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Institutionalization is a result of the extent to which specified organizational variables realistically take account of elements in the related environment. This hypothesis guided the attempt to study how a faculty of education in a new university has come to be prized or disprised. Institutionality is not only a matter of what professional educators think and feel; it is a matter of what the new generation of teachers think; what the politicians and kingmakers accept, except, and reward; it is a matter of what its own immediate offspring feel and think about their parent. This study concerns the institutionalization of the program on professional education at a new university in Eastern Nigeria, the extent to which this program has become valued, and to what one may attribute its success or failure in becoming valued. The time span is the first five and one half years in the history of the independent nation and of the college studied.

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THE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION, NSUKKA:

A Study of Institutionalization

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with the field assistance of

Magnus Adiele
Pius Igboko
C.E.N. Okpala

1966
East Lansing, Michigan

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FORWARD

Ikot Ekpenne is famous throughout Eastern Nigeria for its carvings and masques. Rude figures, these appear in masquerade after masquerade, in religious ceremony after religious ceremony. Today they have become tourist items, following the increasing horde of Americans back to their homes as exotic reminders of a Nigeria in transition. To the north of the market square in Ikot Ekpenne stretches a laterite road, rough and rutted, into the back country of Annang Province. Eight miles along this road stood the mission Teacher Training College I was visiting on a November day, still enough within the rainy season to assure the verdant greenery that makes it appear that these rude Gods have indeed protected the blessings of the land. The mission was one of the youngest in Nigeria, but the college compound where it trained its teachers was spacious and neat, wide playing fields with grass trimmed by student machetes surrounded practicing school, classrooms, and administration block. Further back, standing in neat yards and shaded by trees, stood the comfortable quarters of the tutors.

The man in brightly colored abada who greeted me as I reached the door of the white administration building

welcomed me with the cordiality typical of Nigerians. When he learned that I was visiting the school on "research," his welcome became the more warm; for "research" has become part of the new magic of Africa, an ill-understood but none-the-less revered step on the path to modernity. But it was when he learned that I came from the University of Nigeria and that it was with that institution that my inquiries were concerned that warmth became truly great.

"Of course," he said, "I don't know that I can be of much help to you. I am not a university graduate myself,you understand. I am just an old-time teacher. I came up teaching in the primary school. I've been teaching for forty-five years now; the last fifteen years I have been teaching in the teacher training college; but I don't profess to know much about universities."

To my remonstrance and assurance that he had much to offer, he smiled and surprisingly agreed. "Yes, we really do feel we know something about the University of Nigeria, though I have never really been there yet. "There," and he pointed to the framed certificate on the wall behind him, "You can see we're pioneer members of the Institute of Education; so in a way we feel we're

part of the University. We're really proud of our membership. But more than that, you see, we've already had two students who were our own products go on to the University and come back to us as graduates. They were somehow different from other graduates we had known. When they came back they mixed freely with all of us--and with the students. They fit in and worked well at whatever had to be done.

"At first we took the credit for this ourselves. We said they were like this because they were boys from our own college and this is how we taught them. That's why even as university graduates they seem part of us. But then we received a request from the University to place some students here to do their practical teaching. When they came they were not our own students; but they were just the same as Inyang and Edem had been. They also mixed freely with the students: they weren't afraid to sit down on the floor and eat with the students; at the dances they danced with the students. They mixed with all the staff--there weren't two classes with them, graduate teachers and non-graduate teachers. In the past, you know, when graduate teachers came back from the United States or the United Kingdom they were no

longer part of the community. But these teachers were different; and as they weren't our own former students, we knew we couldn't take credit for it and decided that this must be the work of the University."

"Well, I think you have largely answered the first question I intended to ask," I said, "which is 'It is often said that the University of Nigeria is a new or different type of university for Nigeria. When you think of the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, what do you believe to be the significant new or different educational ideas that make it different or distinctive? Is there anything more you would like to say on that?"

"Yes there is," he replied, "This university is for the general good of the public. You can see this when they send their students and lecturers out to the Teacher Training Colleges. It is for the good of the people as a whole--not for just a few. I believe the kind of people they have are passing on knowledge to the people. They are different from the graduates we have known before. The people from Ibadan are somewhat different; they are reserved and have an air of superiority. Somehow or other we feel we cannot approach them as we can the Nsukka people."

"Another thing is that the kind of general education given them will help them fit into society--they are able to fit in many niches. Edem has a broad view of everything, so he can help us in many ways. We like that kind of general education rather than specialized education.

"The supervisors who came to see the student teachers also impressed us. They were interested in the life of the people, in their language and their customs. Whenever I see anyone from Nsukka, I know he is willing to help. I only hope this doesn't change in the future."

"I am very much interested in this question of faculty or staff," I said, "What do you thinkshould be the guiding principles in selecting lecturers for the University?"

"Someone who is practical--not just a person who has loaded his mind with bookwork. You know, this is one way they changed Edem while he was at the University. Edem was always one of our best students, but he changed toward the practical at the University. He was pretty much of a bookworm before--he would just get away in a corner and read; but he came back practical and willing to get down to doing the practical things that need to be done. The universities need to have people who will

get out and talk to the people, see the people, not just stay in their offices and then lecture from books. That's why we were impressed with the supervisors who came out to see the practice teachers--they revealed these qualities. You know, there are people from the U.K. or the U.S. who just make themselves supreme--who refer to their degrees--"Doctor." I would like to see people who are doctors because of what they can do, not because of their paper degrees. We liked our practice teachers from Nsukka because they were practical--because they adapted to local difficulties rather than complaining."

"I know that the University of Nigeria is attempting to build its programs to meet future needs and changes," I pursued. "What do you think will be the major changes which are likely to occur in education in Nigeria in the next five years?"

My respondent was quiet a while before answering, and when he replied it was with an air of uncertainty. "It is difficult to tell. We consider the kind of education we have now and assess it. The kind of education we have now has clearly outlived its usefulness. The colonial masters needed people to work in offices and to handle the word of God. Now we have enough, and more than enough, of these people. Now people feel a change

is needed. The time has come when a person must put aside a tie, take a spade in hand, and get down to work. But educated people don't want to do this. We hope this type of attitude will end, but it is difficult to see how to change. After all, the ruling people are of this office class themselves; so if we are going to change, we must come to depend on ourselves--we cannot just depend upon the government to change things for us.

"Oh, there are apt to be changes in the system, in promotions and the like. For example, the new Ministry of Education changes. But the most important changes are not these mechanical changes--not just changes in the number of years attended or the certificates given. What we need is changes in the type of product that comes out of the schools."

"And are these problems also problems of the universities?" I asked.

"Yes, although this is only my personal view, they are," he replied. "If the Nigerian universities do not concentrate on turning out people who can produce something useful, we run the danger of producing too many who will not be useful. That is the key--turning out people who can produce something useful--people who can think concretely, and practically, and creatively. It's the people who expect to be Principal merely because they have a

degree who are going to be a problem. This is going to have to be kept in mind in planning. If you produce too many dependent graduates, there will be troubles--troubles in economic, political, social and religious circles.

"But this is not going to be easy to change. Boys expect to get their papers, go on and get degrees, and then return to take positions. People need to plan how to make their living even while in the university. If we can change our education in this way, life will be worth living. I suppose we sense this problem more here in the bush. Perhaps this is because we are already aware of how many of our children leave school and migrate into the towns only to find unemployment.

"We need to incorporate the tradition and history of the people into the university curriculum--we need to start rebuilding and finding new answers on this basis. We grabbed too quickly and too completely on the western idea of education, and now we are suffering the consequences."

"And if I were finally to ask you, how would you classify your reaction to the University of Nigeria at this time, would you refer to it as quite satisfactory, fairly satisfactory, or somewhat disappointed?"

The answer was immediate. "Quite satisfactory, if that is the highest response I can give. At first we

had no opinion about it, but with contact we have gotten this opinion. You see," he concluded, "now we know it comes very near to us!"

When, in the study that follows, we speak of institutionality it is of just such a human phenomenon that we are speaking; of the success of a human organization in meeting the hopes and aspirations of the people it serves, in capturing or being captured by their dreams, in becoming valued. Institutionality is, of course, not only a matter of what professional educators who have devoted a lifetime to the shaping of society think and feel; it is a matter of what the new generation of teachers think; what the politicians and kingmakers accept, except, and reward; it is a matter of what its own immediate offspring (or "products" in the terminology of the modern economic world) feel and think about their parent.

This study is concerned explicitly with the institutionalization of the program in professional education at a new university in Nigeria. . . with the extent to which this program has become valued, and to what one may attribute its success or failure in becoming valued. Were the warmth of the endorsement of this one dedicated schoolmaster that of all men everywhere in the society

the university endeavours to serve, one might indeed speak of this organization as an institution; and only the intriguing problem of how it came to be so valued would remain. It was in search of answers to these two questions that this research was carried on--through interviews and by questionnaires with some hundred school principals throughout Eastern Nigeria, with most of the early products of the Faculty of Education of the University, with strategically placed persons in Ministries and the voluntary agencies which run schools, with students and faculty of the University itself; in newspaper morgues and libraries where past issues were intermittently bound, often missing; in piles of files, lost from view and knowledge as University growth exceeded clerical competence.

The data which was compiled to answer these two questions does not defy statistical treatment; but neither does statistical treatment tell the whole story. It is often the language of the respondents themselves, rather than the language of statistics, which gives the genuine sense of valuation; and to the extent that it is possible, the cold language of statistics is always interpreted in the language of the Nigerians themselves;for even when some of its subtler nuances escape the outsider, the common denominator of the English language can still carry

meanings which might too easily be lost in the statistical tables which, in this context, always threaten to hide rather than display the most valuable wares.

