable and lasting social and economic change. The former will prepare the individuals to tolerate and accept the changes and to participate therein, and the latter will make the changes possible.[1] Any neglect of the modernization of the "internal" aspect of sociocultural change (the modernization of attitudes, values and feelings) greatly undermines the true foundation of the change process.

Inkles has suggested that modernization implies "external" and "internal" change for men. The external change -- the ways of dealing with environment -- include

[1]W.R. Charleson, "Education for Attitudes in Nigeria," Education and Training in the Developing Countries, edited by William Y. Elliot, (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1966), p.108.

urbanization, industrialization, mass communication, mass education, and so on,[1] the internal changes -- attitudes, values, and feelings -- have been commented on above. Inkles points out that "it is only when man has undergone a change in spirit, has acquired certain ways of thinking, feeling and acting that we consider him truly modern."[2]

As we had pointed out earlier in this study, no independent value attached to education is considered to be valid if it conflicts with the value of education as an instrument for development. From a development point of view, the purpose of education must be to rationalize attitudes as well as to impart knowledge and skills. In Nigeria where attitudes antagonistic to development have taken firm root and become, at least, partly institution- alized, the changing of attitudes requires far greater emphasis than in the developed industrial countries, where attitudes are more rational, and are adjusted to permit further rapid progress. This is one of several reasons why educational reformers in Nigeria and other African countries have to guard against a tendency to adopt un- critically the educational practices and policies of the Western countries.

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[1]Inkeles, op. cit., p. 139.

[2]Ibid., p. 140.

As Cairncross pointed out, "Development is not
governed in any country by economic forces alone, and
the more backward the country the more this is true. The
key to development lies in men's minds, in the institution
in which their thinking finds expression and in the play
of opportunity on ideas and institutions."[1]

Leibenstein asserts that "sustained growth requires
a considerable transformation in the educative process;
that is, it requires drastic changes in the mores, habits
and traditions of the populace. But the educative process
and the consequent mores and traditions are so fundamental
to the life of the society, and so pervasive in the day-
to-day life of the community, especially within the
family group, that it is almost unthinkable that these
should respond drastically to small stimulants or shocks."[2]

Literacy and general knowledge, for both children and
adults,[3] facilitate the acquisition of specific skills, and

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[1] A.K. Cairncross, "International Trade and Economic
Development," Economica, Vol. XXVIII, No. 109, February,
1961, p. 250.

[2] Harvey Leibenstein, Economic Backwardness and
Economic Growth, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1957),pp. 35-36.

[3] We cannot rely only on the slow process of exposing
successive generations of school children to new ideas and
attitudes, but must make a determined effort to educate
adults. Since irrational attitudes as well as ignorance
and lack of skills, among the adult population tend to
thwart efforts to teach young people, adult education also
has an additional instrumental value, as a means of increas-
ing the effectiveness of child education. See Gunnar Myrdal,
Asian Drama, Vol. III (New York: The Twentieth Century Fund,
1968), p. 1622.

may help to bring about a rationalization of attitudes.
In turn, more rational attitudes prove a motivational
preparedness that can facilitate the acquisition of know-
ledge and skills. In general, educational policy must
have the central purpose of directing and apportioning
educational efforts so as to give a maximum impetus to
national development.[1]

No single strategy can provide the solution to the
problems of development; but the view that education is
"the key that unlocks the door to modernization"[2] has
been espoused perhaps more fervently and dogmatically in
the new states of Africa and Asia than anywhere else.
Virtually all countries that have recently emerged from
European colonial rule have with striking unanimity
assigned a high, if not the highest, priority to the ex-
pansion of education. In 1958, in the words that could
well have been used by many other nationalist leaders,
Tunisia's Habib Bourguiba stated: "When we were in the
opposition, and Tunisia belonged to others, not to us, we
planned and resolved that when our country was indepen-
dent and the state apparatus in our hands we must treat
first the problem of education."[3] Most of the Afro-Asian

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[1]Ibid., p. 1622.

[2]Frederick Harbison and Charles A. Myers, (eds.),
Education, Manpower, and Economic Growth: Strategies of
Human Development (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), p. 181.

[3]James S. Coleman (ed.), Education and Political De-

countries, after attaining self-government, had raised
substantially the proportion of their budgets devoted
to education, often to as much as 20 per cent, whereas
in the colonial era educational expenditure commonly to-
talled less than 10 per cent of the budget.[1] (See Tables
6 and 7). During the 1959-60 fiscal year in Nigeria,
expenditures for education comprised the largest single
item in the regional budgets, amounting to 43.6 per cent
of the total in the Eastern Region, 41.3 per cent in the
Western Region, and 22.2 per cent in the Northern Region.
No other budget item approached these in size.[2] With
increased resources at their disposal the new states
quickly launched ambitious programmes to expand school
enrollments at all levels.[3] "Education is Africa's most

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[1] Abernethy, op. cit., p. 4.

[2] Cookson, et al., op. cit., p. 148.

[3] In India, for instance, 30 per cent of the ele-
mentary-age population was attending school at the time
of Independence in 1947; by 1960 this figure had reached
61 per cent, and the Third Five Year Plan projected a
goal of 76 per cent for 1966. The figures are cited in
Myron Weiner, The Politics of Scarcity (Chicago: Uni-
veristy of Chigao Press, 1962), p. 179. Indonesia has
witnessed a spectacular educational expansion since the
end of Dutch rule in 1949: secondary enrollment rose from
140,000 in 1950 to 730,000 a decade later, and by 1961,
the university population had trippled to 46,000.
Guinea's primary school enrollments increased from 47,000
at the time of Independence in 1958 to 160,000 by 1962.
Source: Frederick Harbison and Charles A. Myers, Manpower
and Education: Country Studies in Economic Development
(New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965), p. pp. 177, 187, 240. In

Table 6. Estimated Recurrent Expenditures by the
         Eastern Region Government, 1959-1960.
              (in U.S. Dollars)

Ministry of Agriculture----------------------	1,659,868
Ministry of Commerce ------------------------	518,252
Ministry of Education -----------------------	16,517,144
Ministry of Finance; Pensions and Gratitudes	3,414,516
Public Debt Charges -------------------------	373,044
Ministry of Health --------------------------	3,982,328
Ministry of Internal Affairs ----------------	949,172
Ministry of Justice -------------------------	154,560
Ministry of Local Government; Grants to	
Local Government Bodies ------------------	3,708,376
Ministry of Town Planning -------------------	512,512
Ministry of Works ---------------------------	3,738,420
Total Estimate ---------------------------	38,672,452
Contribution to Capital Development Fund ---	2,380,000

Source: Adapted from Eastern Region of Nigeria, Approved
        Estimates of the Eastern Region, 1959-1960; and
        ibid., Approved Supplementary Estimates of the
        Eastern Region, 1959-1960.

Table 7. Estimated Recurrent Expenditures by the
          Western Region Government, 1959-60.
                  (in U.S. dollars)

Governor and Governor's Office -------------   103,292

Premier's Office ----------------------------   942,760

Treasury; Pensions and Gratuities ---------- 5,039,076

Public Debt Charges ------------------------- 1,690,500

Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources 4,145,736

Ministry of Economic Planning --------------   104,776

Ministry of Education ----------------------- 19,019,812

Ministry of Health and Social Welfare ------ 4,694,242

Ministry of Home Affairs -------------------- 1,509,648

Ministry of Midwest Affairs -----------------   23,940

Ministry of Justice -------------------------   187,348

Ministry of Lands and Labor -----------------   667,772

Ministry of Local Government ----------------   748,104

Ministry of Trade and Industry ------------- 1,077,014

Ministry of Works and Transport ------------ 4,430,720

Non-Ministerial (Audit, Electoral Commis-
    sioner's Office, Judicial, Legislature,
    Local Government Service Board, Public
    Service Commission) -------------------- 1,474,906
                                             _____

    Total Expenditures --------------------- 45,859,646

Contriubtion to Capital Expenditures and
    Development Fund ---------------------- 7,000,000
_____

Source: Adapted from Western Region of Nigeria, Western
         Region Estimates, 1959-60; and ibid., Western
         Region Supplementary Estimates, 1959-60.

Table 8.   Estimated Recurrent Expenditures by the
           Northern Region Government, 1959-1960.
                   (in U.S. dollars)

Governor and Governor's Office --------------   113,904

Premier's Office; Office of Exeuctive Council;
    Administration; Commissioner in the
    United Kingdom -------------------------   3,063,343

Non-Ministerial (Legislature, Judicial, Public
    Service Commission, Audit, Legal, Com-
    missioner for Native Courts, Moslem Court
    of Appeal) ------------------------------   1,524,169

Ministry of Agriculture ---------------------   4,821,880

Ministry of Animal Health and Foresty -------   1,604,204

Ministry of Education; Other Services -------   9,681,386

Ministry of Finance; Payments to Other
    Government; Pensions and Gratuities ---   5,974,738

Public Debt Charges -------------------------   1,871,772

Ministry of Health --------------------------   5,780,300

Ministry of Internal Affairs; Ministry of
    Northern Cameroons Affairs -------------   1,853,329

Ministry of Land and Survey -----------------   752,500

Ministry for Local Government; Institute
    of Administration; Police -------------   633,606

Ministry of Social Welfare and Cooperatives   373,870

Ministry of Trade and Industry -------------   357,947

Ministry of Works; Maintenance Works,
    Maintenance Services; Works
    Extraordinary --------------------------   6,627,544
                                                 _____

    Total Estimate --------------------------   45,034,492

Source: Adapted from Northern Region of Nigeria, Northern
          Region Estimates, 1959-60.

Table 8. Continued

Contribution to Capital Development Fund------   70,028

Source: Adapted form Northern Region of Nigeria, Esti-
         mates of the Government of the Northern Region
         of Nigeria, 1959-60; and ibid., First Supple-
         mentary Estimates of the Government of the
         Northern Region of Nigeria, 1959-60.

urgent and vital need at present," proclaimed the

delegates to the Addis Ababa Conference of 1961.[1]   Thus

the question among the leaders of Afro-Asian countries

is not whether to modernize but how to modernize with

effectiveness.   These leaders know that their respective

societies are beset by a series of often self-reinforcing

obstacles to modernization; what they need is applied

knowledge to overcome these obstacles.   They perceive

education as the key to the modernization of their

countries.

Much of the knowledge that is relevant to using

education as a means toward modernization must come from

fields other than that of education per se.   Increasingly,

the educators must look to the economists, the political

scientists, the anthropologists, and the social psycho-

logists for knowledge requisite to the determination of

Nigeria, primary school enrollment in 1958 totalled 912,588;
there were 84,898 students in secondary schools.   Source:
Cookson, et al., op. cit., pp. 150 and 151.   Barely three
years after Independence, primary school enrollments in
Nigeria rose up to 3,000,000 and this figure increased by
over 100,000 at the beginning of 1964; secondary school
enrollments in 1963 totalled 213,714.   Source: _____,
One Hundred Facts About Nigeria (Lagos: Federal Ministry
of Information, 1966), p. 25.

[1] In 1961, about 3 per cent of the secondary school
age group was enrolled in school; the conferees pledged
to increase facilities to accommodate 23 per cent by 1980.
See UNESCO and United Nations Economic Commission for Africa,
especially "Outline of a Plan for African Educational
Development," p. 19.

informed educational decisions and sound educational
programmes. In so doing, the educators will find the
contributions of other social scientists indispensable,
but, at the same time, they must recognize that the dif-
ficult task of translating the knowledge and insights
of these social scientists into viable educational pro-
grammes is theirs.[1] These contributions of other social
sciences go to support Anderson's caution that "education
is not a magic medicine that can by itself transform a
society."[2] Anderson further points out that "... over
much of the world we are witnessing a modernization of
education that is not matched by an equal modernization
by education."[3]

There are several arguments supporting the belief
that an "education explosion" is necessary for the
modernization of new states in the Third World. There
is the view that indices of educational progress are in

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[1]John W. Hanson and Cole S. Brembeck (eds.) Educa-
tion and the Development of Nations (New York: Holt,
Rinehart and Winston, 1966), p. 6.

[2]C. Arnold Anderson, "The Modernization of Education,"
in Weiner (ed.), op. cit., p. 71.

[3]Ibid., p. 73.

themselves part of the definition of modernity. If

access to education is seen as a fundamental right of

man (as it is in the United Nations Declaration of Human

Rights) then percentages of literacy or school enrollment

would indicate the extent to which the government satisfies

a basic obligation to its citizens.[1] If education is re-

garded as an aspect of human welfare, though not neces-

sarily a right, the view that modernity requires the pro-

vision of welfare still would obligate modernizing regimes

to extend educational opportunities to the masses.[2] The

cardinal importance of literacy in the whole process of

modernization finds expression in Daniel Lerner's state-

ment that "Literacy is indeed the basic personal skill

that underlies the whole modernizing sequence."[3] A prime

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[1]Abernethy, op. cit., p. 5.

[2]Ibid., p. 5.

[3]Daniel Lerner, "Toward a Communication Theory of
Modernization," in Lucian Pye (ed.), Communication and
Political Development (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton
University Press, 1963), p. 341. For links between
literacy, urbanization, and the mass media, see Lerner's
Passing of Traditional Society Chapters 2 and 3. For
the effect of literacy on the individual's perceptions,
motivations, and behaviour, see Everett M. Rogers and
William Herzog, "Functional Literacy among Colombian
Peasants," Economic Development and Cultural Change, XIV,
2 (January, 1966), pp. 190-203.

task of a formal educational system is to impart literacy, which broadens a person's mental horizons, increasing his capacity and willingness to change the environment. A formal education system should provide skills as well as broadened perspective; with the expansion of schooling, recruitment to various positions in society can be based increasingly on these qualifications rather than, as in many traditional societies, on the prestige or influence of one's kin.[1] Let us now turn our attention to the relationship that education has to different fields of human endeavours.

Education and Economic Development

Education is often regarded as an "investment" that has a certain economic "return." It contributes to economic development in several ways:

> Training in schools, universities, literacy centers, in-service programs, and the like imparts new skills that are lacking in an underdeveloped country or obtainable only at high cost through the use of foreign personnel. Moreover, the progress of the industrial sector depends largely on complex, highly specialized techniques of production imported from more advanced economies. The labor force cannot as in the early days of the Industrial Revolution gradually acquire new skills as new techniques themselves evolve; the African or Asian worker fresh from tra-

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[1]Abernethy, op. cit., p. 5.

ditional village life now must learn rapidly
to operate the latest lathe or turbine. For-
mal instruction in trade schools, or informal
education through in-service programs, can
perform a very important role in transmitting
the necessary expertise quickly and efficiently.[1]

The obvious but by no means the only way in which an

investment in education is an investment in economic

growth is through the production of skilled manpower.

The growth of the modern industrial system, or the

balanced industrial-commercial-agricultural economy,

has rendered unskilled and untrained manpower virtually

obsolete in modern nations; it has at the same time

rendered absolutely indispensable highly skilled man-

power.[2]

One of the greatest investments Nigeria can make

in its economic future, therefore, is an investment in

the appropriate education of its people. Investment in

Education, the report of the Ashby Commission on Post-

School Certificate and Higher Education in Nigeria, lends

much support to this statement. The soundness of the

basic orientation of this Commission has won for it an

international renown. This orientation is best illustrated

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[1]Ibid., p. 6.

[2]Ikejiani (ed.), op. cit., p. 23.

in the words of the Commission:

> To approach our task, therefore, we
> have to think of Nigeria in 1980: a nation
> of some 50 million people, with industries,
> oil, and well-developed agriculture; inti-
> mately associated with other free African
> countries on either side of its borders; a
> voice to be listened to in the Christian
> and Moslem worlds; with its traditions in
> art preserved and fostered and with the
> beginnings of its own literature; a nation
> which is taking its place in a technological
> civilization, with its own airways, its organs
> of mass-communication, its research institutes.
>
> Millions of people who will live in this
> Nigeria of 1980 are already born. Under the
> present educational system more than half
> of them will never go to school. Like people
> elsewhere, their talents will vary from dull-
> ness to genius. Somehow, before 1980, as
> many talented children as possible must be
> discovered and educated if this vision of
> Nigeria is to be turned into reality. This
> is a stupendous undertaking. It will cost
> large sums of money. The Nigerian people
> will have to forgo other things they want
> so that every available penny is invested
> in education. Even this will not be enough.
> Countries outside Nigeria will have to be
> enlisted to help with men and money....[1]

Education becomes a relevant factor in economic growth

only when it is properly integrated with all the other

factors in development. Moreover, it must be education

of the right kind, in the proper balance, and suited to the

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[1]*Investment in Education: The Report of the Commission
on Post-School Certificate and Higher Education in Nigeria*
(London: St. Clements Press Ltd., 1960), p. 3.

stage of development. This is well expressed in the
words of Frederick Harbison which say that "In its
educational investment a country must adopt a balanced
program, suited to its own needs and stage of develop-
ment, or it may run into trouble."[1] Failure to work out
careful strategies to guide investment in education might
end up in the production of people trained for vocations
they cannot enter and with knowledge they cannot apply.

The role of the formal schools in this context be-
comes clearer. At present, the most marked inadequacy
at the lower and intermediate levels is that they per-
form relatively ineffectively the basic functions of
general education upon which further vocational training
can be given with profit. At present a number of voca-
tional schemes are made ineffective by trainees' lack of
command of basic skills in literacy, computation and gen-
eral background. If at present the schools perform these
latter functions ineffectively, it is patently absurd to
expect them to incorporate a range of auxiliary vocational
activities. Given more limited objectives the schools
can indirectly make a significant contribution to develop-
ment of technical competence, by turning out pupils able
to effectively absorb and utilize specific forms of voca-

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[1]Frederick Harbison, "Education for Development,"
Scientific American Vol. 24, No. 3, (1963), p. 147.

tional training.[1] It has been commonly observed in many parts of Africa that skilled personnel often may not enter the type of job for which they have been trained because they perceive greater opportunities elsewhere. This case can be specifically related to the repeated exhortations that widespread agricultural training be introduced at the lower levels of the educational system. Wherever attempts have been made to relate schooling directly to the modernization of agriculture, they have met with limited success. School graduates, whether prepared as general farmers or as agricultural technicians have proved unwilling to return to the land. It is argued that this unwillingness stems from the content of education in many developing societies, which stresses elitist attitude towards manual work of all kinds, thus prejudicing students against farming life. It has been observed in a number of societies that such school graduates are more willing to face urban unemployment or accept labouring jobs in the city than return to the villages. This indicates, as Foster points out that it is largely the student's perception of the structure of opportunities, social as well as economic, which thwarts

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[1]Philip J. Foster, "The Vocational School Falacy in Development Planning," Conference on Education and Economic Development, University of Chicago, April 4-6, 1963, pp. 22-23 (Mimeographed).

the manifest functions of vocational training schemes.[1]
Wharton also argues that the best graduates of such vo-
cational schools will naturally "continue on to higher
levels of education or migrate to urban areas."[2]

In the realm of education there can arise factors
which either retard or accelerate the movement away from
the land. The economic and sociological causes of the
universal drift to the towns have been exhaustively dealt
with in the literature concerned with such problems in
tropical Africa. About a decade ago, the Ghana Ministry
of Agriculture, for instance, requested the Institute of
Education of the University of Ghana to investigate for
them the attitudes of both school children and university
students to careers of one kind or another in agriculture.
It was felt that the number of children and students
willing to return to agricultural pursuits after their
studies are completed had fallen to a dangerous level.

In the course of the investigation and the analysis
of results, the following general facts revealed them-
selves:

(1) Very few farming parents wish their children
to become farmers.

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[1]C. Arnold Anderson and Mary Jean Bowman (eds.):
Education and Economic Development (London: Frank Cass
& Co., Ltd., 1966), p. 146.

[2]Ibid., p. 217.

(2) Farming is largely associated with
    illiteracy in the minds of children as
    well as adults in the areas investigated;
    conversely, literacy is disassociated in
    people's minds from the practice of
    farming.

(3) In most schools the manner in which
    Rural Science is taught tends to reinforce
    the views expressed in (1) and (2).

(4) There are many school gardens and farms
    which are unsatisfactory from both an
    agricultural and an educational point
    of view.

(5) In. the majority of cases there is little
    relationship between classroom teaching,
    the school garden and/or the local farm-
    ing practice.[1]

Nature Study and Rural Science lessons rarely set
out to help the children understand why the local farmer
is 'successful' in producing good crops. The "right"
things he does usually receive little explanation, while
by implication the fact that he does not "properly" rotate
his crops or use fertilizer, for instance, stamps all his

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[1]B.H.G. Chaplin, "School Attitudes in Agriculture,"
West African Journal of Education, Vol. V., No. 3,
October, 1961, pp. 95-96.

methods as "wrong" or at least inferior. It has been generally noted that the personal attitude to farming and farmers is often quite different from the one that their teaching appears to give to children.[1]

The choice between widespread or selective education cannot be separated from questions of social mobility; for, as Anderson points out, where education becomes the main avenue of social mobility the openness or closure of a society's system of stratification is related to the degree of selectivity of the educational system.[2] Social and political problems may also result from the expansion of intermediate or secondary education outstripping changes in the occupational structure thus leading to rapid 'educational devaluation'; a situation where to many educated are chasing too few jobs demanding a relatively high education. This resultant frustration of career expectations has frequently been linked to political instability in the developing societies. Political consequences also stem from the fact that education is not only a capital good but a consumption good, with the result that, as Foster has shown for Ghana, newly independent governments are likely to be pressed by public

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[1]Ibid., p. 95.

[2]Ibid., p. 314.

opinion into a rapid expansion policy at all levels of education.[1]

. The use of education for economic development requires, among other things, a national policy that recognizes that education is a requirement for economic development, and consideration of the specific characteristics education must possess to facilitate such development.

Some of the elements of a positive policy of education for economic development are:

1. National policy must be directed toward economic growth. Only those who have never seen, or are insensitive to, poverty and deprivation would withhold every available means for eradicating them. The romantic concept of the happy primitive is a myth. The basis of the good life, no matter whose good life it happens to be, is always minimum human standard of health and decency.

2. A policy of education for economic development will recognize that education is inevitably intertwined with total development. Education is but one thread in the fabric of development. Whether it strengthens that fabric depends upon the way it weaves itself throughout the whole. Education alone cannot create development except as it relates meaningfully to all the other factors of development.

3. Education for economic development must be so planned that it helps to spread economic opportunity and returns to ever widening groups in the society.

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[1]James S. Coleman (ed.): Education and Political Development, (Princeton: Princeton University Pres, 1965), p. 184.

Democratic planning should seek to
minimize inequity and maximize equity.

4. If a policy for education for economic
development should take factors like
those mentioned above into account, it
must do so with the economy as a central
guiding purpose.

5. The policy should somehow take into account
the social and cultural factors in education
that contribute to economic development
and provide for them in educational planning.

6. A policy for education for economic develop-
ment will require that research and experi-
mentation and untested assumption be the
basis for educational planning.

7. Finally, education for economic development
must be planned with due regard for its
social consequences. It must be a policy
of education for total development, in which
economic development finds its appropriate
place.[1]

Educational systems that seem to be supportive of
economic development are usually characterized with
"open" rather than "closed" systems of thought and
behaviour. The manner in which education is conducted
may in the long run be more significant for economic
development than the actual content of what is taught.
Education is more than a body of knowledge or the ac-
quisition of it. It is an approach to the creation of
knowledge, the use of knowledge, a way of handling, testing

[1] Hanson and Brembeck, op. cit., pp. 120-122.

and applying it.[1]

It is the school that can begin to establish quality socio-educational choices for all social groups -- a facet of development teaching which entails striving or an "open" school which will help lay the groundwork for egalitarianism and pluralization within the nation.[2] In time, this type of "open" classroom atmosphere can further generate viable competing economic forces which are nec-essary for an achieving society -- the kind of society to which developing nations aspire.[3] Not until the teacher is cognizant that he is an "arm of society"[4] for effecting egalitarianism and pluralization can begin to facilitate the reorientation of the social order toward

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[1]Ibid., p. 123.

[2]Cf. W. McCord, "Bread and Freedom: The Pluralist Approach," The Springtime of Freedom, the Evolution of Developing Societies (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 268-291.

[3]T.L. Wilson, "Teaching for National Development, West African Journal of Education, Vol. XIII, No. 3, October, 1969, p. 145.

[4]J. Akerson Tibbetts and M. Silverman, Teaching in the Developing Nations (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., Inc., 1968), Preface, VI.

other normative behaviours and beliefs. As Amachree,
a Nigerian sociologist corroborates: after all educa-
tion is essentially an interactive situation in which
human beings are socialized into the normative realities
of a society.[1] "This being the case, teachers inter-
act with the largest number of newcomers to newly evolv-
ing norms of a nation and they must conceive and exhibit
the desired egalitarian and pluralistic norms if these
norms are to become the "realities" which are osmotically
and deliberately transmitted to students -- the next
generation."[2]

An imporant share of the process of socialization
through which a child acquires the basic psychological
attributes and characteristics of a member of his nation,
social class, and sex takes place in the school. Along
with the family and play and neighborhood groups, the
school molds the personality by defining roles, their
expectations, and by exacting conformity in some degree
to normative and role-stipulated behaviour. The impact
of the school (Nigerian school for that matter) on the

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[1] I. Amachree, "An address at the Martha Tubman
Academy Founder's Day Celebration," Liberian Star, 19
August, 1968, p. 5.

[2] Wilson, op. cit., p. 145.

personality of the child must develop traits conducive
to innovativeness, analytical reasoning, and self-
reliance. These traits must be made important enough
for the stimulation and acceptance of modernizing social
change that willenhance economic growth.

Economically relevant education offers viable
programmes of quality in the vocational, technical,
scientific, and professional fields that are adapted
to the country's stage of development. As Hanson and
Brembeck observe, "Perhaps the greatest pitfall in this
area is that developing countries attempt to copy without
modification the advanced technical programs of developed
countries, whether or not they are suited to the local
conditions."[1]

Another characteristic of educational system that
seems to be supportive of economic growth is that such
programmes show a balance of vocational and general studies.
The decision as to what portion of the educational programme
will be explicitly job-oriented and what share will be de-
voted to general learning will vary from country to country.

Economic growth carries various price tags and one of
them is work. Production is made possible through work.
Thus, adequate emphasis on the discipline of work has to
be given in schools.

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[1]Hanson and Brembeck, op. cit., p.124.

It is more than knowlege and new technical skills
that is demanded in a nation that would be modern: it is
a whole set of attitudes which create the climate of
modernization. First and foremost, the schools of the
nation must foster a spirit of innovation in their students
-- a desire to try out, to experiment, to create. Progress
is never made by standing still but by developing the new.
Second, the schools will need to share in developing a new
spirit of adventuring. The traditional attitudes, the
clerical mentality which finds it most acceptable to seek
the security of a government office, must give way among
an increasing number to a willingness to take a chance,
to strike out on one's own, if economic growth is to be
rapid. Third, a healthy attitude toward productive labour,
toward doing a technical job, toward getting one's hands
dirty in the process of creating or discovering, or doing,
needs to be restored. Office jobs alone will never build
a new Nigeria. Finally, there is needed a whole series
of new functional attitudes toward efficiency, hiring
and promotion. Functional competence, not family or town
or clan loyalties, must become the criterion used when
filling the niches in a modern industrial society. The
task of changing such attitudes is formidable; a barren,
scholastic course of study in the schools is little apt to

probe adequate to the challenge.[1]

There is a strong correlation between a country's
educational development and its economic productivity.
According to Harbison, "The best single indicator of
a country's wealth in human resources is the proportion
of its young people enrolled in secondary schools."[2]   A
person's experiences in school will presumably influence
his economic motivations. His will to achieve and to
innovate may be stimulated by his formal educational ex-
periences;[3] his aspirations will grow. The percentage of
national income devoted to education is highly correlated
with per capita income, and a minimal level of literacy
apparently spurs initial growth.[4] The general relevance
of this argument is indicated by Anderson when he notes
that "take off" is normally associated with a 40 per cent
literacy rate.[5]

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[1]Ikejiani, op. cit., p. 25.

[2]Harbison, op. cit., p. 147.

[3]Some writers consider these psychological factors in-
dispensable for initiating growth. See David McClelland,
The Achieving Society (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University
Press, 1961).

[4]Bowman and Anderson's data on ninety countries reveal
that in none of the thirty-two with literacy below 40 per
cent was 1955 per capita income up to $300. They state,
"It is tempting to conclude that a literacy rate of 30 to 40
per cent is a prerequisite to incomes exceeding $200 in most

[5]Anderson and Bowman (eds.), 1966, op. cit., p. 347.

Attitudes toward the role of education in economic development are changing today. This change is evident in the words of W. Lee Hansen:

> . . . . much of the recent enthusiasm for
> increased education stems from faith in
> the economic benefits that accrue, and it
> is argued on those grounds. While this
> faith finds some support in recent esti-
> mates of the apparent growth-inducing
> effects of education in many of the now-
> developed nations, the conclusion that
> formal education will have similar growth-
> inducing effects elsewhere, especially
> in the under-developed countries, still
> seems premature. Yet this view is voiced
> and acted upon irrespective of any realistic
> appraisal of the likely return.[1]

The view of education as the prime mover of growth has not won full support among economists and sociologists; it stems from the sometimes disastrous consequences of planning policies where investment in education has been given primacy. Perhaps the most obvious examples of an over-commitment to such a view were the investment policies of both the Eastern

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cases and $300 in all." Mary Jean Bowman and C. Arnold Anderson, "Concerning the Role of Education in Development," in Clifford Geertz (ed.), Old Societies and New States: The Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa (New York: Free Press, 1963), pp. 251-52. See also Adam Curle, "Education, Politics and Development," Comparative Education Review, VIII, 3 (February, 1964), 226-45.

[1]Anderson and Bowman (eds.), 1966, op. cit., p. 65.

and Western regions of Nigeria, where, until recently,

the unquestioning scramble for education reached its

peak, with up to 40 per cent of the region's incomes

being directed into educational development. However,

the rising tide of white collar unemployment and the

squeeze on other forms of investment have modified both

the policy and the expectations toward education.[1] Thus,

as was indicated earlier in this chapter, "education is

not a magic medicine that can by itself transform the

society."

Education and Political Development

Education has a paramount role in political develop-

ment. An increase in education may increase meaningful,

even if revolutionary, political activity. It is cer-

tainly true that the growth of literacy, coupled with the

spread of the mass media and the improvement of communi-

cations -- increases political mobilization. But political

mobilization which is not at the same time accompanied by

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[1] James O'Connell, "The State and the Organization of
Elementary Education in Nigeria, 1945-1960," in Hans N.
Weiler, Education and Politics in Nigeria, Verlag Romback,
Freiburg in Breisgau, 1964.

the increasing effectiveness of political institutions
leads to the political decay characteristic of many
developing societies.[1] It is, of course, true that
political systems depend to a large extent on highly
educated leadership. The African leaders, for example,
constitute an educated elite. Political systems also
depend to a large extent on a mass of potential parti-
cipants in the political process who can at least read
newspapers or party manifestoes. In some countries
riven by tribal cultural and linguistic differences,
education is a necessary precondition of unity, because
without it communication between one citizen and another
and between government and citizenry as a whole is almost
impossible.[2] Lack of this basic communication makes it
very hard to establish a degree of order and control,
which is vital to economic growth. And education has
contributed in another, less direct, way to political
modernization, since an exceptionally high proportion of
today's leaders, especially in Africa, are former teachers.[3]
But while education may promote unity and purposive politi-
cal action, it may also have an opposite effect. Education.

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[1]Samuel P. Huntington, "Political Development and Po-
litical Decay," World Politics, XVII, No. 3 (April, 1965),
pp. 287-429.

[2]Adam Curle, Educational Problems of Developing Societies,
(New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1969), p. 7.

[3]Ibid., p. 7.

can awaken awareness of differences and problems, follow-
ed by tension and unrest. Burning needs may be aroused
which cannot be satisfied in a poor country and which
lead only to disturbed resentment. It is particularly
painful when men who have sought education as a means of
release from poverty find, once they have obtained the
education, that they cannot get employment for which
they considered themselves qualified and which would
effect that release.[1]

The capacity of a political system, is, quite simply,
the ability of a government to achieve its major goals.
In the new states the goals of governments are quite
ambitious and involve regulating the behaviour of more
people -- and regulating more of the behaviour of each
person -- than ever before. Whether a government can
realize its objectives depends on the means it has for
communicating with people, the caliber of its political
leaders and civil servants, the efficiency of major
institutions, and the adaptability of these institutions
to new problems.[2] Education plays a crucial role in meet-
ing these preconditions for high capacity. A good edu-
cation gives a politican or an administrator confidence in
his own abilities, and his contribution to the performance

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[1] Ibid., pp. 7-8.

[2] Abernethy, op. cit., p. 9.

of the total political system is enhanced.[1]

The belief in equality is almost, if not equally, as important to a modern man as the Apostles' Creed is to a true Christian. In a society stressing equality, education becomes one of the "welfare" items that all people should receive; it becomes not simply an end in itself but a means to other equality-related ends. The larger the enrollment, the more diffused, for example, is the opportunity schooling affords for upward mobility and the more likely it is that citizens, aware of their rights and obligations, will be able to participate effectively in the political process.[2]

An imporant characteristic of a politically developed system is a high degree of integration. A certain amount

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[1] Ibid., p. 8.

[2] Almond and Verba's study shows that the greater a person's education the more aware he is of the activities of his government and the more likely he is to have opinions on a wide range of political topics, to engage in political discussions, to consider himself capable of influencing his government, and to join voluntary organizations. The authors conlude that "This set of orientations constitutes what one might consider the minimum requirements for political participation. . . . It is just this basic set of orientations that those of limited education tend not to have." Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 382.

of political unity is necessary to support development.
In many developing countries of the world, the cultural,
linguistic and religious splits are often very serious
and are certainly weakening to development efforts. A
proper development effort demands a stable political
organization which in turn must have broad loyalty from
nearly all sections of the society.[1]

Many political organizations or societies today,
especially in Africa and Asia, are the embodiments of
large diversities -- India, Malaysia, Congo, and Nigeria
are but a few examples. The problem of stabilizing such
nations is in no way small, and a calculated effort
toward stability must be mounted. Facing similar problem
in Indian Humayin Kabir, an Indian educator, views educa-
tion as the first and foremost among the long term
measures to be applied to the problem. He writes that
"the growing generations must be trained up to be Indians
who accept their total heritage."[2] In accordance with
this training he suggests that materials chosen in such
courses as history for the elementary school pupils should
not emphasize sectional loyalties and concerns, and that

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[1]Adams and Bjork, op. cit., p. 44.

[2]Humayin Kabir, "Education and National Integration
in India," in Hanson and Brembeck, (eds.), op. cit., p. 244.

the things in India, as India, has accomplished, should
be the focus. This does not call for historical dis-
tortion but for emphasis on unity rather than diversity.
This applies, not only to history, but to literature
and other humanistic and social courses of study as well.
Kabir further suggests that "in selecting textbooks for
school children, we have to be careful to ensure that
attitudes of hatred or contempt are not fostered in any
section of children for any other section"[1]

Nation builders in the new states base much of their
faith in education on the belief that it will be a hori-
zontal integrator, reducing tensions among different
ethnic, racial, linguistic, or religious groups.[2]

Education has been used to reduce the stronger types
of diversity in many countries. The Americanization of
the children of immigrants to the United States, the
creation of German nationalism in the various petty
states during the first half of the nineteenth century,
and the increasing acceptance recently of Yugoslav nation-

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[1]Ibid., p. 244.

[2]Relevant comments by Toure of Guinea, Nyerere of
Tanzania, and Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast may be found
in L. Gray Cowan, et al., (eds.), Education and Nation
Building in Africa (New York: Frederick Praeger, 1965),
pp. 14-20, 125-139, 309-321.

-alism as opposed to Croatian, Serbian, Macedonian, and Slovenian loyalties are all examples of the use of education for reducing serious diveristy.[1] In multilingual countries a common language·taught through the schools can perform an essential integrative function. This language may have indigenous roots -- as with Bahasa Indonesia, Tagalog in the Philipines, and Swahili in Tanzania -- or it may be that of a colonial ruler. English language has helped in uniting the educated class across vernacular lines in Nigeria;·it is the official language of the government.

Apart from its role in strengthening capacity, equality, and integration, education serves a wider function, particularly in new states. Just as education can do much to remove individual inferiority complex, so its widespread dissemination can help remove what Abernethy describes as "the persistent suspicion of collective inferiority, legacy of colonialism that plagues the new states and renders the attainment of self-confident nationhood so difficult."[2]

This function is further described by the Nuffield Foundation study of African education as follows:

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[1]Adams and Bjork, op. cit., p. 44.

[2]Abernethy, op. cit., ·p.10.

The germ from which all national development
grows is a deep desire among the people to
be other than they are. In no way is this
desire more clearly put in evidence than by
the efforts a people is prepared to make
to train its children to fulfill the life
it desires for itself as a nation. Thus,
education is inseparably linked with the
deepest problems of national destiny.[1]

Turning to the psychological dimension a good educa-
tion can create the habits of mind, the emotional orienta-
tion, which is conducive to intrepreneurial and other
sorts of developmental activity.