The Process of Field Research

Overall Design

In attempting to study how a faculty of education in a new university has come to be prized or disprised, we were guided by what might be considered a broad search "hypothesis," namely, the following proposition:

> INSITUTIONALIZATION IS A RESULT OF THE EXTENT TO WHICH SPECIFIED ORGANIZATIONAL VARIABLES REALISTICALLY TAKE ACCOUNT OF (THAT IS, EMPLOY, ADJUST TO, MANIPULATE, ORGANIZE, OR BALANCE) ELEMENTS IN THE RELATED ENVIRONMENT.

The active sense of this hypothesis necessarily implies a focus upon leadership: ultimately it is leadership which formulates doctrine or program, which solicits and employs resources, which assesses and makes use of elements in the environment in such a way as to effectuate change and to gain acceptance of change. Diagram A suggests, without stating more specific hypothesized relationships between organization and environment, the type of tri-functional relationships which were being ferreted out: relationships between (1) criteria or indices of institutionality, (2) organizational "independent" variables

and (3) relevant elements in the Nigerian environment. Although the wide range of hypothetical relationships which suggested the accumulation of data are implicit throughout the study, [redacted] an example or two might clarify the type of relationship which appeared sufficiently specific to merit consideration. For example, it was suspected that:

> Acceptance of an innovation in an environment which was extremely conscious of protocols was dependent upon the extent to which leadership employed approved channels of legitimization.

or

> Acceptance of a new organization was dependent upon the extent to which leadership of that organization established functional linkages which enabled those from whom it needed approval to accomplish with the support of the organization other aims or projects that they had in mind.

or

> Acceptance of an innovation, or an innovating organization, was dependent upon the extent to which that organization was able to "capture" the slogans which encapsulated emerging value orientations of a society and attach them to its programs.

Institutionality (Criteria)

SURVIVAL

NORMATIVE SPREAD

USE

RESPECT

AUTONOMY

SUPPORT

INNOVATIVE THRUST

is a result of the extent to which specified organizational variables realistically take account of (that is, employ, adjust to, manipulate, organize, or balance elements in the related environment.)

Hypothesized explanatory relationships accounting for institutionalization

and cast in terms of leadership, program, doctrine.

A. ETHOS
1. Educationalism
2. Nationalism
3. Economic Development
4. Formalism

B. INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE
1. Government
2. Social institutions
3. Demographic changes
4. Religion
5. Mass media

C. RELEVANT PUBLICS
1. Education Power Elite
2. Ministries & Government
3. Univ. of Nigeria Faculty
4. Graduates (UNN;others)
5. Students
6. Employers
7. Non-graduate teachers
8. Others (eg., Civil Service Commission)

DIAGRAM A

SCHEMA FOR STUDYING INSTITUTIONALIZATION:
FACULTY OF EDUCATION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA

Such hypotheses are obviously not startlingly new, per se. If the accumulation of data which they suggested and which was carried out in this study has merit at all, this merit is, first, that when placed in a loose framework of CRITERIA FOR INSTITUTIONALITY -- EXPLANATORY VARIABLES -- ENVIRONMENT they become amenable to cross-checking with other experiences which might lead to the development of more refined and fruitful hypotheses for subsequent investigation and, second, that with respect to building new institutions there is still altogether too little recorded and analyzed experience available to guide future practice. Any further data and any informed judgments (even if "hypothetical,") are potentially useful additions to a pitifully inadequate stock of knowledge.

Of course any study which attempts to account for events as well as merely describe situations encounters all of the dangers of interpreting "correlations" to imply causation, or slipping into post hoc ergo propter hoc argumentation. These problems of interpretation would remain even if this were a rigorous statistical study. With the relatively "soft" data here involved, they are no less real. The data which was accumulated, the ways in which these data are interrelated, and the

conclusions which are drawn from data are all subject to interpretation and judgment. It is believed that the interpretation and judgment applied to data helps it make sense; but this itself is a judgment which the reader will ultimately have to make.

The research model employed in this study was consciously broad, attempting as it did to identify and "test" a wide range and a considerable number of common-sense "hypotheses" and to see how they stood up to a specific test of practice in which a sizeable amount of external aid was provided to a newly developing nation where a leadership nucleus appeared interested in introducing educational change. The basic design, or the guiding concepts, were not those of the author and director of the specific study but were initially formulated by an inter-university research group and finally crystallized by Milton J. Esman and Hans C. Blaise.* As these concepts and their interrelationships had been developed to help analyze a variety of situations in which it was being attempted to institutionalize organizations and

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*Milton J. Esman and Hans C. Blaise, Institution-Building Research: The Guiding Concepts (Pittsburgh: Inter-University Research Program in Institution-Building, 1965.

innovations, it was necessary to give such a broad design more specific focus and such broad concepts more concrete operational definition for the specific study at hand. If this study adds anything to conceptual clarification, or to theoretical adequacy, it is only in the limited sense of pointing to difficulties which arose as we attempted to translate concepts which were initially, and appropriately, broad, to an operational context which, while deliberately still broad, had to meet the operational tests of data accumulation and interpretation. The suggested theoretical questions and refinements appear explicitly as part of Appendix B of this study.

The historical context in which this study was carried out was that of a newly independent Nigeria. More specifically, it was carried out in Eastern Nigeria, one of three (later four) Regions of a Federation, in which responsibility for primary and secondary education (with which the College of Education was directly concerned) were Regional ("state") responsibilities and in which Higher Education was a concurrent responsibility of Federal and Regional Government. The time span available for consideration has been brief: the first five and one-half years in the history both of that independent nation and of the university and college being studied.

Field Procedures: Their Nature and Limitations

The study was carried out in various phases which only approximated a plan. Between November 1965 and May 1965, a broad "research design" was elaborated and consideration was given to how data could be gathered to substantiate a series of "hypotheses" relating both to the extent to which the Faculty of Education at the University of Nigeria and certain of its innovations had become accepted and as to the reasons this acceptance had or had not occurred. In this process, consideration was given to those elements in the Nigerian ethos which should be explored: that is, to questions which would need to be answered and to the kinds of data which might be relevant to answering them. Two doctoral students at Michigan State University (Mr. Geoffrey Gibson, on leave from a Ministry of Education in a tropical area within the Commonwealth, and Mr. Bernard Amalaha, who possessed many years of experience as a teacher and administrator in the Eastern Nigeria school system) were most helpful in this process. Approval for carrying out the study was secured from the University of Nigeria, and from Dr. Fafunwa, Dean of the Faculty of Education at that institution. In March, 1965 I travelled to Nigeria

to secure similar approval from the Ministry of Education in Eastern Nigeria and from the Federal Ministry of Education, permission which was readily granted. In the hope of encouraging the University of Nigeria to engage in a continuous process of self-study, it was decided to involve two faculty members from that University in the study, an arrangement welcomed by both Dean Fafunwa and Vice-Chancellor Taggart.

The original plan had been for Mr. Gibson to travel to Nigeria to carry on interviews, especially with expatriate British personnel, at the same time as two University of Nigeria faculty members (Dr. Adiele, in Educational Psychology, and Dr. Okpala, in Comparative Education) and two mature Nigerian education students interviewed Nigerian school principals, school proprietors and teachers. Unfortunately, the proximity of the deadline for the study and the under (or over) developed state of American bureaucracy which took six months to clear Mr. Gibson, precluded the latter's going to Nigeria. I therefore revisited Nigeria in June, 1965, to conduct a short seminar with the research team, a seminar which was designed to standardize interview techniques and to test two basic interview schedules. Although the seminar did permit the standardization and

a minimum of field practice, the course of interviewing subsequent to the seminar did not run smoothly. A necessary hiatus due to the long school holiday in August was followed by a breakdown in the logistic support to have been provided through the Michigan State University - University of Nigeria ties, resulting in a temporary drying-up of funds. Changes of operating personnel at the University of Nigeria, and failure of the Michigan State University personnel to authorize further expenditure on interviews, resulted in the suspension of almost all interviewing prior to my arrival in Nigeria in October, 1965.

Although original plans had called for my devoting my time to on-scene analysis of data which had already been gathered, the lack of such data made it necessary to conduct interviews during the next four months. As Dr. Adiele and Dr. Okpala were by this time involved heavily in teaching, Mr. Pius Igboko (who had just joined the faculty after the University of Lagos crisis in which all Ibo faculty left that University), joined me in interviewing. We again standardized procedures and the vast bulk of interview data was ultimately secured by Dr. Igboko and me during the period between October, 1965, and March, 1966. By reason of difficulties in

transportation, the remoteness and inaccessibility of many schools, and often the impossibility of alerting prospective respondents in advance, we found it necessary in some instances to use the interview schedule as a questionnaire to be picked up later or returned by mail. In dealing with principals, status figures in education, or any public other than University of Nigeria graduates in Education, no data was gathered without at least a preliminary visit and discussion with the respondent. For University of Nigeria graduates in Education, it was found necessary to supplement interviews of graduates we could reach by questionnaires sent;many we found it impossible to interview personally. Where questionnaires were mailed (and the questionnaire to graduates was fourteen pages in length and involved open-ended responses), an individually typed letter was always appended. The response was gratifying, and by interview or anonymous questionnaire responses were secured from three-fourths of the university graduates for whom any address could be located. It was clear from the meticulous detail with which most questionnaires were completed by graduates, that many of them had devoted several hours to the completion of the questionnaire;

and their frank criticisms of the University in response to some questions suggested they generally felt unrestrained about offering their judgments. As Mr. Igboko had many years of experience in Eastern Nigerian education, and had served a number of those years as Vice Principal with the extremely popular President of the Nigeria Union of Teachers, his entrée to Nigerian educators made his service on field work of unusual value. The fact that he had been at the University of Lagos and had only just joined the University of Nigeria in the mass tribal shift also appeared to provide him with a less "institution-identified" image than might otherwise have been the case. In general, however, responses from Nigerians appeared to confirm our earlier judgment that the educated Eastern Nigerian is not necessarily prone to give the "desired" response but rather inclined to state quite candidly and often vehemently his own judgments.