It has become increasingly clear that a high rate of
economic development in a country cannot be guaranteed
only by the presence of abundant natural resources, capital,
and even skilled manpower. Consequently, serious attention
has been paid to the suggestion that psychological, and
particularly motivational, factors may be importantly
involved.[2] "The psychological position," writes Robert
LeVine, "is that an individual drive to excel is required
for the entrepreneurial activity which converts resources,
capital, and manpower into production and -- eventually --
income. Where this drive is strong and widespread in a

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[1]Ibid., p. 10.

[2]Robert A. LeVine, Dreams and Deeds: Achievement
Motivation in Nigeria (Chicago: University of Chicago
Press, 1966), p. 1.

population the economy will develop rapidly through the cumulative push of entrepreneurial actions; where the drive is weak or infrequent, economic advance will be slow."[1]

In almost every society around the world, education is a combined symbol of hope and of emancipation. People feel, and with some justification, that it is a key to emancipate them from the pangs and shackles of ignorance, hunger, endemic disease and, frequently, oppression and victimization. A good education has proved its usefulness to those who have made a judicious application of it. In many developing parts of the world, when there was no hope of improvement, people naturally did nothing which might have affected improvement. Now, however, there is hope, and hope is a powerful stimulant to constructive action.[2] This is often referred to as the "revolution of rising expectations"; it manifested itself in the French Revolution when the people rose because their situation was better, rather than worse. But if hopes are not realized, frustration, exasperation, and bitterness may well replace them.[3]

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[1] Ibid., p.1.

[2] Adam Curle, op. cit., p. 8.

[3] Ibid., p. 8.

The Role of the Intellectuals

Absence of knowledge encourages myth,
or the comfortable illusion that there
is nothing new to know.

G. Mesthene

For men to be modern involves their being aware of
the situation in which they stand and the process in
which they are participants, and of the possibilities
that are available to them, particularly because of
science; it involves their choosing deliberatly and
judiciously among those various possibilities -- chosing
in the sense of actively pursuing their freely selected
goal. To be increasingly conscious, and to act in the
light of that consciousness, constitutes a person or
society as modern.[1] Education in general, and schools
in particular, have always aimed at the moral and in-
tellectual development of the individual and the society
as well as the transmission of a nation's cultural
heritage.

Ignorance leads to ignorance, while knowledge leads
to more knowledge. Each is its own cause for being and

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[1]Smith, op. cit., p. 23.

each multiplies itself. For example, an ignorant man,
in his daily rounds, is in contact mainly with ignorance
and is shut off from sources of knowledge, because he is
ignorant. Ignorance feeding upon ignorance breeds more
ignorance. On the other hand, a knowledgeable man in
his daily rounds has access to more knowledge, which in
turn makes him more knowledgeable.

A society moves on the basis and within the limits
of the general pattern of ideas available to it and
dominant. If that pattern of ideas is false or irre-
levant or inadequate to any particular movement, such as
one toward prosperity or harmony or modernization, then
the society will falter or at best progress slowly in
that particular direction, if it does not indeed move in
some other. The intellectuals must figure out theoret-
ically what is to be done in the society and how it should
be done. In other words, intellectual awareness is of
cardinal importance to economic, social, and technological
development of any society. The three major world revo-
lutions -- the Industrial Revolution, the Agrarian Revo-
lution, and the Democratic Revolution -- were the bypro-
ducts of intellectual awareness. These three revolutions
have contributed immensely to the shaping of the modern
world.

Every cultural and ideological achievement in human

society can be shown to have had an economic aspect,
but the fact that no ideological movement has ever
succeeded in human history unless the economic ground
was favourable, does not in itself prove that economics
is primary. Logically, it makes economics a necessary
condition of socio-cultural creativity, but not a suf-
ficient condition. As Wilfred Smith observed,"[it] is
not that economics is unimportant,... but that even
when economic conditions are favourable or potentially
favourable, progress may nevertheless fail if intellect-
uals do not rise to the occasion; or if...people may
even know what to do, and yet do not do it."[1] Thus,
intellectual and moral awareness is primary in the
modernization process, while economics and technology,
though important, are secondary and subordinate. Smith
further pointed out that "a society is not significantly
modern, until the intellectual attitude, the ideological
orientation, is widely dominant in the society. ....
Intellectuals, then, have a double mission: to solve
problems, and to persuade society that problems can be
rationally solved."[2] The role of the intellectuals, there-
fore, is to provide the framework of ideas within the

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[1]Smith, op. cit., p. 32.

[2]Ibid., p. 40.

limits of which soceity acts. Progress can be
blocked also by the people's choice of certain options
rather than others out of a range of possibilities that
may be very wide.

No modern nation can rest satisfied when it has
produced a given quota of skilled manpower, a single
generation of good citizens, or an appreciation of its
existing cultural heritage. It must be primarily con-
cerned with establishing means of assuring that its
skilled manpower can be constantly renewed or replaced,
that its rising generations will be prepared to face new
problems, that its future sons and daughters will be
educated to lead more and more satisfying individual lives.
The preparation of teachers to carry on the continual
process of education is among the foremost educational
purposes of the present day Nigeria. Unless many of the
best minds of the country can be attracted into teaching
and prepared to carry on an educational process which
fulfills the full range of other demands placed upon the
schools, the future will promise nothing but retrogression
or disaster.[1]

Education for a self-renewing society must take fully
into account the cultural realities of the life of the

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[1]Ikejiani, _et al._, _op. cit._, p. 33.

people. It must recognize the nature of the society in
which people stand rootless between the "old" and the
"new". It must prepare the people to live with change,
to control change, direct it into constructive channels,
and use it for human betterment. Such education must
relate itself meaningfully to the realities of the culture.
It requires teachers who know and expand the content of
their culture, setting new directions for its development.
It must employ methods of analysis rather than rote
memorization. Modern education calls for a recreation
within the school programme of vital relevance to what
occurs outside the school. To achieve this objective,
schools are to devise "the best means," use "the best
materials," and call "science to its aid."[1] What is in-
volved here in its totality is employing a scientific
approach to the methods of teaching. It calls for putting
the taughts into a questioning frame of mind, giving them
the tools of analysis, teaching them to find answers.
Instead of teaching the textbook, it teaches students how
to solve problems, in which effort the textbook may be
but one of many useful tools. It does not place a premium

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[1]Hanson and Brembeck, op. cit., p. 231.

on storing up inert knowledge to be held until it can
be spilled out on an examination paper. Rather it makes
the student an explorer, engaged in exciting discovery
of meaningful knowledge.[1] One of the most effective
contributions to change that schools can make is teach-
ing students that learning is more than storing up know-
ledge, more than simple acquisition. It can show students
that the thrill of learning comes in the active discovery
of new knowledge. As Mark Van Doren once remarked: "The
art of being taught is the art of discovery, as the art
of teaching is in the art of assisting discovery."

Important as schools and teachers will be in the
self-renewing society, however, they will only achieve
their purpose as they are reinforced and supported by
an increasing democratic way of life throughout the
nation. It is for this reason that the national eductional
purpose of Nigeria must focus all educational activities
on enhancing the democratic way of life.[2]

Important as schools and teachers will be in the
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[1]Ikejiani, (ed.), op. cit., p. 34-35.

[2]Ibid., p. 33.

increasingly democratic way of life throughout the
nation. It is for this reason that the national ed-
ucational purpose must focus all educational activities
on fostering the democratic way of life. Such a demo-
cratic way of life will demand an education that is
value-oriented, an education that develops the qualities
of self-criticism, an education that is characterized by
faith in knowledge and free access to knowledge, an edu-
cation that capitalizes on the unique capacities of in-
dividuals and directs them in ways that are socially
responsible, and an education that will change with the
advent of new knowledge and new problems.[1] Thus Nigeria's
educational purpose is the same as the national purpose:
"to create a good society and good life for all its members
and to use all the intellectual and moral resources man
has developed, all the resources he is capable of develop-
ing, in the pursuit of this goal."[2]

Renewal of societies or of individuals depends in
some measure on motivation, commitment, conviction, the
values men live by, and the things that give meaning to
their lives. Apathy and lowered motivation are the most
widely noted characteristics of a civilization on the

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[2]Ibid., p. 20.

downward path.[1] Renewal is not just innovation and change. It is also the process of bringing the result of change into line with the purpose of the society.[2] Education has a pivotal role to play in renewing a society.

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[1]John W. Gardner, <u>Self-Renewal</u> (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1965), p. xiii.

[2]<u>Ibid</u>., p. xiii.

CHAPTER V

EDUCATION IN NIGIERIA DURING

THE PRE AND POST INDEPENDENCE PERIODS

> The praises of my tongue
> I offer to the Lord
> That I was taught and learnt so young
> To read His holy word.
>
> Issac Watts

> The chief function of Government primary
> and secondary schools among primitive
> communities is to train the more promising
> boys from the village schools as teachers
> for those schools, as clerks for the
> local native courts, and as interpreters.
>
> Lord Lugard (A.D. 1921)[1]

Some Aspects of

Education in Pre-Independent Nigeria

"One of the most revolutionary influences operative

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[1]Lord Lugard, formerly known as Frederick Dealtry
Lugard, was responsible for the amalgamation of the Pro-
tectorate of Northern Nigeria with the Colony and Pro-
tectorate of Southern Nigeria under one administration
on Juanuary 1, 1914; he thus became the first governor-
general of Nigeria. Lugard introduced the "Indirect Rule"
otherwise known as the "Dual Mandate" into Nigeria. This
was a system of government that made use of some Nigerian
traditional rulers.

in Nigeria since the beginning of the European in-
trusion," writes James Coleman, "has been Western
education."[1] He further observes that the broad scope
of the influence, its systematic nature, and continuity
during the crucial formative years made it far more
effective and penetrating than the more superficial
economic and social aspects of a culture contact,
despite the fact that this influence was felt directly
by only a small minority of the population before 1951.[2]

The Portuguese merchant adventurers gave the people
of what is now known as Nigeria their first experience
of Western education. From the beginning of their
trading enterprise overseas in the fifteenth century,
education was regarded by the Portuguese as of funda-
mental importance to the spread of Christianity. This
opinion was held by ecclesiastical and civil authorities
alike. In 1515 missionaries who visited Benin obtained
the permission of the Oba of Benin to teach his son and
the sons of a number of other chiefs the rudiments of
the Christian faith. A mission which reached Benin in
1539 found a black Christian, who was held prisoner by

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[1] James S. Coleman, Nigeria: Background to National-
ism (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965),
p. 113.

[2] Ibid., p. 113.

the Oba, teaching boys to read.[1]

The expansion of education in Nigeria was undertaken by three groups: European missionaries, Africans, and government officials. One of these groups assumed a leading role at certain times and places, while the others responded to its initiatives. At other times their roles overlapped, for example, when Africans became themsevles the agents of missionary activity and missionaries became involved in the formation of official educational policy. Each of these groups had its own distinct reason for furthering education.[2]

Western education[3] was introduced into most parts of Nigeria by Christian missionaries in the middle of the nineteenth century. Until then, only northern Nigeria, which is predominantly Moslem, had a system of essentially religious schools where a small number of boys studied the Koran and gained a basic literacy in Arabic script. It is estimated that there were 19,000 Koranic schools with about 135,000 students in northern Nigeria in 1913.[4]

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[1]Lewis, op. cit., p. 23.

[2]Abernethy, op. cit., p. 25.

[3]"Western education" (as distinguished from traditional African education) here refers to formal and systematic instruction in subjects characteristic of the curricula used in Western countries. The core subjects are reading, writing and arithmetic. Humanities, art, and the sciences are additional subjects.

[4]Cookson, et al., op. cit., p.145.

By studying the _Koran_ the Hausa language was enriched
by scores of Arabic words, thus making it one of the
more versatile languages of Africa. This Islamic
education, which included some mathematics, history
and geography, was for at least 400 years common on
the upper Niger and so in many parts of Nigeria.[1]

To this day, little groups of children, of both
sexes, may be seen sitting under a tree round a teacher,
reading the _Koran_ in singsong voices. The _mallam_ or
teacher received no salary for his work, but lived on
the presents brought to him by the children and on the
farming he did in his spare time. The scene is becoming
rarer, as more and more children go to primary schools.[2]

The virtual monopoly of education by the Christian
missionaries from the beginning is well expressed in
the following words of Murray:

> To all intents and purposes the school is
> the Church. Right away in the bush or in
> the forest the two are one, and the village
> teacher is also the village evangelist.
> An appreciation of this fact is cardinal
> in all considerations in African education.[3]

Until recently as 1945, religious bodies operated

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[1]Niven, _op. cit._, p. 166.

[2] _Ibid._, p. 166.

[3]A. Victor Murray, _The School in the Bush_ (London:
1939), p. 65.

about 99 per cent of the schools and more than 97 per
cent of the pupils in Nigeria were enrolled in mission
schools.[1] By 1945 there were comparatively few literate
Nigerians who had not received all or part of their
education in mission schools.[2]

The first English-speaking Christian missionary
arrived in what was to become Nigeria in 1842, and the
first mission school was founded at Badagri in Western
Nigeria the same year. By 1921, 130,000 Southern
Nigerian children were attending mission-managed primary
and secondary schools, and a decade later the figure had
risen to about 200,000.[3] It was not until the last quarter
of the eighteenth century that Western education made any
significant impact upon Nigeria.

The Christian missionaries were interested mainly
in developing a literate population with a Christian-
oriented elementary education. They adopted the British
system and methods and introduced a strong bias toward

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[1]Cookson, et al., op. cit., p. 145.

[2]See Ten-Year Educational Plan, Nigerian Sessional
Paper No. 6/1944, p. 13.

[3]Abernethy, op. cit., p. 25.

classical education, paying little attention to voca-
tional and practical training, or to secondary and post-
secondary education.

The European missionaries came to Nigeria convinced
of white supremacy in all things, and in the early phase
many Africans accepted the same idea. The missionaries
in Africa fostered this idea. One of the most ardent
critic of this idea, E.D. Morel, is quoted to have accused
them of being, unwittingly, the strongest allies of the
"damned nigger" school: "It is from them in the main
that has grown up the conviction... that nothing in the
structure of African social life is worth preserving;
that everything, indeed, is bad and corrupt, and must be
pulled down -- tribal systems, communal tenure, and
marriage laws."[1]

The attitude of many missionaries toward Nigerian
customs and institutions tended to perpetuate such
ethnocentric preconceptions as that the people had no
history, no culture, and little virtue. One would have
to observe some of the motion pictures, such as _Tarzan_,
with an African theme to grasp, in Coleman's words,
"the tenacity of distortorted, perjorative, and con-
descending viewpoints."[2] Coleman further points out that

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[1] _African Mail_, November 12, 1909. Quoted from
Coleman, _op. cit._, p. 105.

[2] _Ibid._, p. 106.

the real importance of these self-perpetuating myths
is not what the outside world continued to believe, but
what the denial of a history or a culture did to the
pride of the thoughtful African.[1] This attitude was
regarded by the Nigerians as a deliberate deception on the
part of a missionary-government conspiracy[2] -- a subtle
imperial technique to make Nigerians meek, passive,
ashamed, and respectful. Nigerians ultimately protested
against not only the missionary view of their inferiority,
based on their alleged lack of history and culture, but
also against the pretensions of white virtuousness.[3]

In schools and in churches, Nigerians learned from
the missionaries that the European race was superior be-
cause it was Christian. This kept the people very con-
scious and critical of the un-Christian behaviour by
their teachers. As Coleman further observes, "Isolated
deviants could be overlooked, but when many members of

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[1] _Ibid._, p. 106.

[2] The suspicion of a missionary - government con-
spiracy was quite common. This found expression in the
words of a leading Christian nationalist who said that
"The word 'Christ' has always been identified here with
the British Empire... the general feelings are that the
Missionaries have been the front troops of the Government
to soften the hearts of the people and while people look
at the Cross white men gather the riches of the land."
See _Ibid._, p. 108.

[3] _Ibid._, p. 106.

the white community in Nigeria appeared indifferent to the percepts of Christianity, the Nigerian was not only disenchanted but annoyed at being duped by humbuggery and a holier-than-thou attitude."[1]   The editorial opinion of one leading national newspaper in Nigeria, The Daily Service, once remarked that "... Europeans came to Africa with Christ and the gospel. It appears that on their way back they both met there. The gospel must be taken back to Europe. Europe must be re-educated... re-civilized. Europe needs African evangelists."[2] Many Nigerians ultimately came to believe that the Bible was not the real secret of European success and strength, but their skill in exploitation was the key to their success and strength. Emulation of the white man's religion was closely associated with humility and passivity. It was thought that the only way to challenge effectively their priviledged position was by emulating their exploitative skill.

    The policy of complete Europeanization of the Nigerians, carried out through schools and churches, met with resentment from many quarters, especially when the

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[1]Ibid., p. 107.

[2]Daily Service, July 2, 1945.

abandonment of many meaningful customs and institutions
was made a precondition for entry into God's Kingdom.
One of the most, if not the most, important of these
customs was polygamy[1] and the missionaries seemed de-
termined to deal a deadly blow on it; the hunter almost
became the hunted. The uncompromising attitude of the
Christian missionaries on polygamy and other customs
was partly responsible for the wide appeal and success
of Islam in southern Nigeria and the rise of syncretistic
African churches.

There were many grievances expressed by the Nigerian
nationalists concerning the mission schools and their
operators. Beginning in the 1930's, mission schools
came increasingly under control of the government and
the grievances found much more articulation in the nation-
alists. The grievances had much to do with discrimination,

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[1]The whole social fabric of the black African race
had a polygamous basis. A clear understanding of the
reasons why the African society was based on polygamy
was necessary on the part of the missionaries. It is not
enough to know the Bible only. A teacher of the Word of
God must also know the taught if his teaching is to be
meaningful and effective. It is the opinion of the writer
that the problem of polygamy is more economic than religious.
There is no place in the Bible where polygamy has been
directly associated with damnation or salvation. The
question of polygamy is a value question and has no Biblical
basis for its condemnation or justification.

inequality, exploitation, denial of opportunity, and all
the other features characteristic of alien rule.[1] It was
such features that prompted a Nigerian nationalist to
declare publicly that "the tree of liberty must be watered
by the blood of tyrants." The statement resulted in an
emotional response from the highest British official in
Nigeria who, in a personal confrontation, labelled the
nationalist "a free slave."

It would be unfair to suggest, despite nationalist
grievances regarding certain features of missionary enter-
prise, that the missionaries had no significant contri-
bution to Nigeria. The words of the Honourable Dennis
Osadebay, former premier of Mid-Western State of Nigeria;
epitomizes this contribution:

> ... the missionary has made the African soil
> fertile for the growth of imperialism...[but]
> he has equally helped to lay the foundation
> for the present spirit of nationalism... When
> African historians come to write their own
> account of the adventure of Africa with imperial-
> ism, they will write of the missionaries as
> the greatest friends the African had.[2]

The content of Western education was largely, but
not wholly, determined by the missionary motive. Educa-
tion in Nigeria was largely based on learning to read,

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[1]Coleman, op. cit., p. 109.

[2]"Easter Reflection, the Missionary in West Africa,"
West Africa, April 5, 1947, p. 280. Quoted from Coleman,
op. cit., p.112.

write, and calculate in the English language. Later on,
the British Empire history, European geography, garden-
ing, and a few other subjects were added to the curriculum.
As Coleman points out,

> ...African history was considered either
> nonexistent or unimportant, the great men
> who were studied in the schools were the
> kings of England and the early white empire
> builders who came to Nigeria with a new and
> superior civilization. The great events and
> historical developments that were taught were
> European and colonical wars of pacification,
> evolution of the British constitution, and the
> growth of the British Empire. In literature,
> Shakespeare and the Bible held the stage.
> Even today, it is not uncommon to find a
> semieducated Nigerian working as a steward
> who can name the principal English cities,
> quote the Bible and recite Hamlet, but who
> has little knowledge of the geography, the
> proverbs and folk tales, or the prominent
> leaders and outstanding events in the history
> of his own country.[1]

The mission schools[2] were a very powerful instrument

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[1]Coleman, op. cit., pp. 114-115.

[2]In Northern Nigeria missionary education activity
developed much more slowly and on a smaller scale. This
was in part due to the agreement made between the British
Government and the emirs following the pacification of the
north, when it was agreed that Christian missionaries
should not be admitted to the emirates without the consent
of the emirs. This resulted in missionary effort being
largely confined to the pagan areas. Apart from the
administrative restrictions upon mission educational effort,
there was antagonism toward Western education due to the
existence of a loose system of Koranic schools. In these
schools, the pupils were trained in the correct methods of
worship and taught the basic laws of social conduct. There

of acculturation. The schools taught Nigerian youths
to aspire to the virtues of white Christian civilization
and fostered disdainful feelings toward the indigenous
culture. "Consistent with their preconceptions regarding
African culture, the missionaries tended to ignore African
forms of education because they considered them either
evil or nonexistent. The African was treated as a _tabula_
rasa upon which could be written a completely new civili-
zation."[1]

.One of the most burning issues in the development of
Nigerian nationalism was the qualitative and quantitative
inadequacy of Western education. As to content, Coleman
points out that "the schools equipped the African with

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was fear that the European type of schooling might make
the pupils indifferent to the faith. So, much of the
mission educational endeavours in Nigeria was almost
limited to Southern Nigeria. Although the missionary
educational enterprise began in 1842, it was not until
1899 that the first Government school was opened. This
was in Lagos and was for Moslem children, for whom the
Christian missionaries made no provision. See Otonti
Nduka, _Western Education and the Nigerian Cultural Back-_
ground (Ibadan: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 30.

    [1]_Ibid._, p. 114.

little more than an elementary knowledge of the English language for an economic future in which a senior clerkship was the upper limit of his permissible advancement."[1]

The content of the subjects taught came straight from Britain and later on from America. Little attempt was made to use local material in the teaching of such subjects as history and geography. Some attempts were made in some of the schools in the North to preserve native language, customs, and character. In the South the emphasis was on learning new habits, customs, tastes, and so on. The lecture method and memory work occupied the center of the stage. Bits of information were crammed with a view to passing examinations. Whether the education given was realistic or not seemed not to worry the givers or the receivers at that time.

Many people, including non-Nigerians, were critical of the literacy type education that Nigerians were given, and they advocated a shift from the Anglicizing literacy training, which merely produced what Nnamdi Azikiwe described as "...an upper class of parasites...,"[2] to a more practical education responsive to the needs of the people. This type of education was to include technical and

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[1]*Ibid.*, p. 116.

[2]Eric Ashby, *Universities: British, Indian, African* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966), p. 245.

vocational training, maximum use of the vernacular, and acceptance and utilization of useful and healthy elements in the traditional culture.

Among those who frequently expressed dissatisfaction with the educational system in Nigeria were some government officials. In 1900 the Lagos Board of Education resolved, on the recommendation of Sir William MacGregor, the then governor, that,

> It is not possible for our schools to produce really good results unless we are less apathetic about education and unless we... provide a comprehensive scheme of public instruction, which shall not only supply the wants of a clerkly class, but shall also prepare youth for husbandry and handicrafts.[1]

Sir Hugh Clifford, another high government official, also criticised the curricula in Nigerian schools. In an important address to the Nigerian Council in 1920 Sir Hugh declared that "the curricula in use in the government and assisted schools... required to be very considerably revised."[2]

Prominent among the critics of the school curricula was an American Negro leader, Booker T. Washington, who advocated the agricultural and vocational training of the

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[1] *Annual Report*, Department of Education, 1926 (Lagos: Government Printer, 1926), p. 2.

[2] Coleman, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

masses.

    In developing an educational policy for Nigeria,
the British Government was greatly influenced by
Phelps-Stokes Reports, made by American and British
educators and missionaries in 1920-1921 and again in 1924.
The chairman of the Commission, Jesse Jones, formerly of
the Hampton Institute of Virginia, and his colleagues
believed that the work of Hampton and Tuskegee with the
American rural Negro could be applied to the African scene.
The reports developed a philosophy of "adaptation" and
argued that education "must be of a character to draw out
the powers of the Native African and fit him to meet the
specific problems and needs of his individual and com-
munity life."[1]

    With all the criticisms and recommendations from
various commissions, the British officials seemed un-
willing or unable to reform the educational system. As
late as 1942, Governor Bourdillon confessed that "there
is no doubt that the type of education provided in the
past, especially in the elementary and primary schools,
has been too academic... The first consideration is to
provide elementary education in the villages with a strong

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    [1]Education in East Africa (New York: Phelps-Stokes
Fund, 1924), p. xvii.

rural bias."[1]

There were some efforts on the part of the mission-
aries to bring about some changes in the educational
system. At Abeokuta, Lagos, Onitsha and Calabar,
different missions had established industrial and voca-
tional training, including in the instruction teaching
about brick and tile making, carpentry, masonry, tailoring,
printing, the cleaning and packing of agricultural pro-
duce for the European markets, and so on. A good deal of
missionary effort was directed to what was known in
government and commercial circles as the "Basle method."
This was a system of making mission stations self-sup-
porting by cultivating farms, training and employing car-
penters, and masons, and having a trade section to dispose
of their surplus produce. Frequent reference was made by
the government administrators, commercial agents and local
leaders of public opinion in Nigeria to the merits of com-
bining liberal education and training for trade and in-
dustry. The reason why the missions did not do more of
this kind of work was that it cost more. Seminaries,
teacher-training colleges and secondary grammar schools

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[1] A Ten Year Plan of Development and Welfare for
Nigeria (Lagos: Government Printer, 1946), p. 4.

were much cheaper to provide and organize and were far
cheaper to run than were industrial schools. Further-
more, economic expansion was still largely confined to
commerce based upon the export of the primary products.
So many missions thought that there was little call for
industrial training, and the development of industry
had to wait upon commercial expansion.[1]

Europeans in Africa were much in need of clerical
staff and semi-skilled help; consequently, both mission
and government schools spared no pains to train helpers
as rapidly as possible. For many years the schools could
not supply the increasing demands. Westermann said that
for many years government education concerned itself
"chiefly with the object of training clerical employees."[2]

Little thought was given to the harmful effects this
denationalizing process would have upon the African.
The Europeans accepted it and provided for it. Special
coaches were attached to African trains for "educated
Africans"; first class coaches in Nigeria were for the
whites, second class for the "clerks," or denationalized
Africans, and third class for "raw" Africans. It followed

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[1]Lewis, op. cit., p. 32.

[2]Diedrich Westermann, The African Today (London:
Oxford University Press, 1934), p. 216.

naturally in the mind of the African that to come out
of the "raw," and to enter into the denationalized class,
was a progressive step.

European teachers were not willing that the educated
Africans should become socially one with them, and the
type of education given made it impossible for educated
Africans to be any longer socially one with their own
people. Consequently, there were lost between two worlds.
They were in need of sympathetic help and understanding;
the educational system was in need of analysis and re-
casting.

Early in this chapter we had pointed out some of the
reasons why Christian missionary education activity de-
veloped much more slowly in Northern Nigeria than in the
South. One of these reasons was that the British Govern-
ment made an agreement with the rulers of Northern Nigeria,
the emirs, that Christian missionaries should not be admit-
ted to the emirates without the consent of the emirs.
This was in keeping with Lugard's policy manifested in his
Dual Mandate. Lugard was greatly impressed by the Moslem
system of ethics and principle of conduct. In 1920 he
wrote that "Islam carries with it its own religious san-
ctions, while the Animism and Fetish of the pagan represents

no system of ethics, and no principle of conduct."[1]
The British, with Lugard as the brain behind, drew up
an ordinance for "unsettled districts" which excluded
missions and mission education from most of the ten
million inhabitants of Northern Nigeria.[2]   Mission organi-
zations at once took exception to this ordinance and
some controversy ensued.

The Government maintained that to allow mission
education in Northern Nigeria would be a denial of their
promise to the Moslems;[3] that it would have an "unsettling"
effect upon the country;[4] and would "degrade the Europeans
in the eyes of the Native."[5]   The government further main-
tained that Mohammedanism, as a religion, was much better
adapted to the people of Northern Nigeria than was Chris-
tianity.

E.D. Morel pointed out some the specific reasons for
the government contention that Mohammedanism is better

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[1] F.D. Lugard, The Dual Mandate in British Tropical
Africa (Edinburgh: Wm. Blackwood and Sons, 1926), p. 437.

[2] Alan C. Burns, History of Nigeria (London: Allen
and Unwin, 1963), p. 259.

[3] Ibid., p. 259.

[4] Margery Perham, Native Administration in Nigeria
(London: Oxford Press, 1937), p. 288.

[5] Lugard, op. cit., p. 590.

adapted to the Nigerian than Christianity. One of
the reasons with stress is that Islam condones polygamy.
He said that "Islam, despite its shortcomings, does not,
from the Nigerian point of view, demand race suicide
of the Nigerian as an accompaniment of conversion."[1]
Burns likewise pointed out that, "Islam is... better
adapted than Christianity to the African life... Both
involve strange doctrines which he scarcely understands
but while one forbids him to possess more than one wife,
the other imposes no such restrictions."[2] Lugard like-
wise advanced this as a reason for the British bias
in favour of Mohammedanism.[3]

One difficulty that the government encountered in
maintaining an exclusively Moslem educational policy was
that Islam offered very little in the way of literate
education. In 1911 the census returns indicated that
only 3 per cent of the Moslems in Northern Nigeria could
write. Of the total population, 97.56 per cent were
termed as illiterate.[4] In Meek's opinion, "the cause of

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[1]E.D. Morel, Nigeria, Its Peoples and Its Problems
(London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1912), p. 216.

[2]Ibid., p. 258.

[3]Lugard, op. cit., p. 77.

[4]C.K. Meek, Northern Tribes of Nigeria, Vol. II,
Glasgow: Oxford University Press, 1925), p. 254.

the general illiteracy is to be found, firstly, in the history and social conditions of the tribes; secondly, in the comparative absence of educational facilities; and thirdly, in the defective character of the Muslim system of education."[1]

Concerning Islamic education as the force that was to produce the desired administrators for Lugard's Dual Mandate, Westermann had this to say: "Islam... is sterile. No fresh impulses radiate from it, no powers which foster life and make it a dynamic force in progress. Its atmosphere is rather that of stagnation."[2] Burns said, "In Mohammedan schools the pupils learn the Koran by heart, and are instructed in this religion, but there is little or no education in the Western sense."[3] In Perham's opinion, "this position meant there could be very little education of any kind in the Moslem North, except in those pagan areas which were not under strong Moslem rule."[4]

A defect in the governmental theory that to allow mission education in Northern Nigeria would have an

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[1]*Ibid.*, p. 254.

[2]Westermann, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

[3]Burns, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

[4]Perham, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

"unsettling" effect upon the country was shown by ex-
perience of the Church Missionary Society School estab-
lished at Zaria even before the Dual Mandate was
created.   Concerning this, Murray noted: ·

> So far from being an offence to the people,
> it is the most popular institution in the
> place.   Both boys and girls are taught, and
> Dr. Miller, the head of it, teaches hygiene
> and English, two of the subjects which are
> said to be in conflict with the views of
> the Moslem rulers.   The chief Mallam is
> friendly, and even enthusiastic, and pupils
> come from all over the Moslem areas of
> Northern Nigeria in order to study at Zaria
> those subjects which the Government formula
> forbids to be taught elsewhere.   The evidence
> is abundant that the Moslem people desire a
> wider opportunity for education than that
> which is open to them in their own Koran
> schools and in the Government institutions.
> A discussion of these matters, however, with
> the authorities in Kano was held in the
> atmosphere of a detective story.[1]

The missions contended that, in refusing to open
the pagan tribes to Christian Education, the government
was denying to the African the very religious freedom,
or opportunity to choose, which Lugard had promised them.
Referring to the indifference and the hostility of the
government to missionary enterprise, the Phelps-Stokes
Commission recommeded that the government should grant

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[1]Murray, op. cit., p. 274.

religious freedom in Nigeria.[1] Many of those who were
in support of the missions were of the opinion that
Christianity was not the enemy of the Northern Nigerians.
"The enemy, if it can be called such," declared Victor
Murray, "is European economic influence...."[2] Murray said
that there were alleged cases of Moslem boys in government
service who had been dismissed because they became
Christians and said that justice could not flourish in
an unhealthy atmosphere of nervous conciliation and that
"this kind of attitude is not only unjust, [but] it is
also stupid."[3]

It was half truth on the side of the argument in
support of the government contention that to allow mission
education in Northern Nigeria would have an "unsettling"
effect on the people; it was also half truth on the part
of the missions to say that there was no Moslem antipathy
to the entrance of missions. To the Africans, there was,
and there is still no marked difference between mission
and government representatives. Both were white men with

[1]Perham, op. cit., p. 288.

[2]Murray, op. cit., p. 285.

[3]Ibid., p. 281.

a common mission -- to exert Western influence in all

ways possible on the Africans.

The government and the missions were both engaged

in unnecessary squabbles. It was gratifying to note

later on that the "spectres" of the past had been swept

away by the forces of cooperation enveloped in a sense

of direction so that each passing year brought additional

understanding. This helped to quicken the pace of educa-

tional progress in Northern Nigeria. Undoubtedly, all had

the satisfaction of accomplishment.

In Southern Nigeria, education soon became popular,

and the best way for a mission to gain support among the

people was to provide what they wanted by starting a

school. One Catholic missionary in Nigeria wrote: "We

knew the best way to make conversions in pagan countries

was to open schools... So, when the district of Ekiti-

Ondo was opened we started schools even before there was

any church or Mission house."[1] The efforts of the European

missionaries was an important factor in the spread of

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[1]Charles J. Sanni, "The Role of Mission Schools in the
Establishment of the Church, with Special Reference to Ondo
Diocese in Nigeria," Diss., Pontifical Urban University,
Rome. Quoted from Abernethy, op. cit., p. 39.

education in Southern Nigeria, but, probably, a more
important factor was the response of the people served
by the missionaries. Sir Sidney Phillipson seemed to
agree to this fact when he stated: "The primary school
system of the South is almost entirely the result of
popular demand and the response of voluntary effort to
that demand. It is... largely the creation of the
people themselves, guided by the disinterested devotion
of Christian missions."[1]

The Nigerian response to British education went
through several stages over time. The following stages
have been suggested by a British anthropologist,
Margaret Read: The first stage is the initial rejection
of the schools and what was taught there because they
clearly perceived education to be a threat to their
traditional way of life. Then came the acceptance of
certain skills and habits learned in school -- reading,
writing, handling money, and so on. The third stage
was marked by the rejection of certain traditional patterns,
such as tribal rites connected with puberty. In the fourth
stage, British education was enthusiastically accepted in
its entirety, as Nigerians strove to prove themselves on

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[1]Abernethy, op. cit., p. 56.

the colonial ruler's own ground by passing European-oriented public examinations. In a final stage the school curriculum is suitably Africanized to reflect a new cultural self-awareness and to help produce a feeling of national identity.[1]

There were many diverse factors involved in the acceptance or rejection of education in Nigeria. "Sometimes education was rejected because it challenged traditional ways of life, or because it was closely associated with other aspects of European culture -- most notably Christianity -- that were regarded with suspicion. Economic factors played a role on occasion; chiefs, for example, feared the loss of income and prestige that might result if educated young men forsook local trading positions for government employment in the cities or elsewhere."[2] There were even more varied reasons for accepting education. The most important of these was the fact that schooling opened up a host of undreamt-of possibilities for the recipients. Education provided the recipient with the tools to exploit as well as to serve others. It provided access to the power and wealth of the European ruler; it also enhanced individual dignity and group prestige. With regards to

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[1]Ibid., p. 57.

[2]Ibid., p. 62.

exploitation, Abernethy points out that an interpreter
to a European might threaten to distort an illiterate's
story unless offered a bribe; a commercial agent might
under value a farmer's produce, knowing that the farmer
could not check the offered price against the list of
the agent's notebook. Even if these linguistic middle-
men were not personally unscrupulous, they were the
bearers of bad tidings from the new rulers. The only
way to protect oneself against dishonest literates or
to check on the validity of the directives relayed by
an employee of the government was to learn to read and
write oneself, or to send a younger member of the
family to school to learn these vital skills.[1]

Traditional rivalries between villages, clans, and
tribes led Nigerians, particularly the Southerners, to
use the schools to gain advantage over each other. As
Abernethy observed, "The presence of a school in one
community would rouse fears in other communities that
they were falling behind in the race for progress, and
they would hasten to have schools of their own built."[2]
This rivalry gave rise to the establishment of a number
of schools. It was not uncommon to see four or more

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[1]Ibid., p.64.

[2]Ibid., p. 64.

schools managed by different religious bodies (missions) established in one village or community. For example, in Afaha, a village a few miles away from the writer's home town, there were six elementary schools in 1950 established and managed by six different missions -- Catholic, Lutheran, Methodist, Apostolic Faith, Church of Christ, and Qua Iboe Missions. In the early years, the fewness of teachers limited the number of schools within a village, but by the 1940's and 50's the establishment of too many small and therefore uneconomic schools was becoming a serious problem to the Department of Education. The local people also felt the financial pressure exerted on them by those schools that dotted the villages; for local education taxes were levied on each taxable adult(male) toward the upkeep of the schools.