In addition to individual schedules which were worked out for personnel in unique but strategic positions (e.g., the Public Service Commission) appropriate group interview schedules or questionnaires were developed to "sample" judgments of the following "publics" of the College of Education:

Principals of Teacher Training Colleges and Secondary Schools:
Education Secretaries of Major Voluntary Agencies:
Zonal Inspectors of Education, Eastern Nigeria:
Graduates in Education of the University of Nigeria:
Graduates teaching but not from Education of the University of Nigeria:
Graduates of other Universities:
Non-graduate teachers under 35:
Strategic Faculty Members in the Faculty of Education:
Influence-wielding Faculty Members and Advisers elsewhere in the University (past and present):
Final year students of the Faculty of Education:
First Year students of the Faculty of Education:

It was likewise possible to secure lengthy interviews with the External Examiner of the Faculty of Education, the permanent secretaries and most relevant inspectors (past and present) in the Federal and Eastern Ministries of Education,* the Regional and National officers of the Nigeria Union of Teachers and the principal professional organizations of educators, the Eastern Nigeria Public Service Commission, and the first two Vice-Chancellors of the University.

It was also possible to review in the field considerable other data which helped in piecing together the history of the University of Nigeria and the status of Education in Eastern Nigeria in 1960. The Nigerian Outlook (the daily Eastern Nigerian newspaper) was examined for the entire period; the Lagos Daily Times was examined

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*Ministers had been dismissed during the military coup and were in virtual delention.

for dates and periods considered particularly significant; and the University of Nigeria weekly paper, the Record, was available from the time of its first publication in 1963; and the Hansard of the Eastern House of Assembly was examined during those sessions when University matters were being considered.

Furthermore, all files of the Faculty of Education were opened for the research. Filing procedures meant that nothing had been discarded, although the morgue of dead files required virtually a seriatim examination of papers, leaflets, publications, scrap and miscellany in order to locate relevant materials. In addition to such useful documents as the original Plan for Development of the College of Education, progress reports of the administrators and the Institute, the periodical newsletter published for students during the first three years of the College's existence, and addresses delivered by the College Heads and Deans correspondence files provided a wealth of information. Through the courtesy of Sir Eric Ashby, chairman of the Commission on Post Secondary Education in Nigeria (1960), it was possible to examine a wealth of otherwise unavailable data on the status of, and expectations concerning education at the time the University came into being. The University of Nigeria Program Office at Michigan State

University was most helpful in making available its files of official documents on the University of Nigeria and, with the approval of the advisers concerned, confidential end-of-tour reports of those whose work touched upon the College of Education. A list of the serials and other documents which were found particularly useful in piecing together and interpreting the development of the Faculty of Education is attached in the bibliography. Although some factual gaps in the story still remain, and difficulties and uncertainties of interpretation abound, the main difficulties encountered have not arisen from lack of material but rather from the inherent historical difficulty of piecing together intelligibly an analysis which takes adequate account of the vast mass of data available.

The period during which field portions of the study were conducted was most unfortunate from a research standpoint. 1965 was a year of political turmoil and uncertainty leading to the military coups and tribal massacres of 1966. Not only did political turmoil in the West preclude any studies in that Region, but the salience of this political turmoil in the thinking of many Ibos--particularly following a crisis at the University of Lagos leading to the resignation of all

Ibo staff--gave their thinking, during the period when interviews were conducted, a strongly "political" bent. Midway through the gathering of field data, a military coup changed the government in both Region and nation and created an environment of excitement and uncertainty in which it was more difficult to secure interviews and time from interviewees. A second military coup in July, 1966 and the subsequent massacre of tens of thousands of Easterners (and the resultant exodus of Easterners from all Regions to the East) has unquestionably altered the climate of opinion still further, but these changes are subsequent to this study. Similarly, the expulsion of all non-Easterners from the Eastern Region by the Military Government of that Region had the immediate consequence of removing Dr. Babs Fafunwa, Dean of the Faculty of Education, from the University, thus raising many questions about the continuation of innovations for which he had assumed much leadership and responsibility. At the same time it appears certain that the coelescing of Ibo sentiments around "their" university (and the influx of Eastern students formerly in other Nigerian universities to the University of Nigeria) has ensured the institutionality of the organization, although

it remains uncertain if this process will have the concomitant effect of institutionalizing innovations which the organization had attempted.

My own past involvement as first Head of the College of Education (1960-1962) provided me with the advantage of a ready grasp of the major historical outline of the College's development and an awareness of the problems we then felt we faced, an advantage perhaps more than offset by the inevitable coloration which my own personal involvement produced through a residue of judgments made both then and subsequently. Insofar as possible, I have attempted to rely for the period during which I was personally involved on what I then wrote, or said and recorded, in the hope that this might in some way minimize the danger of any post hoc interpretation of my actions of that time which would suggest a prescience which I did not possess. Clearly, this is a minimum but scarcely adequate precaution. Similarly, whereas my previous service at the University had provided me with a nucleus of strategic friends in Ministries and a wide acquaintance in the educational establishment at large (both of which proved helpful in securing interviews), no amount of personal assurance could ~~probably~~ possibly allow all respondents (and especially former

students) to reply as frankly as I would have wished concerning those particular decisions and programs of which they considered me the author. These are limitations of the study which I know no way to eliminate. I am nonetheless pleased to take the opportunity of alerting any readers to the bias they undoubtedly introduce into both data gathered and interpretations placed upon that data.

I should like to express my appreciation to others who have played an important part both in gathering data and in making sense out of it: to Dr. Charles Okpala, Dr. Magnus Adiele, Mr. Pius Igoko for their role in gathering data; to Mr. Cyril Uneze, Mr. Robert Getz and Mrs. Carol Getz for their work in content analysis and codification; to Dr. A. B. Fafunwa for his cooperation in opening all Faculty files and Faculty doors; to Dr. Geoffrey Gibson and Mr. Bernard Amalaha for their help in originally conceptualizing the study which should be made; to Mr. N. O. Ejiogu, former Chief Inspector of Education for helping trace the relationships between University and Ministry and for his excellent working paper; to Dr. Lewis Zerby and Dr. George Ferns for criticizing those portions of the analysis which dealt with periods when I was not at the University; to

the hundreds of respondents who devoted so much time to providing information; and finally to Mr. Odo Iroha who, as clerk of the project fulfilled full secretarial duties and held the project together in Nsukka during long periods when those of us more professionally qualified were of necessity in the field.

CHAPTER 1

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA AND ITS FACULTY OF EDUCATION

Any attempt to understand the extent to which the program in professional education at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, has been institutionalized demands some preliminary knowledge of the historical development of both the University and the Faculty of Education. This is especially true of Nsukka, for although the time span examined in this study has been short (six years), the pace of development and the rate of change have been unusually rapid. Obviously this development occurred, to use a favorite Nigerian-English expression, as "part and parcel" of a broader train of events, the shifts in values and orientations which were taking place in Nigeria during the same period. The general educational climate within which changes were occurring is detailed both in the following chapter and throughout this study as this climate becomes particularly relevant to understanding or interpreting specific events within the University of Nigeria. An account of changes in the legal structure and administration of the University and of growth in enrollments and diversification of programs has recently

been published by its first Vice-Chancellor* for those interested, and such data is included here only in lesser detail. For purposes of studying institutionalization, a somewhat different selection of significant events, and a consideration of the interpretations which those within and outside the University placed upon these events, is required. This chapter attempts to provide these briefly, just as this entire study attempts to provide such an account more fully and with more conceptual and methodological rigor. This has become increasingly possible as changes in University and government allowed latent or unexpressed concerns to surface and have impact upon the attitudes of many who were only indirectly in contact with the University and its program.

The Historical Development of the University at Large

The Period of Expansions and Proliferation

No one questions that the University of Nigeria was the dream and the creation of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, sometime leader of the dominant political party of Eastern Nigeria and Premier of Eastern Nigeria during the period when the idea was advanced, enacted into law, and when support was negotiated from the United States Government and Michigan State University. Dr. Azikiwe,

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*George Johnson, "The University of Nigeria," in Murray G. Ross (ed.,) New Universities in the Modern World (New York: St. Martins, 1966), pp. 87-104.

who became Governor General of Nigeria upon the attainment of independence (1960) and two years later the first President of the Republic of Nigeria, had received most of his university education in the United States and was highly critical of the rate of growth, limited enrollment and traditional academic orientation of British education, especially as these were represented by the University College, Ibadan, which had been created as the university-level institution in Nigeria. Consequently, in 1955 his Government introduced into the Eastern House of Assembly a bill to create a new university in Eastern Nigeria, a bill quickly enacted into law. As financial enabling legislation, the Eastern House also provided by law that the Eastern Marketing Board should lay aside £500,000 per annum for ten years to provide for the capital costs of the University. In 1958 a three-man British-American team comprised of President Hannah of Michigan State University, Dean Glen Taggart, Director of International Programs at the same university, and Mr. James Cook, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Exeter, visited Nigeria to study the feasibility of the plan and to make recommendations concerning the nature of the proposed university. The resultant Cook-Hannah-Taggart Report, which emphasized the need for a university

with a fundamentally vocational-practical orientation, was accepted by the Government of Eastern Nigeria. Subsequently, Dr. Azikiwe and his Minister of Education visited Britain and the United States to solicit aid, which was promised; and in 1960 a U.S./A.I.D. contract was signed designating M.S.U. as the American contractor and detailing advisory assistance to be provided. The contract, initially designed to run for ten years, was to provide advisory services on planning, administering, and organizing the University of Nigeria and to carry out the basic economic and social research necessary to relate the University to its cultural setting.