In Southern Nigeria, as Nduka points out, "the scholars were not encouraged to value any part of their native culture and a certain amount of estrangement from village life was the result. The school and the environment tended to pull in opposite directions. The type of education given, while it fulfilled certain utilitarian functions, remained completely foreign as far as the majority of the scholars were concerned."[1] A remark by

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[1]Nduka, op. cit., p. 39.

one of the members of the Phelps-Stokes Commission which
visited Nigeria in 1920-21 might help to illustrate this
point. The commissioner said that "if the pupils were
asked to sing any song they pleased, the chances were
strong that we would hear 'The British Grenadiers'!...
When they were asked to sing an African song, a boat song,
or any chant used in their own plays, a laugh invariably
went through the whole class.... Similarly, if we asked
about history, we soon discovered what happened in 1066,
but of their own story -- nothing."[1]

In the schools, both the pupils and their parents
were in favour of a curriculum with a strong literary,
nonmanual bias. A general education in the colonial
hierarchy carried more prestige than that of the tech-
nician or specialist. And since literacy was made a pre-
requisite for any well-paying job by government, mission,
and business, the Africans tended to place more premium
on literary training than manual skills. The long-
standing unwillingness of the young to enter vocational
and trade schools has been one of the striking features
of Nigerian education. The prestige of a literary educa-
tion resulted in a heavy reliance on rote memorization
as a learning technique. As Abernethy points out, "In

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[1] Ibid., p. 39.

their efforts to pass English examinations, African
children necessarily had to learn a great deal that
was utterly foreign to their past experience and ir-
relevant for their future careers; under these circum-
stances much information was simply memorized, for
there was little intellectual or emotional incentive
to digest it. Moreover, the pressures for the expan-
sion of school facilities created continual shortages
of trained teachers, and a young pupil-teacher was likely
to mask his own ignorance of subject matter by repeating
to his pupils exactly, and only, what the textbook con-
tained."[1]

The staff of some schools left a great deal to be
desired. Teacher-training institutions were inadequate
and, even where they existed, were so restricted that
their efforts could not raise the general level. There
were no common standards, and so, while some might be
good, others were remarkably poor in quality. Cunning
pupils were quick to realize that the way to the head-
master's heart sometimes might be more in excessive
religiosity than through real work and learning. There
were few educated people for the pupils to associate with;
their friends were unschooled and they soon fell away.

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[1]Abernethy, op. cit., p. 73.

Perhaps the most serious difficulty lay in the fact that having with great labour acquired this learning, the pupils had no way of following it up; books and reading matter of various sorts are vital, but in Nigeria were markedly absent, and even now there are few books available to the public. Only the well-to-do can really afford to own books. Few people in Nigeria, who might claim to be educated, have more than a shelf-full of books in their home. Even if they have, most of them will probably be text-books. In Nigeria at present the cold fact remains that the price of a modern book is well beyond the daily wage of the ordinary man, and that makes it quite prohibitive for him to think of buying one.[1] "In spite of this," observed Niven, "the position is improving and there is more and more for people to read after they have left school; libraries are popular; at present they are only to be found in large towns, but before long, no doubt, a network will be opened out at least to market towns."[2]

From the very beginning secondary education in Nigeria was based on the English Grammar and Public School tradition. It aimed at producing gentlemen as

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[1]Niven, op. cit., p.172.

[2]Ibid., p. 172.

clerks and recruits for training as dispensers and
assistants of various kinds. Most of the secondary
schools offered courses leading to the Oxford or Cam-
bridge Overseas School Certificate examinations. A high
proportion of the candidates were successful in these
examinations notwithstanding the "fail in English, fail
in all" clause in the examinations regulations. Those
of them whose parents or relatives were wealthy enough
were sent overseas, mainly to Britain, for further
studies, where they qualified in most cases in one of
the professions, law and medicine being the most popular
because they were the most lucrative choices. A few
wandered off to America in search of the golden fleece.

Until 1938 only twenty Nigerians, including Professor
Eyo Ita and Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, had gone to the United
States to study. (See Tables 9 and 10). Some of the
students made lecture tours of the United States and pub-
lished some books upon their return to Nigeria. They
became crusaders for American practical -- or what Nwafor
Orizu called "horizontal" (broad based) education, as
contrasted to the British ("vertical") tradition. Their
agitation on behalf of American education, coupled with
Dr. Azikiwe's great success, was one of the principal
reasons for the postwar migration of hundreds of Nigerians
to America. (See Table 11). Their propagation of the

Table 9. Ethnic Origin of Nigerian Students in the United States.[a]

Period	Ibo		Yoruba	Efik-Ibibio	Others and Unknown	Total[a]
	Number	Per cent				
Pre-1938	1[b]	5	5	2	12	20
1938-1945	8	67	1	3	0	12
1946-1948	114	65	45	11	5	175
1953-1954	165	51	73	38	43	318

[a]Because numbers have been calculated from lists of names, they are only approximations. "Others and unknown" may possibly include several Yorubas who retained their Anglicized names. The Efiks and Ibibios are counted together because it is difficult in most instances for a non-Efik or a non-Ibibio to distinguish between Efik and Ibibio names.

[b]Nnamdi Axikiwe.

Source: James S. Coleman, Nigeria-Background to Nationalism (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), p. 246.

Table -0. Estimates of Western-Educated Africans in Nigeria, 1920's and 1950's.

Category	Early 1920's Number	Early 1950's Number	Percentage of total population
University education			
Completed	30	1,000 }	.014
In Progress	20	3,400 }	
Post-primary education			
Completed	200	31,000 }	.2
In Progress	838[a]	31,500 }	
Primary education			
In Progress	143,459[a]	1,100,000	3.6

[a]Exact figures for 1926.

Source: Coleman, op. cit., p.141.

Table 11.   Nigerian students in the United States of
America, 1963/64.

Subject	Number of students	%
Humanities	109	9.6
Social sciences	261	22.9
Business administration	67	5.9
Education	76	6.7
Engineering	236	20.7
Medical sciences	105	9.2
Natural sciences	190	16.6
Agriculture	79	6.9
Others	17	1.5
Total	1140	100.0

Source: Institute of International Education, Open Doors,
New York, 1964.

American educatinnal   deal and their positive national-
ism contributed to the antipathy of both the British and
the British-educated Nigerians toward American-educated
Nigerians. (See Tables 11 and 12 for data on Nigerian
students in the United States of American and in the
United Kingdom, 1963-1964).

Nigeria's first institution of higher learning was
the Higher College at Yaba, then just outside Lagos, now
part of the conurbation. At that time the highest point
to be reached locally on the educational ladder was to
be found in this College. Here were courses in Medicine,
Engineering, and Agriculture to prepare students for
careers in these professions. These courses did not lead
to the award of college degrees, but it was hoped that
when the quality of the products of the Nigerians secon-
dary schools improved and, no doubt, when Government
requirements demanded it, courses leading to the award
of university degrees would be instituted.

For a long time the products of the Higher College,
however   able they were, could not rise beyond medical
assistants, engineering assistants, agricultural assis-
tants, and ordinary teachers. And yet it took the
students seven and four years to qualify as medical
assistants and engineering assistants respectively.
Those of their colleagues or schoolmates who were for-

Table 12. Nigerian students in the United Kingdom, 1963/64.

Institutions or courses	Number of students	%	Subjects	Number of students	%
Universities	1,022	11.8	Universities		
Technical colleges	2,050	34.3	Humanities	197	19.3
Inns of Court	573	6.6	Social sciences	289	28.3
Teacher training	135	1.6	Engineering	138	13.5
Nurse training	1,260	14.6	Medical sciences	192	18.8
Professional and practical training	1,657	19.2	Natural sciences	135	13.2
Private colleges and others	1,024	11.9	Agriculture	71	6.9
Total	8,630	100.0	Total	1,022	100.0

Source: L. Cerych. The Integration of External Assistance with Educational Planning in Nigeria. Paris: UNESCO, International Institute for Educational Planning, 1967, p. 42.

tunate enough to be sent overseas took five and three
years respectively to complete degree courses in the
same fields. The gap between the academic attainments
and status of the two groups of students (those quali-
fied at Yaba and those qualified overseas) was astound-
ing. An additional point to the comparison is that,
by and large, those who succeeded in gaining entrance
into Yaba were the more able of the secondary school
products. But in addition to the abnormal lengths of
the courses, there was a soul-destructive struggle for
the survival of the fittest. It was axiomatic that some
of the students should be weeded out from virtually each
of the courses at the end of every year -- a practice
that still lingers in many post-primary and post-secondary
schools in Nigeria today. Of all the waste of the
colonial regime in Nigeria, probably none was more pathetic
than the spectacle of the erswhile brilliant pupil, dis-
carded after four or five years of gruelling toil at
the Higher College, Yaba. Four or five years' work had
gone down the drain, and a personality virtually wrecked:
some committed suicide.[1] That was a part of the glory

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[1]Nduka, op. cit., p. 55.

that was Yaba, the colonial institution par excellence.
In the words of R.H. Tawney, "The educational, if not
spiritual, blindness, which made possible the general
acquiescence in the prolonged stultification of the
cream of Nigerian intellect was not a novelty but the
habit, on the part of the rulers, of half a century of
the wearing of imperialist blinkers."[1]

There were few roles beyond clerkdom which educated
Nigerians could be permitted to perform. The size of
Nigeria and the small number of British officials made
indirect rule itself a requisite of imperial control.
Nigerians were excluded from the administrative, judicial,
and technical branches of the senior civil service.
Despite the comparatively large number of well qualified
Nigerian barristers, the Nigerian judiciary remained pre-
dominantly European until the latter part of the 1940's.
By 1939, there were only twenty-three educated Africans
in the senior service.[2] Some of those Africans in the
senior service belonged to the alien category. The
Africans in the senior service did not enjoy equality with
Europeans in terms of privileges and conditions of service.

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[1]Ibid., p. 55.

[2]Coleman, op. cit., p.154.

The virtual exclusion of educated Nigerians from meaningful roles in the government was an official policy of the British administration. It was based upon Lord Lugard's principle enunciated in 1920:

> It is a cardinal principle of British Colonial policy that the interest of a large native population shall not be subject to the will... of a small minority of educated and European-ized natives who have nothing in common with them, and whose interests are often opposed to theirs....[1]

In the early 1930's, when signs of change in the official attitude of the government began to appear, the then governor of Nigeria noted in a speech to students at Igbobi College in 1933 that

> It was almost a tendency not so many years ago to discourage too close an association between the educated African and unsophis-ticated members of the community. One of the main reasons why educated Africans sought refuge in the towns was the intol-erance shown to the class by Administrative Officers and other Europeans.[2]

The decade of the thirties ushered in some policy changes. Official thought regarding the relationship between educated groups and the native authority system,

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[1] Quoted in Ibid., p. 156.

[2] Speech of the governor to students at Igbobi College, April 1, 1933, quoted in Coleman, op. cit., p. 162.

particularly in the Southern Provinces, began to change.

Several factors were responsible. The most obvious

was the great increase in the number of educated Nigerians.

It was no longer a problem of a few thousand concentrated

in Lagos and other urban centres, but of hundreds of

thousands scattered all over southern Nigeria. There

was a sudden burst of organizational activity among edu-

cated groups by the middle of that decade. This reflected

their strong desire to participate in the affairs of

their home villages or districts.

There were several observers outside Nigeria who felt

that meaningful roles must be provided for the previously

excluded and unwanted groups of educated Nigerians.

Prominent among those observers was Charles Roden Buxton,

who, in 1935, warned that "we neglect the intelligentsia

at our peril," and added:

> The educated Indian -- the Babu -- was regarded
> with precisely the same mixture of contempt
> and jocularity as the educated African is today.
> Yet, what has happened? In less than a half a
> century those Babus, whom we thought we could
> ignore, ... had become the statesmen of India....
> They were still a tiny minority, but they had
> become the people without whose consent and
> cooperation we could no longer carry on the
> government of India at all. I venture to
> prophesy, confidently, that it will be the
> same in Africa....[1]

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[1]Ibid., p. 164.

Acknowledging that the emergence of the educated Nigerian was absolutely necessary for Britain's colonial mission, Margery Perham urged in 1936 "the employment of more Nigerians in 'position of trust,' and doing everything possible to find or create opportunities for them within the Native Administration."[1]

Some Observations on Nigerian Education
After Independence

In 1959, shortly before Nigeria became an independent nation, the Commission on Post-Secondary and Higher Education in Nigeria was appointed to conduct an investigation into Nigeria's needs in the field of post-secondary and higher education over the next 20 years. This famous Commission, the Ashby Commission, published its report entitled Investment in Education[2] in 1960, and since then, the Nigerian educational scene has been the consequential development of the Commission. The Commission's

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[1] Margery Perham, Native Administration in Nigeria (London: 1937), p. 361.

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

investigation went beyond the two problem areas of in-
quiry that it was commissioned to cover, into the
effect of other levels and forms of education on national
development. The Ashby Report and its supporting data
provided a helping source of analysis of education
throughout the Federation of Nigeria.

The recommendations of the Ashby Report ranged
through the whole field of primary and secondary education,
sixth form   development, teacher training, technical
education, commercial education, agricultural and veteri-
nary education, university institutions, national uni-
versities commission, inter-regional manpower develop-
ment, and international aid. For the first time in the
history of educational thought in Nigeria, the concept
of manpower planning, budgeting and development was in-
troduced by Professor Frederick Harbison in the section
of the Ashby Report on "High Level Manpower for Nigeria's
Future."[1] In outlining some of the developments which
have followed the report of the Ashby Commission, the
following are significant:[2]

1. The National Manpower Board;

2. The National Universities Commission;

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[1]T.M. Jesufu (ed.), Manpower Problems and Economic
Development in Nigeria (Ibadan: Oxford University Press,
1969), p. 167.

[2]Ibid., p. 168.

3.   The National Committee for the Co-ordination
     of External Aid for Education;

4.   The rapid development of sixth form work;

5.   The registry of high-level manpower and registry
     of students in higher institutions both in
     Nigeria and overseas;

6.   The establishment of the National Council for
     Science and Technology;

7.   The expansion of primary education and teacher
     training in the North;

8.   The opening of advanced teacher training colleges
     for secondary schools throughout the Federation;

9.   The establishment of three more universities
     bringing the Nigerian total to five;

10. The development of educational statistics on
     a national basis; and

11. A number of various other developmental schemes
     still in their formative years.

Efforts are on the way toward curriculum reform both
at the primary and secondary levels. The reforms include
such things as the introduction of modern languages in the
secondary schools and more emphasis on the teaching of
African history in secondary school and university curricula.
A considerable diversity is beginning to appear in dif-

ferent parts of the Federation. Grammar schools, modern schools, technical schools, trade centers, commercial schools, secondary teacher training colleges, all giving one form or the other of secondary education, are increasing in number and enrollment. This expansion is undermined by the difficulty of recruiting of the right kind of teachers. It is for this reason that efforts have been made to train a higher cadre of teachers specifically to man this diversified system of secondary education. With the aid of UNESCO, United States Agency for International Development, Ford Foundation, and the United Kingdom, advanced teacher training colleges have been founded in Lagos and in many parts of the Federation to train teachers for the growing net-work of secondary schools.

The establishment of a viable statistical unit in all the ministries of education throughout the Federation is one of the most important aspects of reorganization undertaken by the ministries of education. This statistical unit is called "An Annual Digest of Educational Statistics."

Many of the post-independence educational problems of Nigeria are similar to pre-independence ones (The problems are analyzed in detail in Chapter Two). The

lack of balance between the humanities and the sciences, the drop-out problem,the problem of unemployment among school leavers, the problem of adaptation, the problem of planning without facts,[1] and the problem of evaluation are but a few of these problems. The most important problem today seems to be the rapid population growth which is closely associated with feeding, clothing, housing, and the maintenance of health. This is a major financial problem. In spite of all these problems, one can still look forward to a future in which Nigeria can hold her own among the progressive nations of the world -- a future in which Nigeria can contribute to the peace of the world and the progressive development of mankind.

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[1]See Stolper, op. cit.

CHAPTER VI

METHODOLOGY

The Questionnaire and Respondents

For the empirical explorations of this study we have made use of data obtained by means of questionnaires[1] designed to elicit attitudinal responses among selected groups of Nigerians both in Nigeria and in the United States of America. Five different groups were involved in the study. The first group was made up of 40 illiterate villagers from Ikot Ambon, a village of about 4,000 people in Nigeria. The second and third groups respectively comprised 50 elementary school pupils from St. Peter's School, and 50 secondary school students from the Lutheran High School, both in Uyo, Nigeria. A group of 30 students from the University of Ibadan took part in the study. The fifth group constituted 50 Nigerian students studying at different universities and colleges in the United States.

In constructing the instrument, the cultural background of Nigeria was taken into consideration. Questions

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[1]See Appendix A.

under one attitudinal dimension were mixed with questions
from other attitudinal dimensions to test the internal
consistency on the part of the respondents. The ques-
tions employed in the instrument were the types that
are applicable to the experiences of an average
Nigerian.

For the illiterate villagers the questionnaire was
translated into Efik, the spoken language of the people,
and special care was taken to keep the translation close
to the common usage among the people.

The questionnaire covered a wide range of infor-
mation closely related to economic, social, and religious
attitudes. The attitudinal dimensions covered in the
questionnaire are shown below, with modern orientation
given first in each case and contrasted with the tra-
ditional aspect of it. Questions that were used for
tapping each attitudinal dimension are listed below,
the particular attitudinal dimension indicated by the
captions.

Activism versus Fatalism

1. Which of these statements, in your opinion, is correct?

   a. Most things that happen like disease and poverty
      are caused by fate. As it is written, so must
      it be.

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[1] See Appendix A.

b. There are other reasons, besides fate, why those things happen. If we can discover the reasons, we can change what will happen.

2. Do you agree to this statement?

Making plans only brings unhappiness because plans seldom come to completion.

3. One learned man says, "When people compete with each other, they work harder and do their best, and there is progress." Another learned man says, "When people compete with each other, they become enemies, and progress becomes impossible." Which of these two learned men do you think is correct?

4. Three different men make three different statements. Which of these three men do you think is correct?

a. The first man says, "One must work hard to have better results."

b. The second man says, "One must work hard, but the results are in God's hands."

c. The third man says, "One need not work hard, because the results are in God's hands."

5. Do you think that God is more pleased when people try to get ahead, or when they are satisfied with what they have?

Present-Future Orientation versus Past Orientation

6. Which of the following statements, in your opinion, is correct?

a. Things of the past are forgotten and nobody can tell what the future holds.

b. The practices and customs of our forefathers are best; the modern is not good.

c. The future is what we must prepare for.

d. The present and the future are more important
   than the past.

Achieved Status Orientation versus

Ascribed Status Orientation

7. Which of the following statements, in your opinion,
   is correct?

   a. The most important qualities that a person has
      are those that one gets after birth through
      training and observing.

   b. The most important qualities that a person has
      are those possessed from birth.