In accordance with this agreement, Dr. Troy Stearns of Michigan State University was selected in April, 1960, as first Acting Principal of the University. A site had been selected at Nsukka, an underdeveloped and educationally underprivileged area forty-five miles from Enugu, the capital of Eastern Nigeria, and during the period from April to September, 1960, facilities to house initial instructional programs, staff and students were hastily constructed in order to enable the University to open concurrently with Nigeria's attainment of independence which was to be granted in October of that same year.

During the spring of 1960 Dr. Stearns visited Nigeria, to study requirements and make plans, and during that summer the Inter-University Council provided Donald Burns of Leeds University as a temporary advisor. Meanwhile a nucleus faculty, entirely in the fields of Arts, and Social Sciences, was employed, and an initial Michigan State Advisory Team composed of advisors in Sociology, Economics, Education, Vocational Education, Student Affairs, and Institutional Research was selected to support Dr. Stearns. In the summer Dr. Stearns returned to Nigeria, after visiting Israel to consult with an architectural firm which had been selected to plan further University construction. In the ensuing weeks he found himself confronted by a plethora of problems with no other advisers from Michigan State University yet on hand. Among the most pressing problems demanding his attention were making any modifications still possible in the original phase of site development (largely a phase devoted to erecting an ill-conceived housing layout); planning for the formal opening of the University which was to be a major event in the All-Nigeria Independence celebrations; arranging for at least a minimum of preregistration academic planning, and in particular, for an international Carnegie Seminar which

was intended to provide guidelines for the program in Education; and reconciling differences between Nigerian, American, and British viewpoints concerning the pace and directions of University development. In August he fell seriously ill under the load and it appeared clear he would be unable to resume administrative duties in near future. Michigan State University thereupon selected Dr. George Johnson, an American Lawyer and Educator, to serve in the joint capacities of Acting Principal of the University and Head of the Michigan State Advisory Team.

During the early and frantic development period the first advisors and faculty members arrived. During this period also, the architectural plans for the University were discarded as being impractical in terms of time available and the capacity of local builders. The University in this development period operated from an office in Enugu, and on September 15 I moved into an incompleted house at Nsukka as the first academic faculty member on the new site. Meanwhile admission qualifications at the level of Higher School Certificate (or its Advanced General Certificate of Education equivalent) had been advertised, and a screening committee representing the Eastern Nigerian Ministry of Education and secondary school principals selected a

"pioneer" study body which ultimately consisted of 220 students. On October 7 Princess Alexandra who was in Nigeria to represent the Queen at the national independence ceremonies formally opened the University. As library and bookstore resources were almost completely lacking and as students had been admitted to fields of study in proportions that ill-matched the distribution of instructional staff, a provisional program was thrown together which required students to take work in a number of academic fields, a circumstance which accorded poorly with their expectations of following one subject programs in specialized fields (as had been the tradition of Ibadan). This led to dissatisfaction which was only partially covered over by the University's deliberate attempt to develop the mystique of the "pioneers"--students exploring new terrain and braving the hardships of starting a university!

Thus, the University opened with the enthusiasm engendered by independence but with a fantastic array of physical and academic problems. Student hostels were in the process of being completed; catering facilities lacked all modern equipment; water was uncertain; electrical failures were frequent; the University library consisted of a few hundred books; and the hastily established book store lacked almost all textbooks insisted

upon by lecturers for their courses. The instructional program, including a series of courses finally decided upon only the night before final, delayed registration, was limited to some dozen classes and was misunderstood and even resented by almost all students and some faculty members who arrived expecting that each student would pursue a single subject in great depth (the existing Ibadan tradition) throughout his university career. A small administrative staff had been employed prior to the opening of the University. As this staff lacked previous university experience, no arrangements had been made by registration day for setting up classes, assigning rooms in which they would meet, or handling such "routine" matters as time schedules or "student records." The enabling law of the University had provided for an elaborate University structure, but as the nucleus faculty did not fit its categories, an ad hoc structure for faculty organization and decision-making had to be established on the spot. Difficulties between Dr. Azikiwe and two architectural firms led to the cancellation of their contracts, and building was placed in the hands of Nigerian builders who operated without benefit of advice from architects familiar with university construction. Meanwhile the Finance and General

Purposes Committee (composed of Nigerians and the Acting Principal) met on behalf of the University Council (the University governing body which was international in composition) and sought to oversee and decide upon many of the minutiae of University administration. The challenge of the situation seemed far greater than the prospects for meeting that challenge.

In November the Finance and General Purposes Committee, acting for the University Council and without prior consultation with the academic advisors or the Ministries of Education, decided to expand the University program by offering two-year diploma and one-year certificate courses in Education, advertisizing immediately for students. In this way the College of Education came into being. Students with the advertized qualifications were screened by examination and joined the "pioneer" students of the University in January, although segregated into separate courses due to their late arrival and lower entry qualifications. Although some attempt was made by the Acting Principal to involve professional competence in selecting faculty to teach this group, the Finance and General Purposes Committee chose rather to act uniltareally and selected some thirteen faculty members in Education; of whom eight accepted appointment.

These than constituted by far the largest faculty group in the University.

During the first academic year a number of patterns were set which largely shaped the early history of the University. The University embarked on a second hurried and extensive phase of the building program, constructing in addition to several student hostels a series of "colleges," small buildings separated from each other by considerable distances and revealing little or no functional relationship to each other or to program. A large stadium was begun and a rapid program of simple, faculty housing was carried through. The slow, deliberate policy of University growth to which Nigeria was accustomed was deliberately abandoned, and the theme was that this University, like Nigeria, was "in a hurry."

During this period,also, characteristic patterns of operation, and sharp divisions or power struggles within the University began to develop. Most importantly, the communication process took on qualities which were to characterize it for the first few years of University operation. In general, the process became one in which information and decisions were frequently garbed in "secrecy." The essential guardian of communications

was the Secretary of the Council, B. N. Chukwudebe, who served in addition to his official capacity the additional one of being the eyes and ears of Dr. Azikiwe, who was of necessity generally away from campus. Secrecy in thissituation permitted an expansion of power and influence.Mr. Chukwudebe was, by being "in the know," able to predict subsequent decisions, insist upon his position as the channel of information to and from the Chancellor, keep countervailing opinions diffused and disorganized, and on occasion maneuver outside established policy without this being recognized. Decisions of the Finance and General Purposes Committee and the University Council (the only effective loci of decision-making with the University) remained secret and thus matters of great conjecture and concern among the faculty.

In order to provide some vehicle for focusing faculty concerns and competence, the Acting Principal appointed a political scientist, Dr. Edward Blyden III, as Academic Dean and the "faculty" met occasionally under the latter's chairmanship. The personal predilections of Dr. Blyden, however, precluded planned agendas or systematization of faculty thinking. Meetings therefore alternated between faculty complaint sessions,

which did little to boost morale, and lectures by the Dean. This arrangement, unsatisfactory to the faculty members more by reason of personalities than structure, served as the only means for faculty participation other than teaching during the first academic year. Meanwhile in a rapidly developing bureaucracy in which early appointments were to ranks often out of line with qualifications or experience, in which it was apparent that many "prestige" positions would soon open up, and in which administrative structure and established ways of achieving ends were unclear, faculty members soon lined themselves into opposing cliques. One of these centered around the person of the Assistant to the Principal, Dr. Ezera, a leading member of the Federal House and a personal friend of Dr. Okpara, Premier of the Eastern Nigeria. The much smaller opposing clique centered around Mr. Chukwudebe, "representative" of Dr. Azikiwe on the campus. The first rounds of the resulting internal struggle were to go to Mr. Chukwudebe, with whom the Acting Principal soon found himself aligned. By the second academic year Dr. Ezera was removed from his position as Assistant to the Principal and was still later forced to choose between membership in the Federal House and active membership in the faculty.

The academic staff generally supported Dr. Ezera, nominating him overwhelmingly in 1962 to serve as Dean of the Faculty of Social Studies and viewing him as the principal "opposition" spokesman, in a structure in in which an effective dialogue between faculty and administration was still to develop and in which it was all too easy to blame "administration" or "Council" for real or imagined ills.

During the first year additional advisors arrived in applied fields, and faculty in agriculture and the sciences were employed. Attention was further given to the problems of curriculum development, and two separate committees worked unbeknownst to each other on developing a program of "general studies" which was to be required of all students. The first long vacation saw many of the Nigerian faculty look to family and other obligations; the Faculty of Education engaged in a long period of school visits away from campus; but many of the advisory group continued work on the General Studies Program which was to be put into effect as a major innovation the second year.

The rapid expansion of senior staff (faculty) by the beginning of the second year, the decision to admit one thousand students, and the exponential expansion of courses being offered pointed to the need for a new

faculty organization. Consequently, the year began with an ad hoc division of programs into four "Faculties:" Social Studies, Arts, Science, and Technology. In order to give the faculty memberstime to select their own deans, four advisors (three American and one British) were appointed "acting" deans. As original nominations for deans by faculties were not acceptable to the University Council, however, these acting deans ultimately served throughout the year. As they did not meet jointly, however, or with the Acting Principal (now Vice-Chancellor), the organization was largely nominal and most program development work actually occurred within the separate colleges and departments.

The chief development of the second academic year was the introduction of the General Studies Program, a sequence of interdisciplinary courses required of all students which became in time the most distinctive single program innovation of the University. The program was accepted by a narrow margin in a general faculty meeting before the opening of the second academic year. Students were unaware or unaccepting of its purpose, however, and looked upon it as a further encroachment upon the time they could devote to their principal fields of study. Students in Political Science, where there was considerable opposition by some faculty members

as well, refused to register until the last few minutes of the University registration period when it became obvious that the University intended to stand firm on this decision. In order to teach the required General Studies courses, faculty from throughout the University were enlisted, but the program lacked much cohesion during the first year. The year served as an initial trial period, however, and advisors from Michigan State University and the University of Northstaffordshire, Keele, arrived to consult with the staff in a planning seminar. The survival of the program during this trail period must largely be ascribed to the arrival of a number of Peace Corps teachers, who served ably and willingly in the program. The following year two advisors with experience in General Studies teaching at the university level arrived and began to give solid form to the program, which developed steadily from that point on.

In other fields curriculum development went forward, but without any general sense of what was involved in developing a program genuinely guided by the "development needs" of Nigeria. Early curricula tended to be quite routine, frequently eclectic bits from American and British university patterns, the selection of particular pieces too often depending on the academic training or specific professional interests of the faculty members involved.

During the first two years the accommodations and food problems of the students did not see remarkable improvement. An effective sports program was organized with the assistance of an Olympic champion. A "democratic" organization was established to deal with student affairs, and a close working relationship between students and the Dean of Student Affairs, an American advisor, was worked out. In general the students responded noisily, and often ineptly, to the freedom which was granted them. Meanwhile their problems mounted, particularly in terms of food facilities. The decision had been reached to have a centralized refectory with cafeteria type operations. Serving themselves ran against elitest notions with which students came to the University and which died hard: The refectory was largely unmanageable due to lack of sufficient organizational competence and inefficient hiring and staff discipline policies. Poor communication between the [redacted] and lack of confidence between the Dean of Student Affairs and the Vice-Chancellor were reflected in similar poor communications and lack of confidence between student leaders and the Vice-Chancellor. When the students requested an audience with the latter toward the end of the second academic year, they were refused, the Vice-Chancellor sensing they were using "trade union" methods of negotiating.

The problem of gaining acceptance in former British colonial Africa for a university in the American tradition had exercised the minds of Michigan State persons from the beginning. The first public step to allay concerns came in 1962, when formal tripartite links between the University of Nigeria, Michigan State University, and the University of London were forged through the creation of the Joint University Advisory Committee. This was the result of a long series of negotiations. Michigan State University had, from its initial involvement, taken the position that it would be ill-advised to enter into any university relationship in Africa without counterpart British involvement. Consequently, Taggart and Hannah had insisted upon a British counterpart in their early study; and from that time on every attempt was made to involve the British, always somewhat suspect by Dr. Azikiwe. During the months immediately preceding the opening of the University, Donald Burns of Leeds <u>had</u> served as advisor, but, feeling that his position further complicated an already complicated situation, left even before the opening of the University. During the University's first academic year, the Inter-University Council of Britain did, however, provide two advisors who joined the larger group of American

advisors. In February, 1961, two professors from London University also visited Nsukka, but left feeling they had been unwelcome or even viewed by the Americans as "spies." Despite these initial rebuffs, and the reluctance of both Professor Carr-Saunders and the Vice-Chancellor of the University of London, Dr. George Axinn of Michigan State University (with support from Professor Ingold of the University of London) managed to get formal agreement to create a Joint University Advisory Committee (J.U.A.C.) comprised of representatives of Michigan State University, the University of London, and the University of Nigeria. This body first met in 1962 and has since that time served both as a useful sounding board for University policy decisions and as a strong legitimizing agency for proposed reforms in University procedure and programs. The creation of J.U.A.C., in addition to providing ideas and leverage for sounder academic procedures, was a significant step in allaying fears about the academic respectability of Nsukka.

The third academic year opened with considerable enthusiasm. Over the summer, however, the original Dean of Student Affairs had been replaced by a new American advisor assisted by Dr. Ukpaby, a highly competent Nigerian academician but inexperienced in this new role.

The more rigorous enforcement of regulations governing student behavior, accompanied by little or no improvement in living or eating conditions and the inadequate channels and instrumentalities of communication and deliberation, led to a student strike which assumed such proportions that the police were called in and the University closed down, ultimately for many weeks. The causes of the strike were complex: the students demanded a degree of social freedom in hostels which was unacceptable to the administration; old academic concerns about being required to take courses outside principal fields added to students' resentment; catering facilities were admittedly inadequate; and above all this they believed inadequate channels of communication for airing complaints were available to them. Using all means of public communication, the Chancellor and the University placed the blame squarely on the students, alleging they wished to change their hostels into brothels and, in general, using the radio to create a situation in which the students returned to their homes thoroughly disgraced. The strike had, however, the desirable effects of (1) bringing the total University faculty together to consider the common problems of the University and (2) emphasizing that decisions, and hard decisions, could in fact be made and held to. In January, 1963, shortly after the

reopening of the University, the launching of the Nsukka Record as a weekly newspaper published by the College of Journalism served salutory functions by reducing the sense of "secrecy" which had fouled communication and by providing at least one viable means for mediating conflicting points of view between students and authorities. (Prior to this time, a faculty newsletter had been introduced, but it had not been too successful, even among faculty; and students lived in a rumor-filled atmosphere where they constantly felt decisions affecting them were being reached but about which they knew nothing.)

During the third and fourth academic years the University made considerable progress in program development. The Faculty of Agriculture developed rapidly. Having already secured Council permission to play a significant role in the planning of the agricultural buildings, a role which had not existed for faculty during the earlier phases of University development, it was now able to acquire the necessary land for program development. The Netherlands Government, furthermore, entered into a contractual agreement whereby it undertook to organize advise, and in large part staff an Engineering Faculty. As the Government of Eastern Nigeria, under Dr. Okpara,

placed unusual emphasis upon development in these fields in accordance with the claims of the economic development plan, these programs met with wide support and the composition of the student body began to change as an increasing number of students in applied fields were enrolled. (For 1963-64 there were 225 students enrolled in agriculture and 104 students enrolled in Civil, Mechanical, and Electrical Engineering.) Likewise, a program in Continuing Education, designed to serve the extension, extra-mural, conference and short-course programs of the University was taking shape. A sizeable U.S./A.I.D. grant for this was soon forthcoming, and by Spring, 1965, the University possessed what was probably the finest conference facility in Nigeria. This was to have telling effect upon the image of the University [redacted] increasing numbers of conferees became acquainted with the University first hand, [redacted] everyone from poultry farmers to college dons began to find that the University had some program for them, and [redacted] some 7,000 conferees used the new facility during the first year of its operation.

Meanwhile University organization began to be structured in ways which would bring academic competence to bear upon academic problems. The Senate of the University was first organized in the Spring of 1962 and <u>some</u> academic matters were referred to it, although the

governing Council continued to act upon other academic matters without prior consultation of the Senate. In 1963-64 the Academic Deans began to meet periodically, although it was not the practice for the Vice-Chancellor to meet directly with them. In 1964 also, a more rational organization of the academic side of the University was being worked out by Professor Hawley, acting on behalf of the Vice-Chancellor. In this new organization Faculties were to represent related disciplines and Faculty Boards (governing bodies) and Department Boards were to operate with a clearer conception of their functions. Although in 1963 the University Council held the doors of the University open to succeeding waves of new entrants up until the end of the first term (part of a "political" maneuver to "equal" Ibadan) which dealt a severe blow to faculty morale and the reputation of the University for academic integrity , faculty members could recognize that significant steps were being taken to give academic considerations greater weight when these conflicted with "political" or "financial" considerations in the operation of the institution.

If one is to summarize the story of the first four years of the University, it must be summarized as being one of bold trial and frequent error. It had been a period of rapid expansion, resulting sometimes in needless

and duplicatory proliferation of courses. It had been a period in which only hesitantly had faculty competence been admitted as relevant in making fundamental University decisions, and even more tardily had means been found for harnessing this competence. It was, furthermore, a period in which the University administration did manage to gain and hold the confidence of the University Council and the University Chancellor; but had been able to do so only at the price of frequently jeopardizing its links with faculty and students. University business procedures, particularly after all monies in the early backlog (which had been intended for capital expansion only) were exhausted, did not provide for adequate budgeting or for adequate checks on the expenditures of funds. Programs and budgets were projected without realistic appraisal of assured resources; and there were indications of serious misappropriation of funds, particularly through the University engineer's office. The reluctance of the Chancellor, Dr. Azikiwe, to allow the University to deal directly with the Government of Eastern Nigeria, from which resources for running the University largely came, had been partially overcome; and some direct contact with the Eastern Nigeria government had been established.

On the other hand, in terms of doctrine and program, certain principles had been adhered to. A major emphasis had been placed on the applied and tehcnical fields: large enrollments in such fields as agriculture, engineering, and education attested to this. The initial commitment of the Chancellor that the doors of a university should be open to admit enough students to meet foreseeable manpower needs of the nation had been carried out, albeit often only by exceeding the level of existing University facilities. The conception that the University was not to be a "luxury" university, but one devoted to the development of attitudes conducive to a return to the genuine Nigeria community, the attitude of "work to be done," had been fostered through work scholarships, simplicity of living conditions, and a priority system which rewarded applied fields of study. A General Studies Program which was designed to broaden the perspectives of the University graduate as a potential leader in his community or vocation, had been introduced, developed, consolidated and (with strong support from the Vice-Chancellor) had recieved approval of the University Council. The first great step toward rationalizing the academic side of the University had been planned by developing a reasonable organization of Faculties and

Departments. Finally, the commitment was clear that the curriculum should rest upon genuine foundations of Nigerian culture and needs, although the means for developing a curriculum to do this were still often unapplied.