Individualism versus Familism

8. Relatives came to two men asking for money and help.
   One man felt this was a burden. The other man did
   not feel this was a burden. Which these men in
   your opinion was correct?

   a. The man who felt this was a burden.

   b. The man who felt this was not a burden.

9. Choose one among the four responses to the following
   statement:

   We have more obligation to help an uncle or cousin
   than a friend.

   a. I strongly disagree.

   b. I disagree slightly.

   c. I agree strongly.

   d. I agree slightly.

10. If you have the chance to hire an assistant in your
    work, it is always better to hire a relative rather
    than a stranger.

    a. I strongly disagree.

    b. I disagree slightly.

    c. I agree strongly.

    d. I agree slightly.

    Democratic versus Authoritarian Orientation

11. One husband (husband no. 1) says, "That home is
    happiest in which the husband and wife decide to-
    gether what shall be done." Another husband
    (husband no. 2) says, "That home is happiest in
    which the husband decides what shall be done and
    the wife carries out the husband's wishes." Which
    husband do you think is correct?

    a. Husband no. 1.

    b. Husband no. 2.

12. Show your agreement to one of these statements.

    a. The most important thing a teenager should learn
        to do always is to obey the wishes of his elders.

    b. The most important thing a teenager should learn
        to do is to think for himself.

    Pro-Manual Work versus Pro-Clerical

        - or White Collar Work

13. If you had to choose between two jobs with the same
    salary, and one you would be a manual worker while
    in the other you would be a clerical office worker,
    which would you prefer?

a. Manual work.

b. Clerical office work..

High Aspirations versus Low Aspirations

14. How much schooling do you think a son of yours ought to get? (If you have no son, please answer it as if you had one.)

    a. My son should complete elementary school.

    b. My son should complete secondary school.

    c. My son should complete higher school.

    c. My son should have university education.

15. How much schooling do you think a daughter of yours ought to have? (If you have no daughter, please answer as if you had one.)

    a. My daughter should complete elementary school.

    b. My daughter should complete secondary school.

    c. My daughter should complete higher school education.

    d. My daughter should have university education.

In the construction of the questionnaire, questions were taken from several sources including Professor Kahl's work in Mexico and Brazil[1] and a study carried out by the Bureau of School Service at the Univeristy of Kentucky.[2]

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[1]Kahl, op. cit.

[2]Paul Street ed., Modernization of Life Style in the Southern Appalachian Region (Lexington,Kentucky: Bureau of School Service, College of Education, University of Kentucky, 1967.

Some of the questions borrowed from the above mentioned
sources were modified to suit the "social landscape" of
Nigeria. The rest of the questions were framed with the
help of sociologists in the Department of Sociology,
University of Kentucky.

The questionnaire was pretested with a dozen
Nigerians for improvement of the wording of the items.
The revised questionnaire was then mailed to responsible,
research-experienced persons[1] in Nigeria who administered
them to the respondents. The person who administered
the questionnaire intended for the illiterate villagers
was instructed to record their responses for them. All
other respondents completed the questionnaire by them-
selves.

Respondents from both elementary and secondary
schools were drawn from the upper classes of the schools
concerned and were mostly from one ethnic group, while
those from Ibadan University represented many sections of
Nigeria. The questionnaires were mailed to the respondents
in May, 1971, and returned about three months later.

The main purpose of this phase of the study was to try
out the questionnaire, gain experience in analyzing the data
and, tentatively, to test the main hypotheses of the study.

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[1]The questionnaires for the Nigerian respondents
were administered by the principal of the Lutheran High
School, Uyo, and by a graduate student at the University
of Ibadan in Nigeria.

As we stated earlier in Chapter One, this is an
exploratory study in preparation for a more exhaustive
research at a later date in Nigeria.

There are several limitations to this study. These
include the inability of the writer to administer the
questionnaire personally to the respondents in Nigeria
due to financial limitations on travel. Another limi-
tation is that the sample of respondents does not repre-
sent a cross section of Nigeria. The third major limi-
tation is the small number of previous studies on the
problem area or related areas.

In Chapter One we stated as our first major assump-
tion that formal education is a pre-condition of moderni-
zation, however undesirable some of its characteristics
might be. This hypothesis was tested by making use of
some relevant indicators that helped to test the
modernity of the attitudes of both uneducated and edu-
cated respondents. The major indicators include the
following:

1.   Disease and poverty are caused by reasons that can
     be discovered.

2.   Competition is profitable.

3.   Hard work leads to better results.

4.   God is pleased with people who try to get ahead.

5. The present and the future are more important
   than the past.

6. A person's most important qualities are obtained
   through training.

7. Bilateral decision making between husband and wife
   is better than unilateral decision making.

8. Obligation to help relatives is a burden.

9. Teenagers should learn to think critically.

10. Boys and girls oughttohave higher education.

There were some instances of "No response," "Don't
know," etc., but they were few; they were therefore
excluded from the analysis.

The chi-square appeared to be an appropriate sta-
tistical test for the significance of differences be-
tween responses from respondents grouped according to
educational background. Accordingly, by use of the
common formula, $X^2 = \sum \frac{(f-F)^2}{F}$, in which f equals
the observed frequency of a given response and F equals
the expected frequency by probability, the null hypothesis
was tested. This hypothesis was represented in the asser-
tion that there would be no significant difference in the
responses regardless of educational backgrounds of re-
spondents. The hypothesis was actually set up specifically
for each respective item in the questionnaire, and thus was

tested for each item separately. The level of significance
chosen for rejection of the null hypothesis was .05. The
assumption was made in the tests, therefore, that when the
groups differed in their response at the $\leq$.05 level there
was a real relationship between the educational back-
ground of the group and their responses to the item.

Respondents classified under the "educated" were made
up of sixth grade elementary school pupils, fifth year
secondary school students, and college students in Nigeria
together with some Nigerian college students in the United
States of America. The "uneducated" respondents were
villagers without any formal education of any kind. Data
from the total group of the "educated" were compared to
those from the "uneducated" respondents. These two groups
were compared to test the null hypothesis that the kind of
education made no difference in their views toward moderni-
zation.

The Variables

There are four indepedent variables (or categories)
in this study and these are: (1) respondents with no for-
mal education, (2) respondents with elementary education,
(3) respondents with secondary education, and (4) respon-
dents with college education. Modernization is our depen-

dent variable, and level of education the independent one.
Because of the small number of respondents in this explor-
atory study, the three categories of persons with dif-
ferent levels of education were grouped into one
category called "educated" as will be indicated in Chapter
VII; future research will examine the effect on modernizing
attitudes by different levels of education.

Modernization has been conceived of here in terms
of certain value syndromes. Differentiation of modern
attitudes from traditional ones have been suggested by
such researchers as Inkeles,[1] Hagen,[2] Kahl,[3] and Rogers[4]
(See Chapter III for a detailed treatment of modernism
and traditionalism). Activism as opposed to fatalism
has been singled out by many observers as one of the
major modern value orientations. Other important modern
value dimensions include present-future orientation,
individualism, democratic orientation, pro-manual work
orientation, and high aspirations. These modern attitud-
inal dimensions are contrasted with their traditional orien-
tations and have been outlined in the early part of this
chapter.

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[1] Inkeles, op. cit.

[2] Hagen, op. cit.

[3] Kahl, op. cit.

[4] Rogers, op. cit.

In comparing the "educated" and "uneducated" responses in all the attitudinal dimensions we find a positive relation betwen formal education and modern attitudes. The modern attitude indicators tapped a higher percentage of modern attitudes from the "educated" respondents than from the "uneducated." This is in support of the logical bases of the general hypothesis that education, whatever its general character, is related to modern attitudes and values. The results of our findings are summarized in Tables 13 through 26.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN UNEDUCATED AND EDUCATED RESPONDENTS
IN THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF MODERN ATTITUDES AS REVEALED BY
THEIR RESPONSES TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

Table 13

Which of these statements, in your opinion, is correct?
1. Most things that happen like disease and poverty
   are caused by fate. As it is written, so must it be.
2. There are other reasons, besides fate, why those
   things happen. If we can discover the reasons,
   we can change what will happen.

	Educational Categories	
Responses	Uneducated (N=40)	Educated (N=180)
Traditional response (Disease and poverty caused by fate	29 (72.5%)	45 (25.0%)
Modern response (Disease and poverty caused by reasons that can be discovered)	11 (27.5%)	135 (75.0%)

$$X^2 = 33.0794$$
$$P = .001$$

Table 14

Do you agree to this statement:
    Making plans only brings unhappiness because plans sel-
dom come to completion.
    1. I agree.   2. I disagree.

	Educational Categories	
Responses	Uneducated (N=40)	Educated (N=180)
Traditional response (Against making plans)	31 (77.5%)	37 (20.6%)
Modern response (For making plans)	9 (22.5%)	143 (79.4%)

$$X^2 = 49.6540 \qquad P = .001$$

Table 15.

One learned man says, "When people compete with each other, they work harder and do their best, and there is progress." Another learned man says, "When people compete with each other, they become enemies, and progress is impossible." Which of these two learned men do you think is correct?

Responses	Educational Categories	
	Uneducated (N=40)	Educated (N=180)
Traditional response (Competition harmful)	23 (57.5%)	15 (8.4%)
Modern response (Competition profitable)	17 (42.5%)	165 (91.6%)

$x^2 = 55.3658$ $\qquad$ P = .001

Table 16

Three different men make three different statements. Which of these three men do you think is correct? The first man says, "One must work hard to have better results. The second man says, "One must work hard, but the results are in God's hands." The third man says, "One need not work hard, because the results are in God's hands."

Responses	Educational Categories	
	Uneducated (N=40)	Educated (N=180)
Traditional response (Results are in God's hands)	27 (67.0%)	19 (10.6%)
Modern response (Work hard to have better results	13 (33.0%)	161 (89.4%)

$x^2 = 64.1728$ $\qquad$ P = .001

Table 17.

Do you think that God is more pleased when people try to get ahead, or when they are satisfied with what they have?

| | Educational Categories | |
Responses	Uneducated (N=40)	Educated (N=180)
Traditional response (God is pleased when people are satisfied with what they have)	15 (37.5%)	28 (15.8%)
Modern response (God is pleased when people try to get ahead)	25 (62.5%)	152 (84.2%)

X^2 = 10.0222   P = .01

Table 18.

Which of the following statements, in your opinion, is correct?
1. Things of the past are forgotten and nobody can tell what the future holds.
2. The practices and customs of our forefathers are best; the modern is not good.
3. The future is what we must prepare for.
4. The present and the future are more important —than the past.

| | Educational Categories | |
Responses	Uneducated (N=40)	Educated (N=180)
Traditional response (Preference for past-present)	19 (47.5%)	70 (38.9%)
Modern response (Preference for present-future)	21 (52.5%)	110 (61.1%)

X^2 = 1.0074   P = not sig. at .05

Table 19.

Which of the following statements, in your opinion, is correct?
    1. The most important qualities that a person has are those that one gets after birth through training and observing.
    2. The most important qualities that a person has are those possessed from birth.

Responses	Educational Categories	
	Uneducated (N=35)	Educated (N=180)
Traditional response (Most important qualities are possessed from birth)	28 (80.0%)	54 (30.0%)
Modern reponse (Most important qualities are acquired by training)	7 (20.0%	126 (70.0%)

x^2 = 31.0460   P =   .001

Table 20.

Relatives came to two men asking for money and help. One man felt this was a burden. The other man did not feel this was a burden. Which of these men in your opinion was correct?
    1. The man who felt this was a burden.
    2. The man who felt this was not a burden.

Responses	Educational Categories	
	Uneducated (N=40)	Educated (N=180)
Traditional response (Asking for money and help not a burden)	39 (96.8%)	132 (73.5%)
Modern response (Asking for money and help a burden)	1 (3.2%)	48 (26.5%)

x^2 = 11.0000   P = .   .001

Table 21.

Choose one among the four responses to the following
statement:
    We have more obligation to help an uncle or cousin
    than a friend.
    1. I strongly disagree.   3. I agree strongly.
    2. I disagree slightly.   4. I agree slightly.

Responses	Educational Categories	
	Uneducated (N=40)	Educated (N=180)
Traditional response (Strong agreement and slight disagreement)	37 (92.5%)	126 (70.0%)
Modern response (Strong disagreement and slight agreement)	3 (7.5%)	54 (30.0%)

$x^2 = 8.5800$ P =   .01

Table 22.

If you have the chance to hire an assistant in your work,
it is always better to hire a relative rather than a
stranger.
    1. I strongly disagree.   3. I disagree slightly.
    2. I agree strongly.   4. I agree slightly.

Responses	Educational Categories	
	Uneducated (N=40)	Educated (N=180)
Traditional response (Strong agreement and slight disagreement)	34 (85.0%)	99 (55.0%)
Modern response (Strong disagreement and slight agreement)	6 (15.0%)	81 (45.0%)

$x^2 = 12.2980$ P =   .001

Table 23.

One husband (husband no. 1) says, "That home is happiest
in which the husband and wife decide together what shall be
done." Another husband (husband no. 2) says, "That home is
happiest in which the husband decides what shall be done
and the wife carries out the husband's wishes." Which
husband do you think is correct?
    1. Husband no. 1   2. Husband no. 2.

Responses	Educational Categories	
	Uneducated (N=40)	Educated (N=180)
Traditional response (Preference for husband's unilateral decision)	35 (87.5%)	55 (30.6%)
Modern Response (Preference for bilateral decisions -- husband and wife)	5 (12.5%)	125 (69.4%)

$x^2 = 43.8680$ $P = .001$

Table 24.

Show your agreement to one of these statements:
    1. The most important thing a teenager should learn
       to do always is to obey the wishes of his elders.
    2. The most important thing a teenager should learn
       to do is to think for himself.

Responses	Educational Categories	
	Uneducated (N=40)	Educated (N=180)
Traditional response (Teenager always to obey wishes of his elders	38 (95.0%)	81 (45.0%)
Modern response (Teenager should learn to think for himself)	2 (5.0%)	99 (55.0%)

$x^2 = 88.0660$ $P = .001$

Table 25.

If you had to choose between two jobs with the same
salary, and one you would be a manual worker while in
the other you would be a clerical office worker, which
would you prefer?
a. Manual work   b. Clerical work

| Responses | Educational Categories | |
	Uneducated (N=40)	Educated (N=180)
Traditional response (Clerical office work)	2 (5.0%)	84 (46.7%)
Modern response (Manual work)	38 (95.0%)	96 (53.3%)

x^2 = 23.826   P =   .001

Table 26.

How much schooling do you think a son of yours ought to get?
Elementary, Secondary, Higher School, University.

| Responses | Educational Categories | |
	Uneducated (N=40)	Educated (N=180)
Traditional response (Elementary and Secondary)	10 (24.5%)	10 (5.5%)
Modern response (Higher School and University)	30 (77.5%)	170 (94.5%)

x^2 = 14.9722   P =   .001

Table 27.

How much schooling do you think a daughter of yours ought
to have? Elementary, Secondary, University.

| Responses | Educational Categories | |
	Uneducated (N=40)	Educated (N=180)
Traditional response (Elementary)	24 (60.0%)	20 (11.1%)
Modern response (Secondary and University)	16 (40.0%)	160 (88.9%)

x^2 = 48.8889   P =   .001

On almost all the indicators of modernism used above, an acceptance of modern attitudes has manifested itself more in the responses of the educated than the uneducated respondents. Of the 40 uneducated respondents responding to the first indicator of modernism used in this study -- "Disease and poverty are caused by dis-coverable reasons," 72.5 per cent subscribed to fate as the cause of disease and poverty, while 75 per cent of the educated respondents agreed that disease and poverty are caused by reasons that can be discovered. The modern responses are in keeping with the secular, scientific, and rational orientation associated with modernism, in contrast to the religious and fatalistic world-view characteristic of traditionalism. The modern man uses science and technology to shape the world to his own desires. He is an activist. The indicator -- "Making plans only brings unhappiness because plans seldom come to fulfillment" -- won great support from the uneducated respondents. 77.5 per cent of them agreed that making plans only brings unhappiness, while 22.5 per cent of the educated respondents agreed with the statement, thus demonstrating a higher degree of modern attitudes on their part than the uneducated.

The desire for achievement is a paramount indicator

of modernism. A modern man usually strives for higher

achievement. He has determination and driving ambition,

and he believes in competition and takes pride in his

own efforts. In traditional societies there is a strong

belief that this life is controlled by some external

forces in the face of which man is helpless.[1] In socio-

logical jargon, a traditionalist sees status as "ascribed"

rather than "achieved." Indicators 2,3, and 4 have much

in common, and so we shall lump them under one attitudinal

dimension -- higher versus lower achievement. 57.5 per

cent of the uneducated respondents viewed competition as

undesirable and 91.6 per cent of the educated regarded it

as profitable. On "Reliance on hard work for better

results," both the educated and the uneducated respondents

inclined toward the modern attitude. 89.4 per cent of

the educated respondents were for "Reliance on hard work

for better results," and 67 per cent of the uneducated

were also for the same proposition. This goes to support

the statement made early in Chapter Three of this study

that some men might be traditional on most values, yet

modern on a few or vice versa. Some of the uneducated

respondents here have shown a modern attitude in their

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[1]Hagen, op. cit., p. 83.

response to this question.

An outstanding characteristic among people in tra-
ditional societies is their "otherworldliness." This
perception often constitutes a major impediment to
progress. The phrase "By God's will" is often used
by traditionalists to introduce a major proposal. The
persistence of this traditional outlook has been tapped
by the question "Do you think God is more pleased when
peoople try to get ahead, or when they are satisfied with
what they have?" The educated respondents registered
84.2 per cent support for God's pleasure over people who
try to get ahead, as compared with 37.5 per cent of the
uneducated respondents for the same proposition. Inci-
dentally, most of the uneducated respondents were drawn
from a village where religious fatalism has been over-
played by the local religious bodies. Most of these
respondents in the educated category who replied "when
people are satisfied with what they have" were elementary
school pupils.

Modernists are inclined to see things in a democratic
way. In a typical traditional family, the exercise of
authority by the husband over the wife is not uncommon.
In a modern family, decision making between husband and
wife is bilateral. Table 23 shows the results of the re-

sponses as follows: 87.5 per cent of the uneducated

favoured unilateral decision making between husband

and wife, and 69.4 per cent of the educated favoured

bilateral decision making. It appears that most the

uneducated respondents were men, but since the respon-

dents were not identified by sexes, we can not say for

sure. Most of the educated respondents who favoured

bilateral decision making were Nigerian respondents

studying in the United States of America.