The Period of Rationalization and Consolidation

The year 1964 was generally pointed to by respondents within the University as the watershed year in its development. The year was clearly visible as it was marked by reorganization of the academic side of the University. The appointment of Dr. Glen Taggart as the new Vice-Chancellor coincided with this change. In terms of new emphases, the transition was equally marked. The first years had been years of rapid growth and equally rapid proliferation of academic programs, units, and buildings. The new period was marked by consolidation and rationalization of the programs which had earlier come into existence. The first period had seen the establishment of firm relations between the University administration and the University faculty and student body. The first period had been characterized by frequent University Council involvement in initiating and deciding on academic and administrative matters; the second period was characterized by earlier and greater

faculty involvement in the decision-making process and the delimitation of the Council role to consideration of major policy recommendations. The first period had been marked by a general orientation toward Dr. Azikiwe as the political base but one unfortunately marred by tribalism and favoritism, especially revealed by some of his trusted subordinates. The second period saw greater attention given to establishing closer links with the Government of Eastern Nigeria. These shifts in emphasis were the essence of the 1964 change. As they were accompanied (or in some cases immediately followed) by a change in Vice-Chancellors and a change in academic structure they were readily recognized by those in the University.

It would be surprising if the change in the University were as abrupt as this suggests. Actually the period of rationalization of academic structure and program had begun during late 1963, and the period of expansion continued at a decelerating rate as student enrollments continued to grow from 1,828 in 1963-64 to 2,445 in 1964-65 despite a lack of adequate accommodations on campus, a lack filled by a private building venture of the Azikiwe Foundation in town. During the academic year 1963-64, a serious effort involving many of the academic

community had been made by William Hawley, Deputy Chief of Party of the M.S.U. Advisory Group, to work out on behalf of Dr. Johnson a more suitable academic organization and decision-making process. The result of his effort was a package of proposals which went to the University Council in its final meeting of that year. These proposals (1) replaced the preceding illogical faculty structure (which had, for example, lumped such disparate fields as music, physical education, and engineering into a Faculty of "Technology") with functionally coherent faculties, (2) reorganized faculties into departments (eliminating the previous anomolous category of "colleges") and (3) placed more emphasis on Faculty Boards and Department Boards as academic decision-making bodies. At the all-University level, the new organization called for an enlarged Senate which would include sufficient elected Nigerian members to assure that its composition would always be at least one-half Nigerian, and a smaller Academic Council which served as the effective body in selecting issues for Senate consideration and making recommendations to that body. For the first time an academic machinery came into existence whereby matters could be referred readily by the Vice-Chancellor to an effective and essentially Nigerian academic body, and matters originated by the faculty could receive careful consideration at all appropriate levels and be

passed through channels to the Vice-Chancellor and the University Council or governing board. At the same time, and in addition to the Academic Council and the Senate, the administrative board was reconstituted. The Council of Deans was enlarged to include not only the academic deans but also the Dean of Student Affairs, the Director of General Studies, and a representative of the Bursar's Office. It was this body, during the 1964-66 period which became the fundamental unit in decision-making, a factor which did not satisfy many of the Nigerian faculty who were committed to the more "democratic" representative Senate structure. As the new Vice-Chancellor also stressed placing specific recommendations and rationales before the Council, rather than presenting problems for Council resolution, this machinery in effect shifted the locus of power in decision-making on academic matters from the governing board to various academic bodies within the University.

In order to make this process effective, furthermore, a new policy was established whereby minutes of meetings of all the bodies were made available to the faculty, thereby both providing the latter with the knowledge base for intelligent participation and dispelling the aura of suspicion and "maneuvering" which had once prevailed. Similarly, the establishment of a

Council of Students which met regularly with the Vice-Chancellor established effective communication links between the students, with their own legitimate concerns, and the administration.

A second crucial change took place at much the same time. In the early days of the University, faculty selection rested largely in the hands of the University Council. New faculty members were frequently selected even for existing departments without recommendation of those competent to judge qualifications, often in fields of specialization which were redundant or irrelevant. When faculty were occasionally involved in the selection process, it was frequently without access to the credentials by which candidates might be fairly judged. Furthermore, all processing of applications and appointments was through the office of the Secretary of the Council, and there seems reason to believe that sometimes an effective but unofficial screening occurred here through activity or inactivity of this office. Beginning in the spring of 1963, Department Heads and Deans were brought into the selection picture although final decision still resided in the Council. The spring of the following year, this process was further altered and the Vice-Chancellor and selection panels were empowered to take

action on appointments at the lectureship level. This was followed by a further decentralization of the personnel office, whereby each dean became the effective head of both academic and non-academic personnel in his faculty, thus developing a greater sense of loyalty and responsibility to the functional unit. Finally, in 1966 the full responsibility for defining faculty positions, recruiting, and screening applicants was transferred to the academic departments concerned.

During the period of consolidation increased attention was also given to bringing budgets into line not only with goals but with realistic assessments of forthcoming allocations of funds. The University had come into existence with a reservoir of £ 2,500,000 and the assurance of a £ 500,000 per annum from the Eastern Nigeria Marketing Board for a further vive years. This allocation was originally intended for capital expenditure. In the first year, these funds were not supplemented by government allocation for recurrent costs and consequently were decimated as they were necesarily used to cover such costs. Adequate control procedures were difficult or impossible to establish in this period, leading to serious instances of corruption. Later budgets did rely upon monies provided by both the Federal Government

and the Regional Government, accordance with a recommendation of the National Universities Commission, but program expansion had often not been realistically tailored to the limits these monies set, thusmaking planning within units of the University difficult. Projected plans frequentl had to be curtailed before the end of the fiscal year. As the University would, inevitably, rely heavily upon the Eastern Nigeria Government for support, both financial and political, Vice-Chancellor Johnson in 1963-6a began meeting with the Premier of Eastern Nigeria and occasionally his Chief Secretary, Chief Udoji, a sharp critic of the University. The University did, however, refuse to submit its budgets for the forthcoming year to the government, a process Dr. Johnson viewed as "pre-auditing." The major task of establishing links with this government, a minimum essential for the long-term stability of the University became a major concern of the new Vice-Chancellor when he assumed office in 1964.

It was also during the 1964-65 academic year that a second major step in the direction of allaying fears about "standards" was made, in this case by the University agreeing to the appointment of external examiners in subject fields, as was the British tradition. Dr. Azikiwe, keenly aware that examinations can set program

or curriculum, had been a strong opponent of the idea. The National Universities Commission made a strong recommendation for external examiners on their first visit to Nsukka in the spring of 1963. Gradually, particularly under the leadership of the Nigerian registrar, Vincent Ike, resistance was reduced and the Council made a permissive decision, allowing departments to select external examiners from either Nigerian universities or other universities if they saw fit. The first external examiners were appointed to read the final papers of the graduating class of 1965, and there seems little doubt that the examiners were pleased with the quality of work they found represented in the final examinations. Their judgments dispelled many remaining doubts about the academic quality of the University. Because of long familiarity with the external examiner scheme, a number of British educated Nigerians, inside and outside the University, referred to this decision as a major step in establishing the academic creditability of the institution.

In January 1966, the civilian government of Nigeria was overthrown in a military coup and a military government under Colonel Ojukwu assumed power in Eastern Nigeria. In its first public statement of policy the

new government announced that "the law establishing the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, will be reviewed to ensure that matters academic are left entirely in the hands of true academicians subject to the overall direction of the country's manpower needs as recommended by the National Universities Commission." Although this had in effect been largely achieved in the two years prior to the announcement, the subsequent actions of the military government were apparently aimed in large part at removing the political, personal, and privileged group influences which were believed to remain in the University. The existing Council of the University was therefore replaced by a new council with a strong religious and presumably "ethical" bias; the position of lifetime Chancellor was abolished and Dr. Azikiwe replaced as Chancellor by the Emir of Kano; the position of Secretary of the Council, which had been so long exercised with such great influence by B. N. Chukwudebe, was eliminated and the Registrar of the University was appointed (as was the custom in British universities) to serve as Secretary of the Council. The new Council willingly confirmed the appointment of Dr. Eni Njoku, who had previously been offered the position of Vice-Chancellor, a position he assumed in July 1966. In subsequent addresses to the student body of the University and to a visiting

Committee of the Association of Commonwealth Vice-Chancellors, the Military Governor reiternated his support for University development and expressed his intention of further expanding the University, requesting help from the Commonwealth universities in bridging the gap in lecturers and maintaining the University's international character. There appeared little doubt that the new government intended to support the University now that the political and personal influences it considered corrupting had been eliminated. In July, 1966 a second coup made the relation between the regions and the central government ambiguous and uncertain, thus bringing the source of financial support for the University into question.

The History of the Program in Education

One of the recommendations of the Cook-Hannah-Taggart mission to Nigeria was that the University of Nigeria give priority to a program in Education which would provide teachers and educational leaders and assit in the reconstruction of the educational system. The appointment of the Ashby Commission to study the educational system of Nigeria, and the concern and sense of priority this signified added cogency to the argument that Education should be one of the first fields for

development at the new University. Consequently, the first M.S.U. advisory team included, in addition to Dr. Stearns (the Acting Principal and himself an Educator) an advisor in Education and an advisor in Vocational Education. Initial plans called for an international seminar on Education, to be held in August or September and hopefully to include members of the Ashby Commission, which would advise on planning a relevant program in Education. As Dr. Stearns fell ill in August, however, it was necessary to postpone the anticipated seminar until after the opening of the University.