A man is usually regarded as modern if his orien-

tation is present-future rather than the past.[1] "Pref-

erence for the present-future over preference for the

past" was the indicator of modernism. The results ob-

tained from the educated respondents was beyond our

expectation. A higher percentage of responses in favour

of this modern orientation was expected from the educated

respondents but, to the contrary, a considerable number

of them lent their support to the things of the past. It

seems that some of the educated respondents have responded

to the question with pride bias over their country's her-

itage of the past. Remarks such as "We should be proud

of the past achievements of our ancestors," were made on

the questionnaire by some educated respondents in Nigeria.

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[1]Inkeles, op. cit., p. 142.

Modern attitude orientation was shown by 61.1 per cent of the educated respondents and 52.5 per cent of the uneducated subscribed to the same orientation.

In Chapter Three we pointed out that "low integration with relatives"[1] is a major component part of modernism. "Traditional society usually involves deep ties with relatives; one lives closely with his kinfolk, he shares his success and failures with them, and indeed he often works and shares property with them. By those who value it highly, it is called "family responsibility;" those who find it a block to freedom and individual initiative call it "nepotism."[2] This attitudinal dimension is almost universal in tropical Africa, and Nigeria is no exception. To tap this attitudinal dimension the following question was put to the respondents: "Relatives came to two men asking for money and help. One man felt this was a burden. The other man did not feel this was a burden. Which of these men, in your opinion, was correct?" Most of the educated respondents (73.5 per cent) responded in support of the man who felt that this was not a burden, and an overwhelming majority (96.8 per cent) of the uneducated also felt that it was not a burden. Most of

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[1]Kahl, op. cit., p. 21.

[2]Ibid., p. 19.

those in the educated category who felt that asking
for money and help was a burden happen to be Nigerian
students studying in the United States. Responses to
questions 9 and 10 were similar to the above. A size-
able majority (70 per cent) of the educated respondents
agreed that "we have more obligations to help an uncle
or cousin than a friend." Most of the subscribers to
this were respondents in Nigeria. The uneducated re-
sponses for the above was 92.5 per cent. On the question
of preference for hiring an assistant in one's work, over
a half (55 per cent) of the educated respondents preferred
hiring a relative over a stranger.

We have indicated in our survey of traditionalism
and modernism in Chapter Three that traditionalists are
prone to be authoritarian in their inter-personal re-
lations. They tend to see the community as being almost,
if not entirely, controlled by a small elite. Tradition-
alists tend to exercise complete control over their
children. Modernists, on the other hand, are more in-
clined to see in democratic terms. They stand for greater
freedom toward their children in many matters. The follow-
ing question was employed in tapping this attitudinal
dimension: Show your agreement to one of these statements:
(1) The most important thing a teenager should learn to

do always is to obey the wishes of his elders. (2) The
most important thing a teenager should learn to do is to
think for himself. A little over half (55 per cent) of
the educated respondents said that a teenager should
learn to think for himself. Most of the respondents in
the educated category who said that a teenager should
always obey the wishes of his elders were elementary
school pupils. Some of them made some short remarks
such as "Obedience before complaint," and "Obedience is
better than sacrifice," on their questionnaire. These
remarks obviously reflect the atmosphere in a typical
Nigerian elementary school classroom where passive
obedience and absolute respect are required of the
pupils by the teachers. This traditional attitude on
the part of the pupils is partly school brewed. A large
percentage (95) of the uneducated respondents said that
a teenager should always learn to obey the wishes of
his elders. The high percentage of the uneducated re-
spondents showing preference for obedience as opposed to
critical thinking was anticipated. In many parts of the
writer's homeland there is a tendency on the part of some
parents to equate passive obedience with good behaviour
by young people.

Much more preference was shown for manual work (see

question 13) by the uneducated (95 per cent) than by the educated respondents (53.3 per cent). The contempt that many Nigerian youth have for manual work was well reflected in the responses by the elementary and high school students; their preference was for clerical work. In Chapter Two of this study, we indicated that disdain for manual work is rampant among Nigerian school leavers and students.

In Chapter Two we indicated how great the thirst for education among Nigerians is, and that the average Nigerian parent has high aspirations for his children despite his low educational attainment or lack of it. This educational achievement aspiration were evident in the responses of both the educated and the uneducated to the question about how much education they would want a son or daughter to get (questions 14 and 15). Nearly four out of five (77.5 per cent) of the uneducated respondents said they would like for a son to have university education and two out of five (40 per cent) expressed a similar hope for a daughter. Presently in Nigeria, investment in higher education for girls is not as popular and encouraging as it is for boys. It is believed that a woman's place is in the home. Educated respondents, with special reference to college students,

gave an overwhelming support to higher education for
boys and girls (see Tables 26 and 27).

On almost all of the indicators of modern attitudes
employed in this study (with the exception of the fifth
indicator -- see Table 18), more educated respondents
have shown an acceptance of modernism than the unedu-
cated. The difference in acceptance of modern attitudes
between these two groups is significant enough in all
other instances to support the first hypothesis that
formal education is a precondition for modernization
however undesirable some of its characteristics may be.
In Chapter Seven we shall discuss further research that
would contribute to the testing of the other hypothesis.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

> A fruit knife is an excellent instrument
> for peeling a pear. He who uses it in order
> to attack a steak has only himself to blame
> for unsatisfactory results.

> Joseph Schumpeter

This study emanated from the general theory that
social, economic, and political modernization involves
the modernization of traditional attitudes and values,
and that formal education has a major role to play in
the modernization process.

The purpose of the study, then, was to examine the
relation between formal education and modernization of
traditional attitudes and values in the Nigerian setting.

We based our study on three specific assumptions:
(a) that formal education is a precondition of moderni-
zation, however undesirable some of its characteristics
may be, (b) that the degree of modernization of the
society is related to the kind of education in operation,
and (c) that Nigerian schools could help quicken the pace
of modernization if more meaningful educational programmes

and teaching roles responsive to the needs of the
society were used.

For a close examination of the relation between
education and modernization we make use of the following
six modern value syndromes: Activism versus Fatalism;
Present-Future Orientation versus Past Orientation;
Achieved Status versus Ascribed Status Orientation;
Individualism versus Familism Orientation; Democratic
versus Authoritarian Orientation; Pro-Manual Work versus
Pro-White Collar Work Orientation, and High Aspirations
versus Low Aspirations Orientation.

We anticipated at the beginning of the study that
significant differences would be found between educated
and uneducated respondents in many attitudinal dimensions.
The results of our study are generally supportive of
this. Furthermore, in Chapter Four we asserted as a
generally established fact that education is an instru-
ment of modernization of attitudes; hence, generally
speaking an educated person should exhibit much more
evidence of acceptance of modern attitudes than an unedu-
cated person. But there are certain attitudinal dimen-
sions in which education may not be a powerful instrument
of modernization, rather it may strengthen some traditional
attitudes. This is likely to manifest itself in family

sphere. The educated individuals may generally be
expected to show a significant interest in preserving
traditional values of mutual family help. A large
number of Nigerian students studying overseas have been
able to do so, at least up to this time, through mutual
help. It is likely that this traditional family attitude
will linger on as long as the individuals concerned have
some vested interest in it.

On the other hand, the uneducated group may show
the acceptance of some attitudes considered modern. For
example, on the question "How much schooling would you
like a son of yours to get?" The uneducated held high
aspirations for their children, possibly because they
are cognizant of its value in an independent Nigeria.
The fact that they believe that their children should
receive a good education may be indicative of the
willingness of the people to accept modern society; it
may also be an indication of the hope that an oncoming
generation.will be able to participate in it more
effectively. This we do not know for sure.

There may be many other factors mediating the relation
between education and the acceptance of modern attitudes,
but since this study has been affected by several limita-
tions, such factors were not dealt with. The instrument
that was used for measuring the attitudinal dimensions of

the respondents in this study did not embody adequate
questions that would have gathered data on more of these
factors.   For example, an uneducated respondent from a
home with many educated people (sons and daughters) could
differ significantly from an uneducated person from a
predominantly illiterate home.   Also, an uneducated person
with urban influence may differ significantly from an
uneducated person living in a typical rural environment.
There might have been some interplay of many other such
factors.   The availability of such information possibly
could have added some more tangible ingredients to the
analysis and interpretation of this study.   For these and
some other reasons our analysis and interpretation remain
tentative and should be viewed with some degree of caution.

Suggestions for Further Research

This study, as was pointed out in Chapter One, is
the first phase of a continuing research programme to be
followed up later in Nigeria.   As is indicated above,
several questions that could not be answered satisfactorily
here have arisen from this study.   Thus we need more
evidence to validate our theoretical formulation.   That is
why a replication of the study in addition to further ex-
ploration will be attempted in Nigeria.

Some important points to be noted for replication and
further exploration are:

1.   A replication of what has been done here should be
carried out on a larger scale with a more representative
sample drawn from carefully selected schools taking into
account the school setting and including all levels of
education.

2.   The larger sample will make it possible to examine
data by educational levels; the distinction is necessary
to demonstrate the existence of an association.   For
example, comparing the secondary school respondents with
the primary school respondents, and college respondents
with the secondary school respondents to see what effect
the amount of education has on the attitudes of the in-
dividual respondents will be necessary.   For educational
planning in Nigeria it is important to know the contri-
bution of education to attitude and value changes at the
different levels.

3.   It is necessary to seek out different kinds of schools
from rural and urban environments for the purpose of
comparison.   All these are necessary to help identify a
a number of alternative modernizing forces to be controlled
in the analysis such as modern home environment, urban ex-
periences, exposure to mass media, and membership in
voluntary associations (such as youth clubs).   For example,

a respondent with a literate father employed in a more "modern" occupation -- civil service, white-collar work, skilled labour, teaching, as opposed to religious, petty trading, craft, or farming -- is expected to have a more modern home environment. Other factors to be included are age, ethnic and religious affiliations.

4. It has been suggested by some social science research-ers such as Moore[1] that curricular features of formal educational systems are more important in modernizing attitudes and values than structural or organizational features. There are others such as Inkeles[2] who hold the opposite view that structural or organizational effects are more important than curriculum effects. This issue deserves further research.

5. Further studies would be made to determine whether there is any difference in the acceptance of modern attitudes between those educated in the predominantly classical or literary type secondary schools as opposed to those educated in a comprehensive or practical type ones.

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[1] Wilbert E. Moore, Social Change (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1963), pp. 110-111.

[2] Inkeles, 1966, op. cit., p. 147.

Since Nigeria is attempting to make some technological
advances, it stands to reason that such investigation
would help bring about an understanding of the relation
between content of education and the acceptance of modern
attitudes. For modernization through formal education
without mating theory with action may create more problems
than it solves.

6. Further studies should reflect emphasis on elementary
education since it appears likely that for some time a
small percentage of the Nigerian population will be
affected by secondary education.

Conclusive Views

The modernization of attitudes and values through
formal education seems to have much to do with the content
of education. The content of Nigerian education has been
subjected to intense verbal attack by observers from
within and without. The "traditional educational pattern
has contributed in no small measure to the failure of social
and economic progress in Nigeria."[1] The curriculum in
Nigerian schools need Nigerianization to ensure that the
subjects taught and the aspects of them that are emphasized
are relevant to the students' cultural and physical back-
ground. The history of the American War of Independence is

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[1]T.M. Jesufu (ed.), Manpower Problems and Economic
Development in Nigeria (Ibadan: Oxford University Press,
1969), p. 140.

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important, and so is the story of the private idiosyncra-
cies of King Henry VIII; but the exploits of such great
Nigerians as the Oba of Benin, King Eyamba of
Calabar, and Usman dan Fodio are more important and mean-
ingful to a young Nigerian eager to learn something about
his heritage.

The classical concept of education for its own sake,
the mere absorption of knowledge is valueless; the value
of knowledge lies in the use to which it is put. An
educational system that expects a student to acquire a
certain amount of knowledge in several subjects for
examination purposes, but when knowledge has little meaning
in itself and sometimes no relevance to or value for his
future career is antagonistic to the process of moderni-
zation. Admittedly, education cannot exclusively be
governed by utilitarian motives, but it should make an
appreciable contribution to achieving the old aim that
the sophists in Greece proclaimed more than 2,000 years
ago: to render people the best possible citizens.

The process of modernization could be accelerated
by Nigerian schools through meaningful programmes and
teaching roles. This type of teaching subscribes to the
belief that the teacher should guide students to conceive
relationships among many diverse social elements around
them. It should bring about cognizance and practice of

inquiry, observation, "reflection, comparison, discovery of general principles of resemblance and difference, and classification in accordance with the general principles discovered."[1] It should help in the solution of work-a-day problems, "a decisive factor for the human emancipation and social liberation of people, a valuable tool for the nation's political and social development."[2] Teachers themselves are the most practicable models and other orientations that the schools desire to diffuse to the whole country via the students. Lloyd calls them "practical models."[3] They are achievement models for raising aspirations. Teachers, at all levels, should direct the attention of the students to the problems of the society to which the students' knowledge and efforts must be applied for solutions.

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[1] W. Glover, The Groundwork of Social Reconstruction (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), p. 18.

[2] S. Toure, "Guinean Revolution and Social Progress" in L.G. Cowan et al., Education and Nation-building in Africa (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, p. 128).

[3] P.C. Lloyd, Africa in Social Change, Changing Traditional Societies in the Modern World, (Baltimore, Md.: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1967), p. 153.

There is an old saying that "one who wants a good child must be selective in his choice of a nanny." The teacher could be likened to a nanny here. The importance of a good and well trained teacher need not be over-emphasized. One of the greatest problems in using formal education to help modernize Nigeria is training the teachers. This statement is borne out by an answer by the Chief Adviser on Education to the Federal Government of Nigeria to a question put to him by an official of the U.S.A.I.D. (United States Agency for International Development) as to what the major problems in education are which Nigeria's Second National Development Plan 1970-74 will address. In his answer, the Chief Adviser said:

> The major problems are: One, how to effectively link education with development. In the past we did not think seriously about this, we merely concentrated on building more schools without adequate planning. But even more im-portant, we have not tried to link the product of the schools with student employment. We have not thought of the needs of agriculture for instance, industry and commerce.... Secondly, ... is the question of developing skills which we have neglected in the past... we must not think that everybody is going to end up in the uni-versity, as we had tended to think in the past... Thirdly,... education has been largely theoretical, and science and technological subjects were neglected... the greatest problem of all is training the teachers.[1]

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[1] _Interlink_, VII, No. 2 (April-June, 1971), p. 9.

Teachers are not well trained to handle moderniza-
tion programmes effectively in schools. The well trained
ones are difficult to keep, they tend to leave the
teaching jobs to more lucrative jobs mainly because of
poor conditions of service. "Generally in Nigeria people
look down upon teachers. Teaching is regarded as the
poorest and meanest type of job. Consequently, those
training to become teachers are not viewed with respect."[1]
An international observer in reference to Nigeria's duty
to teachers cautioned:

> If a society desires to obtain the best
> results from the actors (teachers) in the
> demanding task of teaching for national
> development -- changing behaviour and
> beliefs -- adequate rewards must be given
> for those who are prepared and who do act
> as models for the egalitarianism and
> professionalization which are relied upon
> to improve the nation. Until teaching is
> viewed as one of the nation's chief means
> of improvement, and until teachers are
> properly recognized and reimbursed for
> their efforts as the main implements of
> progress, then national development (in
> evolving societies especially) will con-
> tinue to fall short of the many well-laid
> Four-Year or Ten-Year Plans.[2]

We would also like to add that unless we can set our
teachers to go along with new ideas about reorientating

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[1]John W. Hanson, Education, Nsukka (East Lansing,
Michigan: Michigan State University, 1968), p. 91.

[2]T.L. Wilson, "Teaching for National Development,"
West African Journal of Education, Vol. XIII No. 3
(October, 1969), p. 147.

education, our modernization efforts are bound to fail.
Teachers must understand and accept change, for it is
primarily through them that schools can effectively
carry out modernization programmes.

In conclusion, we maintain that the motive power
of the emerging nations of the world is education because
any improvement in the quality of life throughout the
world is related to the quality of the world's educational
systems. A good system of education is one which is
realistically geared to the needs and aspirations of the
people and the country it purports to serve. It has the
power of changing traditional attitudes and values in
people to modern ones. While the pattern of the past is
not always the best blue-print for the future, neither
is iconoclasm a desirable policy to follow.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE

UNEDUCATED AND EDUCATED

RESPONDENTS

INSTRUMENTS FOR THE MEASUREMENT OF

SOCIAL ATTITUDES AND VALUES

IN NIGERIA

I. Which of these statements, in your opinion,

is correct?

      1. Most things that happen like disease

          and poverty are caused by fate. As it

          is written, so must it be.   ( )

      2. There are other reasons, besides fate,

          why those things happen. If we can

          discover the reasons, we can change

          what will happen.   ( )

II. Do you agree to this statement:

      Making plans only brings unhappiness be-

      cause plans seldom come to completion.

      1. I agree   ( )

      2. I disagree   ( )

III. One learned man says, "When People compete

with each other, they work harder and do their

best, and there is progress." Another learned

man says, "When people compete with each other,

they become enemies, and progress becomes
impossible." Which of these two learned
men do you think is correct?

   1.   The one who says, "When people compete
      with each other, they work harder and
      do their best, and there is progress."   ( )

   2.   The one who says, "When people compete
      with each other, they become enemies,
      and progress becomes impossible."   ( )

IV. Three different men make three different
    statements. Which of these three men do
    you think is correct?

   1.   The first man says, "One must work hard
      to have better results."   ( )

   2.   The second man says, "One must work
      hard, but the results are in God's
      hands."   ( )

   3.   The third man says, "One need not work
      hard, because the results are in God's
      hands."   ( )

V. Do you think that God is more pleased when
    people try to get ahead, or when they are
    satisfied with what they have?

      God is pleased when people are satisfied
      with what they have.   ( )

      God is pleased when people try to get ahead.( )

VI. Which of these four statements, in your opinion, is correct?

    1.   Things of the past are forgotten and nobody can tell what the future holds.   ( )

    2.   The practices and customs of our fathers and grandfathers are best; the modern is not good.   ( )

    3.   The future is what we must prepare for.   ( )

    4.   The present and the future are more important than the past.   ( )

VII. Which one of the following statements in your opinion is correct?

    1.   The most important qualities that a person has are those that one gets after birth through training and observing.   ( )

    2.   The most important qualities that a person has are those possessed from birth.   ( )

VIII. Relatives came to two men asking for money and help.

    One man felt this was a burden.

    The other man did not feel this was a burden.

    Which of these men in your opinion was correct?

    1.   The man who felt this was a burden.   ( )

    2. The man who felt this was not a

       burden.   ( )

IX. Choose one among the four responses to the

    following statement:

    We have more obligation to help an uncle

    or cousin than a friend.

        1. I strongly disagree.   ( )

        2. I disagree slightly.   ( )

        3. I agree slightly.   ( )

        4. I strongly agree.   ( )

X. If you have the chance to hire an assistant

    in your work, it is always better to hire a

    relative rather than a stranger.