In November the Finance and General Purposes Committee, sitting in its capacity as an interim policy-making body acting on behalf of the University Council, determined to offer two non-degree programs in education and instructed its Secretary to advertize these programs in the press. As the programs as advertized ran directly athwart existing training programs in Nigeria and their salary scales, and as they were advertized without having been processed through the recognized legitimizing and consultative procedures which the Nigerian Ministries of Education had jointly established, the announcement of these programs came as a bombshell, confirming the worst suspicions of the

Ministries of Education which were already inclined to view the University as a "political boondoggle." However, a special entrance examination for candidates was worked out and administered in several centers; and, on the basis of this examination, forty-one students were admitted in January.

In January the certificate program in education was begun under the direction of Dr. Troy Stearns, who had returned to campus following his illness. As lecturers in Education were not yet on campus, a broad course calling upon relatively unused faculty members in a wide variety of disciplines was decided upon--students taking work in such fields as physical education, music, English, and political science in addition to a general professional course in education.

The announcement of this program made urgent the convening of the postponed planning seminar in education. Original plans were altered so as to include a large number of representatives who could speak with authority on trends and problems in government, religion, economics, and social structure in Nigeria, as well as professional people in the schools and Ministries of Education.

The planning seminar took place from February 1-3, 1960, under the chairmanship of Dr. Karl Bigelow. The wide participation, and the general structure of the seminar which sought to elicit connections between wider social and economic developments in Nigeria and the tasks of education, did not result so much in specific recommendations as in identifying major concerns, problem areas, and divergent points of view. Both through seminar participation, and through extensive press coverage, the intended image of portraying a program that would be geared to the basic problems of Nigerian development was effectively achieved. Most of the newly appointed lecturers in Education arrived immediately prior to the planning seminar and thus were able to profit from its deliberations.

Less than two weeks following the seminar, I, as acting head of the College of Education, was called upon to present to the University Council a Development Plan for the College of Education. This plan, which was drawn from the recommendations of the Ashby Commission, such school visits, ministry visits, and meetings as I had been able to attend, and the deliberations of the planning seminar was checked with newly arrived members of the faculty in Education [redacted]. It was presented to the University Council in February and approved by that body

as the basic program for the development of the college. Its essential ingredients included a degree program in education, specialized non-degree programs in priority sepcialized teaching fields, in-service and sandwich courses and institutes for poorly qualified teachers, a research program focusing on action research and problems related to developing our teaching program, a focus on educational administration, a publications and school-broadcasting program aimed primarily at practical problems, and the eventual offering of post-graduate certificates in education and a master's degree.

As the initial recruitment of faculty had numerically far exceeded the demands of the program, and as the faculty employed had qualifications largely unrelated to the courses the first education students required, a program to provide a sense of faculty involvement was worked out in which each faculty member participated in at least a minimum of teaching hours and all joined in many formal and informal planning meetings. During the informal meetings, held in my home, the faculty determined that it should undertake an extensive study of Nigerian schools,particularly in less privileged areas, as a basis for curriculum and course

planning. With support through a grant from Michigan State University, the faculty assigned itself the task of a comprehensive survey of rural schools, conducted by all faculty members in Education assisted by ten university students. As the faculty likewise decided that the best admissions procedure would involve supplementing written credentials by structured interviews designed to get at both ability in oral communication and ability to develop or follow an argument, the trip also provided the opportunity to interview candidates, especially those in relatively inaccessible areas.

In August the field research was completed, and the faculty attempted to draw together a curriculum for a four-year degree program and divide teaching responsibilities both in fields which were overstaffed and in fields which had no staff whatsoever. Some members of the faculty became, during this period, involved in planning and preparing to teach the General Studies course in Social Science which the University was planning to require of all students; while two members prepared to assume additional teaching responsibilities in Sociology and Anthropology. At this time the public rationale for the proposed degree in education was hammered out, course and program descriptions were

completed, and a complete program prospectus mailed to incoming education students (over the objections of other departments which had not engaged in comparable planning procedures.)

In September, 1961, new degree students enrolled in the College of Education. Because the salary status of those who would completed the certificate program remained uncertain, those students who had been admitted to that program but whose "paper" entry qualifications approached the new minimum University qualifications (and who had demonstrated excellence in their first term or terms of university work) were allowed to transfer into the degree program. The degree in education, which suffered both from being new to Nigeria and from the stigma attached to "methods" and Teacher Training Colleges, received some minimum prestige and no little envy when the University accorded it "priority status," a status which entitled it that year to double the usual percentage of students granted loan scholarships by the University.

The impetus provided the initial lecturers in Education by the Education Planning Seminar, the fact that these lecturers were associated with a University which gave at least lip service (and often more) to the educational ideals they as a suspect minority in Nigeria

had espoused (most faculty members were graduates of American universities) and the informal planning meetings which had taken place prior to vacation and had served as a basis for securing financial support for the "research" trip they considered necessary, combined to develop high enthusiasm in this group by the beginning of the second year. As the program in Education necessarily involved students doing most of their work in fields outside of Education, the faculty was, however, relatively uninvolved in teaching. In accordance with the Development Plan and deliberations during faculty meetings, the Faculty decided to offer off-campus credit courses for teachers in the field. Three such courses materialized in three Nigerian communities in November 1961, thus providing the first off-campus courses of the University and, more importantly, emphasizing the commitment of the faculty to service in the field.

Beginning with its fall meetings, the College also began deliberations on the possibility of creating an Institute of Education,* as had been recommended by the Ashby Commission. During a prolonged series of faculty meetings in the Fall Term, a proposal was

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*An administrative unit designed to provide research, in-service training and other services in education.

drafted and submitted to the University Council, accompanied by a request for its permission to approach the Eastern Nigeria Ministry of Education which it was hoped would sponsor the Institute jointly with the University. The Council not only approved the project but announced it unilaterally before the Ministry could be approached. However, as the Ministry of Education was interested at this time in promoting its own project of an Advanced Teacher Training College, and wished the help of the University in providing facilities, a series of College-Ministry meetings was held at the Ministry of Education resulting in their endorsement of an Institute of Education which would be composed of representatives of the College of Education, the Ministry and the Upper Elementary and Advanced Teacher Training Colleges of Eastern Nigeria. A second agreement included College endorsement of the Ministry's new Advanced Teacher Training College, proposed linking this school to the University and, if possible, locating it initially on the University's Enugu campus, a provision refused by the Council. The negotiations between the Ministry and the College continued sporadically on both of these developments, culminating eventually in the creation of the Institute of Education in January

1963 and the launching of the Advanced Teacher Training College in Owerri (with formal links to the Univesity through the Institute) in September 1964.

In December 1961, as Head of the College of Education, I investigated the possibility of establishing some formal connection between the College and the Nigeria Union of Teachers. Dr. Fafunwa, deputizing for me at their national conference in Lagos in January 1962, was elected to the specially created post of Higher Education Representative on their ExecutiveCommittee. He further proposed on that occasion an upgrading program under N.U.T. auspices for the unqualified teachers of Nigeria who were currently facing the threat of retrenchment (firing). The College of Education, in considering Dr. Fafunwa's report on the conference, accepted our subsequent idea that such a program might be offered on the University campus under joint University-Nigeria Union of Teachers sponsorship. The University Council approved the program, and during the summer of 1962 the College of Education and the Nigeria Union of Teachers (with additional staff provided by the Canadian Federation of Teachers and the Peace Corps) offered a vacation school for 546 unqualified teachers from throughout Nigeria (most of whom had never gone beyond primary school) to help them qualify for honorary certificates or pass

the examinations which would prevent their retrenchment. The program was repeated during the summers of 1963 and 1964 with increasing enrollments; and has continued to be requested annually by the Nigeria Union of Teachers, although the University has found it impossible to staff the program during the past two years.

During the summer of 1961, while the remainder of the faculty was engaged in the field survey of education in the schools of Eastern Nigeria, Dr. Fafunwa who had just joined the faculty, attended the Endicott House Conference on African Education at the invitation of Education Services, Incorporated. Growing out of this conference he established close relations with the latter organization, relations which bore fruit in University of Nigeria participation and leadership in ESI programs designed to improve science and mathematics instruction in Africa. Beginning with their inauguration in 1963, Dr. Ukeje of the College participated in the summer workshops on mathematics held in Entebbe,Uganda, and came to play an increasingly important part in developing ESI mathematics program for African schools and in testing the new materials in the schools of Eastern Africa. Further, under the auspices of the Ford Foundation, Dr. Fafunwa assumed leadership of two workshops on elementary science for African primary

schools, one held in Kano and the other in Nsukka. A continuing grant for experimentation on elementary science programs, and the services of Mr. Savage who was provided by ESI and Ford Foundation to conduct this experimentation, has been carried forward at Enugu in conjunction with the Institute of Education since 1964.

The Plan for the Development of the College of Education, written for and approved by the University Council in early 1962, had listed as a priority development the creation of a Center of International Study which would, first, enable persons in leadership positions in Nigerian education to make comparative education tours of various countries, preceding such tours with orientation sessions at the University and following them with analysis sessions, and, second, involve international faculty exchange. The College of Education began to receive support from the American government and the foundation, at least insofar as projects whereby Nigerians might learn from foreign experience were concerned. In the academic year 1962-63, U.S./A.I.D. sponsored a comparative education tour for a group of Nigerian educators, whose concluding seminars and final report were published from Nsukka and by the Eastern Nigeria Ministry of Education. Again in 1965, under the leadership of Dr.