        1. I strongly disagree.   ( )

        2. I disagree slightly.   ( )

        3. I agree slightly.   ( )

        4. I agree strongly.   ( )

XI. One husband (husband no. 1) says, "That home

    is happiest in which the husband and wife

    decide together what shall be done." Another

    husband (husband no. 2) says, "That home is

    happiest in which the husband decides what

    shall be done and the wife carries out the

    husband's wishes." Which husband do you think

    is correct?

1.	Husband no. 1.	( )
2.	Husband no. 2.	( )

XII. Show your agreement to one of these state-
ments.

The most important thing a teenager
should learn to do always is to obey the
wishes of his elders.   ( )

The most important thing a teenager
should learn to do is to think for
himself.   ( )

XIII. If you had to choose between jobs with the
same salary, and in one you would be a
manual worker while in the other you would
be a clerical office workers, which would
you prefer?

1.	Manual work	( )
2.	Clerical office work	( )

XIV. How much schooling do you think a son of
yours ought to get? (If you have no son,
please answer it as if you had one.)

My son should complete elementary school.   ( )

My son should complete secondary school.   ( )

My son should complete higher school.   ( )

My son should have university education.   ( )

Other _____   ( )

XV. How much schooling do you think a daughter
of yours ought to have? (If you have no
daughter, please answer as if you had one.)

My daughter should complete elementary
school.   ( )

My daughter should complete secondary
school.   ( )

My daughter should complete higher school. ( )

My daugher should have university education.( )

EXCERPTS FROM ESSAYS WRITTEN BY THE ANAGUTA JUNIOR

PRIMARY SCHOOL CHILDREN ON "SCHOOL"

When I grow up and become educated I would like to be a teacher where I will get a salary of fifteen pounds a month. Then I will buy a bed and a table and I will marry a beautiful clean woman. I will take my bath every day and I will buy a radio, a gramophone, a motorcycle, a bicycle, and a sewing machine.

. The use of education is when someone is educated he will get a good job that can earn him a good living. Maybe become a chief. But the most important thing is for one to be really polite.

I go to school to learn reading, writing, and arithmetic. In the olden days people did not know what school was. The Arabs invented reading and writing and the rest of the world learned from them. Today anybody who does not go to school is considered a fool.

Education is a very important thing, for without it there would be no happy living in the world. Another importance of education is that if one is not physically strong but he is educated he can go to work in an office.

The name of the school is Native Authority Junior
Primary School, Gwong. The use of school is one
becomes educated and gets some job to do.

Education is a very important thing because educated
people live much happier in the world today. The type
of work that an educated man does is always very pleasant.
Education can take one to other parts of the world.

Schooling is very important because we learn to be
clever. We learn many kinds of trades. We learn Hygiene.
Long ago we did not know Mission, we did not know Jesus.

Education is useful because you can get a job and
get good pay, either weekly or monthly.

Schooling is very useful because when you go to
school you can get a lot of money.

The main use of education is to look for food. Every-
one is learning to be educated in order to get a good job
which will earn him a good living.

Schooling is very useful, because one is educated and
when one finishes one gets a job and earns money. One will
not suffer like a farmer. When one is paid one can do
what one likes with the money, for example, buy a bicycle.
A farmer suffers before he gets any clothes to wear.

The use of education is to get a job. You then have
to do as you are told. You can buy what you want. You then
feed yourself out of your salary. Schooling is very useful

because whatever job you want to do today comes by some
sort of education. A school boy wants to appear clean
always, and he must be obedient. We do not want lazy,
quarrelsome and abusive school boys.

In the school we learn reading, writing, arithmetic,
and history. When one gets to school one gets enough
education. A school boy is different from everyone else
because he is obedient. An educated person does every-
thing in the name of God because he has learned religion.

School is very useful, for it help one to get a job,
e.g., doctor, but a school is where you learn any kind of
job. Why I come to school is to learn writing, reading,
arithmetic, cleanliness of the house and of my body. In
our school we are provided with books, pen and pencils.
The school building has some doors and windows and there
is a blackboard in every classroom. There are tables,
benches, stove, cupboard, etc.

The use of school is for us to learn writing and
reading. From learning these two things a school boy
differs from everyone else. We also learn to respect
and obey others. A school boy must always respect his
elders, and a worthy school boy is obedient. The use
of education to me is so that I can be with other people
wherever I go. So that I can read and write a letter.
It is not at all good for one to go about with a letter

in order to give it to other people to read and tell
him what the letter says.

The use of education is that one will become aware
of what is happening and so escape cheating by people.
Apart from this one will earn his living out of his
education. Before someone can be employed he should be
educated. Educated people also teach other people to
become educated.

To be educated is to be able to do what other people
may not be able to do. Educated people get better jobs,
such as mechanics and many other works.

The use of education is to know almost everything,
such as a variety of crafts, sports, current affairs about
all that is going on all over the world.

Educatin is a very good thing because there is nothing
you can enjoy in this world today without education, and
in the future nothing can be done without education. So
that if you are not educated you cannot get any job.
Therefore, may God help me so that I can do well in life.

The school that I go to is a Native Authority School
at Gwong. School educates you and makes you a great man.
School teaches you religion. We learn about Christ. Our
school is improving greatly and may God bring us more
improvements. Amen.

Source: Julian H. Steward, Contemporary Changes in
Traditional Societies, Vol. (Urbana, University of Illinois
Press, 1967), pp. 449-450.

EXCERPTS FROM ESSAYS WRITTEN BY THE ANAGUTA JUNIOR

PRIMARY SCHOOL CHILDREN ON "WHAT I SHALL DO WHEN I

GROW UP."

When I grow up I must build a very big house and
I must marry, these are the most important things to
everyone on earth.

When I grow up I will become a teacher, I will buy
a radio and I will teach. I will buy all the clothing
I want, and I will buy good food such as eggs, chickens,
duck and cow meat, and I will marry a beautiful woman.
I will buy a gramophone and a fine table for eating. I
will roof my house with zinc.

I will work in an office, that is if God prolongs
my life to finish my school. If God doesn't agree, then
I will go to farm.

This is what I am thinking of doing when I finish
my school. I would like to be either a teacher or a
shop clerk, and I would marry an educated, well-mannered
girl from my home town. If it all works well, and I am
paid well, I would help my parents and take care of my

younger brothers and sisters.

When I grow up I would like to be an Education Officer if God is willing. If this is not possible, then I will learn to farm with plough or with an engine so that I can grow enough food to help my people so that God will help me too.

When a man grows up he should live properly. Proper living means that he should believe in God. He must not steal.

When I finish my school I'll build my own house and to go work in the hospital.

When I grow up I will marry and I will get a good job which I will do every day.

When I grow up I will become a teacher and I will eat meat every day. I will buy trousers, bed and mattress, and I will build a beautiful house and roof it with zinc. When I grow up I will buy a wrist watch, chair and table and pictures. I will buy a bicycle and spoons.

When I grow up I will build my own house and I will marry. Both my wife and I will follow Jesus Christ our redeemer. When I grow I will be a doctor so that I will help people, blind men and lepers. If I cannot get this kind of job I will be a farmer using plough. Or I will become a driver...

When I finish my school I would like to be manager of schools or a teacher, so that I will be slapping the children and enjoying my money. I can also become a sanitary inspector.

Source: _Ibid._, pp. 457-458.

EXCERPTS FROM ESSAYS WRITTEN BY THE ANAGUTA JUNIOR

PRIMARY SCHOOL CHILDREN ON "INDEPENDENCE AND SELF-

RULE."

In self-government Nigerians will do as they like
to do. White man will only advise them. But when
there was no independence white men have to force the
African to do what they may not like to do. Now
Nigerians will have a say, and will do what profits
them.

The use of independence is that there will be no
trouble when people say something on their right. As
we have now got self-government we can set right other
things and no one will cause any trouble.

The use of self-rule is that one will do things
confidently. So there will be no trouble.

The use of self-government in Nigeria is that each
region will rule itself. Then every town will see about
its good.

It is really useful for Nigeria to become self-ruling.
In the past Nigerians have suffered greatly in slavery.

Now people can journey miles after miles without fear.
The white man stopped the troubles.   Taught the Nigerians
that now they can rule themselves.

Why we are to be given self=government is to be
free.   In the past people used to be forced to do some
kind of work.   Today no one forces one to work, until
somebody is willing to help.   The self-government
celebration took place at Kaduna.   Where the Sardauna of
Sokoto sits.

The use of self-rule to Nigeria is that it will
urge them to learn.   Also they will be happy and there
will be no one to force them against their will.

The use of self-rule is some one will have the right
to speak.   We used to be under the English.

The main use of self-government is that white man
will no longer rule over us.   For they have already ap-
proved our self-rule.   We shall be happy.   Nigeria
received her self-government in order to be as other self-
governing countries.   Some other countries have become
self-governing for a long time now.   The use of self-
rule is in order to be in peace.   Everyone will do what
he likes, for example, you can follow whatever religion
you wish to follow.

The self-rule will be useful, because in the past

there use to be slavery, and work forced by the govern-
ment without pay even.

The use of self-government is that everyone should
have a say. There are four parties: (1) UMBC, (2) NPC,
(3) NCNC, (4) NEPU. Many other places are self-
governing.

Source: Ibid., p. 456.

EXCERPTS FROM ESSAYS WRITTEN BY THE ANAGUTA JUNIOR

PRIMARY SCHOOL CHILDREN ON "CREATION."

God created heaven, earth, and human beings. Different types of animals, two kinds of persons, the black and the white. Example of animals are leopard, squirrel, elephant, all sorts of birds and many other animals. The first persons were Adam and Eve.

Creation are all we human beings, ants, and other things created by God. We are alive, we can talk, we have wisdom, we can write and read and do some arithmetic.

God created human beings, animals, cattle, goats, chickens, snakes, scorpions, flies, mosquitoes, heaven and earth. He put on the earth ants, trees, rocks, grasses, town. We have books and know how to read and write.

What God has created are human beings, animals and ants and also, many other things. But human beings surpass everything in wisdom.

God's creations are made in different forms. Once I, the writer, was small, but now my mother cannot take me on her back. There are trees, grasses, animals, birds,

and many other things. If we notice the animals we
can see that they are in different forms too, for
example, the ones with claws and the ones with hoofs.

God created everything, dogs, cows, ducks, snakes,
illness, as smallpox. He God created Heaven and earth
and all that are in the earth.

All God's creations have no knowledge of knowing
God fully. Our knowledge is limited to making things
such as clothes, reading and writing. We see all God's
creation in mountains, in water, and things that we
cannot see without the help of a microscope.

Source: _Ibid._, p. 455.

APPENDIX F

Number of Schools and Pupils in Nigeria, by Type of School and Controlling Authority, 1958

Type of school and controlling authority	Federation		Lagos		Eastern Region		Western Region		Northern Region	
	Number of Schools	Number of Students	Number of Schools	Number of Students	Number of Schools	Number of Students	Number of Schools	Number of Students	Number of Schools	Number of Students
Primary Schools	15,593	2,544,501	99	56,688	6,620	1,221,272	6,670	1,037,377	2,204	229,164
Government	22	5,506	1	523	11	2,875	7	1,915	3	193
Local	4,424	425,953	1	696	1,766	147,457	1,843	201,915	814	75,885
Voluntary Agencies, Aided	10,639	2,079,545	70	51,213	4,751	1,066,147	4,820	833,547	992	128,638
Voluntary Agencies, Unaided	508	33,497	21	4,256	92	4,793	---	---	395	24,448
Secondary Schools	511a	84,898a	19	4,491	82	13,960	379a	62,261a	31	4,086
Government	14	2,969	2	508	4	741	4	994	4	726
Local	46	6,296	---	---	6	372	25	4,157	---	---
Voluntary Agencies, Aided	161	28,794	14	2,561	47	11,037	88	13,603	15	1,767
Voluntary Agencies, Unaided	28	3,232	3	1,422	25	1,810	---	---	12	1,593
Vocational Schools	34	6,154	2	1,578	21	3,361	2	250	9	965
Government	16	3,168	2	1,578	3	375	2	250	9	965
Local	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Voluntary Agencies, Aided	1	109	---	---	1	109	---	---	---	---
Voluntary Agencies, Unaided	17	2,877	3	207	17	2,877	---	---	---	---
Teacher Training Schools	306	25,362	1	56	157	11,337	99	10,771	47	3,047
Government	32	2,378	---	---	5	361	6	538	20	1,423
Local	40	4,601	---	---	11	854	29	3,747	---	---
Voluntary Agencies, Aided	211	17,645	2	151	118	9,384	64	6,486	27	1,624
Voluntary Agencies, Unaided	23	738	---	---	23	738	---	---	---	---

a Includes secondary modern schools unclassified.

Source: Adapted from Nigeria, Federal Ministry of Education, Digest of Educational Statistics, 1958.

APPENDIX G

Estimated distribution of external aid to education in Nigeria by level, 1964.

Level	thousand		Percentages	
Primary	180	to 250	2.9	to 3.4
Secondary	1,700	1,860	27.4	24.1
Teacher training	1,200	1,400	19.4	18.2
Technical	290	310	4.7	4.0
Universities	1,500	1,840	24.2	23.9
Advisory services[1]	640	1,050	10.2	13.6
Scholarships	700	1,000	11.2	13.0
Total	6,210	7,710	100.0	100.0

[1] Includes the cost of different advisers to ministries of education, of planning teams and missions, etc., as well as assistance to schemes such as the development of educational television or of aptitude testing.

Source: Cerych, op. cit., p. 21.

APPENDIX H

Estimated Number of Nigerians in Key Occupational Groups in Early 1920's
and Early 1950's

Occupation	Early 1920's		Early 1950's	
Barristers	15	12 Yorubas 3 Native foreigners	150[a]	76 Yorubas 49 Ibos 1 Hausa-Fulani 34 Other
		8 Yorubas		
Physicians	12	4 Native foreigners	160	
Teachers and clerks	21,000		70,000	
Artisans and skilled laborers	8,000		80,000	

[a]Ethnic breakdown not available
Source: James S. Coleman, Nigeria-Background to Nationalism (Berkeley:
University of California Press, 1965), p. 142.

APPENDIX I

Tribal Representation in Selected Occupations in the Townships of Southern Nigeria (Eastern and Western Regions, 1921)

Tribe	Per cent of total educated	Professional	Occupational categories		
			Teachers and clerks	Artisans	Total
Yoruba	40.3	47	4,882	5,769	10,698
Native foreigners	7.3	26	1,732	978	2,736
Ibo	11.0	a	1,132	642	1,774
Ibibio	25.0	a	509	179	688
Edo	3.0	a	226	172	398
Other	13.4	a	406	347	753

aNone or unknown.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

The author was born in Uyo, Nigeria on September 2, 1940. He received both his elementary and secondary education in Uyo and Ikot Ekpene in Nigeria. For his undergraduate education he studied at the University of Oregon and the University of Portland where he obtained his B.A. degree in 1967. During his undergraduate years he was selected to appear in the 1966-67 Edition of Who's Who Among Students in American Universities and Colleges. He was also a member of the Blue Key, a national honour fraternity. In the fall of 1967, he began his graduate work at the University of Kentucky, receiving his M.A. in geography in December 1968. His college teaching experiences were at the University of Kentucky, Transylvania University, and Tennessee Technological University.

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

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THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN NIGERIA

IN MODERNIZING ATTITUDES AND VALUES

CONDUCIVE TO NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Kentucky

By

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Lexington, Kentucky

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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN NIGERIA

IN MODERNIZING ATTITUDES AND VALUES

CONDUCIVE TO NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

This study emanated from the general theory that
social, economic, and political modernization involves
the modernization of traditional attitudes and values,
and that formal education has a major role to play in the
modernization process.

The purpose of the study, then, was to examine the
relation between formal education and modernization of
traditional attitudes and values in the Nigerian setting.

We based our study on three specific assumptions:
(a) that formal education is a precondition of moderni-
zation, however undesirable some of its characteristics
may be, (b) that the degree of modernization of the
society is related to the kind of education in operation,
and (c) that Nigerian schools could help quicken the pace
of modernization if more meaningful educational programmes
and teaching roles responsive to the needs of the society
were used.

For the empirical explorations of this study we
made use of data obtained by means of questionnaire
designed to elicit attitudinal responses among selected
groups of Nigerians both in Nigeria and in the United
States of America. Five different groups were involved
in the study. The first group was made up of 40 illit-
erate villagers in Nigeria. The second and third groups
respectively comprised 50 elementary school pupils and
50 secondary school students in Nigeria. A group of 30
college students in Nigeria took part in the study. The
fifth group constituted 50 Nigerian students studying at
different universities and colleges in the United States.

For a close examination of the relation between edu-
cation and modernization we made use of the following six
modern value syndromes: Activism versus Fatalism; Present-
Future Orientation versus Past Orientation; Achieved Status
versus Ascribed Status Orientation; Individualism versus
Familism Orientation; Democratic versus Authoritarian
Orientation; Pro-Manual Work versus Pro-White Collar Work
Orientation, and High Aspirations versus Low Aspirations
Orientation.

In comparing the "educated" and "uneducated" responses
in all the attitudinal dimensions we found a positive
relation between formal education and modern attitudes.

The modern attitude indicators tapped a higher percentage of modern attitudes from the "educated" respondents than from the "uneducated." This was in support of the logical bases of the general hypothesis that education, whatever its general character, is related to modern attitudes and values. We anticipated at the beginning of the study that significant differences would be found between educated and uneducated respondents in many attitudinal dimensions.
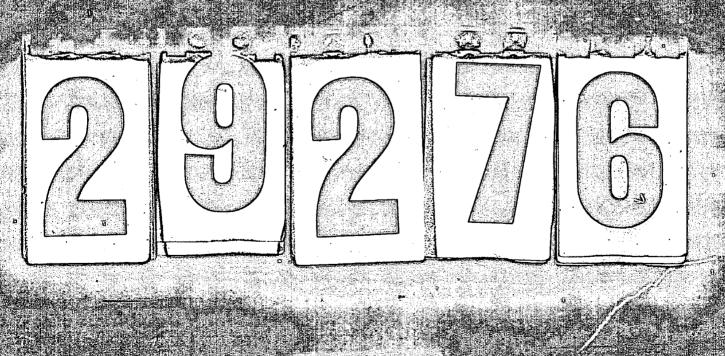
There may be many other factors mediating the relation between education and the acceptance of modern attitudes, but since this study had been affected by several limitations, such factors were not dealt with.

The evidence gathered from this study suggests that education has a definite influence on value orientations and that education successfully leads to modernization of perspectives in certain areas. The implication is that if formal education is judiciously applied in Nigeria, it could help quicken the pace of modernization.

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