Adam Skapsky, now with Ford Foundation, a Comparative Technical Education Tour was conducted through European countries and the United States, again culminating in a seminar at Nsukka. Dr. Fafunwa, in addition to serving as co-chairman of the Abidjan Conference on The Role of the Intellectual in West Africa, secured a Carnegie grant which enabled him to take a portion of his faculty on a Comparative Education Study Tour of French West African States in 1966, with plans to follow this by a tour of East African States in 1967.

Meanwhile, changes in leadership and organization in the program had occurred smoothly. After working with Dr. Fafunwa for nearly a year, I successfully recommended to the Council in March, 1962, that he be appointed my replacement as Head of the College of Education. Dr. Fafunwa thus became not only the first Nigerian to assume leadership of a major program at the University of Nigeria, but also the first African to secure leadership of any teacher education program in British related sub-Saharan Africa. This position increased in scope and status when, in January 1963, the Institute of Education was inaugurated and he assumed its leadership as well.

The early period under my leadership had clearly been one of planning and innovation; little had been

accomplished in the way of consolidation. An initial program launched by the University Council had done serious harm to relations between the College of Education and the Regional and Federal Ministries, but consultation and compromise had done much to eliminate a residue of bad taste, and a better pattern of relationships had been established. Active participation on the professional advisory committees of the Federation, the Carnegie Sem nar on Education, and the summer research tour, in which the entire faculty had visited and examined nearly two hundred schools of Eastern Nigeria had provided a basis for planning. A comprehensive Plan for Development had been drawn up, which largely outlined the course the College has pursued thus far. A rationale, curriculum, and prospectus for a degree program in education had been worked out. The basic instructional program, the B.A. (Education) had been launched. A series of plans to found an Institute of Education had been developed in cooperation with the Ministry of Education. Preliminary plans had been formulated to carry on a massive upgrading program for teachers facing retrenchment and to establish formal linkages with the new Advanced Teacher Training College. The actual implementation and full development of these latter plans still lay ahead as leadership changed and was genuinely "Nigerianized."

The change in leadership came none too soon. The holding of the elections in Eastern Nigeria and the subsequent shuffle of cabinet members and permanent secretaries in the secretariat had permitted a new look at the relations between the College of Education and the Ministry of Education. Shortly after the appointment of Dr. Imoke as Minister of Education, he accepted an invitation to serve as the first of a series of guest lecturers for the College of Education Lecture Series. Soon thereafter, in the summer of 1962, the Ministry of Education called a conference of leading educators to consider the pattern and content of Primary, Secondary, and Teacher Education in Eastern Nigeria and to make recommendations concerning revision. The Ministry already had available a number of "expert" reports which might have provided such guidelines, including the Ashby Report, the Griffiths Report on Teacher Training, the Pritchard Report on Secondary Education and a comprehensive, highly controversial, and still suppressed report of a Commission headed by Dr. Kenneth Dike, Vice-Chancellor of University College, Ibadan. It was, however, judged that it was urgent to convene a conference of experts who represented Nigeria's own "wealth of local talent and experience," in the Minister's belief that

"no foreigner, no matter how sincere, knowledgeable and objective, can see or feel our problems in exactly the same way as we ourselves; for they are bound to be influenced by conditions, circumstances, and traditions which, while relevant in their own countries, may not be quite applicable to our set of circumstances and conditions." Mr. Alvan Ikoku, President of the Nigeria Union of Teachers with which the Faculty of Education had just established close relations, was chosen to chair the conference. The College of Education was for the first time invited to play a significant role in shaping policy, two of its members being placed on the steering committee of the Conference while Dr. Fafunwa was named leader of its Committee of Teacher Education, on which two other members of the College likewise served.

During the first three years, development in the vocational fields of education, which was to have been a major innovation at Nsukka, had been painfully slow and limited almost entirely to "paper" development. Beginning with a small intake in 1961, the Department of Vocational Education began its program under a Michigan State Advisor who lacked supporting staff. Although programs were worked out on paper, little impetus was gained dur to the unfamiliarity of the field to

Nigerians, ineffective recruitment, lack of suitable staff and facilities, and the fact that the energies of the advisor were drawn off into other interests and responsibilities within the University. By 1962, when a strong staff member in industrial education arrived, there was only one student left in a program which had already withered away. At this time Ford Foundation expressed its interest in making a sizable grant to support a program for the training of teachers of pre-vocational and pre-technical schools. The first proposal submitted was found unacceptable to the Foundation, but with the arrival of Dr. Ferns, a new advisor with a fresh outlook, and Dr. Ugoh, the Nigerian Head of the Department of Vocational Education, an acceptable program was drafted and a grant of $150,000 was forthcoming on condition that the University commit itself to providing suitable building facilities. Following the arrival of Dr. Ferns and Dr. Ugoh, a series of planning meetings were held, involving Ministry and University personnel, culminating both in a certificate program designed to staff new junior high school level institutions involving pre-vocational programs and in a full degree program in the various vocational fields. As the rapid expansion

of technical and commercial schools had already begun and as the introduction of agricultural courses into secondary schools was already policy, the four-year degree program was unfortunately already falling behind the demand. By the 1965-66 academic year these innovative and crucial programs had developed and expanded to include a combined enrollment of 102 students.

Although Dr. Fafunwa upon becoming Head of the College faced considerable problems in consolidating the B.A. (Education) program, especially through working out with academic departments the sequences of courses for students who would be enrolled in education but expected to teach two secondary school subjects, he faced the even greater task of making the service activities of the college an important part of the educational system of Eastern Nigeria. Beginning with its organization in 1961, the Eastern Nigerian Secondary School Principals Association held its meetings on the University campus, regularly inviting faculty in Education to participate in and contribute to its program; thus initiating one link between the University and the education profession. The Vacation Program for Uncertified Teachers, sponsored jointly with the Nigeria Union of Teachers, was welding another link. With the

formal establishment of the Institute of Education in 1963, and with the creation of the University Continuing Education Service with its expertise in organizing conferences and workshops, the administrative mechanisms were created to carry out a wider service program effectively. Between 1963 and 1965, Seminars or workshops on educational administration, the new mathematics, comprehensive secondary schools, elementary science teaching, and English teaching supplemented the regular annual meetings of the Institute itself. In 1963, furthermore, the Institute was underwritten by a second grant from Ford Foundation of $82,000 to support its research, service, and developmental activities.

The year 1964-65 saw a considerable change in the status of the professional education program with the University. In that year the newly approved organization of the University went into effect, the College of Education being elevated to the status of Faculty * and having placed within it as component parts a Department of Education, a Department of Vocational Education, a Department of Physical Education, and the Institute of Education. Dr. Fafunwa was likewise promoted to Professor and appointed Dean of the Faculty. This brought the main professional teacher training

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*For purposes of uniformity and clarity, the term "College" has been used throughout this study, except in contexts where such usage would be clearly confusing.

programs of the University under the aegis and supervision of the Faculty of Education, although an autonomous music education program continues to operate in the Department of Music without recognized accreditation or salary scale, and the ultimate disposition of Home Economics Education remains uncertain. The degree program in Education grew to be the second largest field of study in official University policy. In 1962 the program in Physical Education had received a building of its own, and in 1966 construction on a Vocational Education Building designed to fit academic program requirements was at last begun.

A persistent concern of Nigerian members of the Faculty of Education, and an increasing concern of the Ministry of Education, was redundancy and inefficiency within the school system, brought about by competition among religious missions in constructing and operating schools. In the attempt to rationalize the school system and place these schools, which are largely supported by public funds, under some public control, the Ministry requested the Institute of Education to conduct a seminar on local school administration and the possibility of organizing local school boards to supervise primary schools by local districts. The resulting seminar

led to recommendations proposing the establishment, composition, and functions of such boards. The results of this seminar were used by the Ministry subsequently to legitimize a policy creating school boards, although the policy was still not implemented when the first military coup occurred shortly thereafter. This was the first venture of the Faculty, qua faculty, into an area of major social controversy and high political sensitivity.

Thus by the end of the 1965-66 academic year, when this study occurred, the Faculty of Education was an established, prominent unit within the University; it possessed one of the largest student enrollments and a privileged position in terms of enrollment quotas; its service activities were organized through an Institute of Education and facilitated by the services of Continuing Education; it possessed sizable research, service, and publication funds made available through a generous Ford Foundation grant; it had launched, also with Ford funds, the first University-level program in Vocational Teacher Education in Nigeria; it had brought under its general umbrella the previously autonomous program in Physical Education,[1] it had established formal links and a sponsoring role with the only Advanced Teacher Training

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[1]No attempt has been made to trace the development of Physical Education in this study.

College in Eastern Nigeria; it had adapted and developed the British concept of an Institute of Education in such a way that it was at least nominally engaged with fifty-two higher elementary teacher training colleges in a program of mutual consultation and curriculum development; it had worked out a pattern of cooperative action with the Nigeria Union of Teachers; it had, with the assistance of the Eastern Nigeria Ministry of Education, developed curricula for the training of teachers in vocational fields and for the comprehensive junior high schools the Ministry wished to create; its graduates received a privileged position on salary scales relative to graduates of other departments of the University who entered teaching; it had worked out cooperative arrangements with the Ministry of Education both on joint sponsoring of, and division of responsibility for, in-service courses for various types of educational personnel; it had developed further supportive relations with the Ministry both through its role on the "blue ribbon" Eastern Nigerian Educational Review Conference and by sponsoring, at Ministry request, a seminar designed to open the way for a new policy which would increase secular control over the primary schools of Eastern Nigeria, thus promising for the first time some degree of rationalization of the educational system.

CHAPTER 2

THE ENVIRONMENT

Any analysis of the process of institutionalizing an organization presupposes either an implicit or explicit grasp of the ethos in which institutionalization is sought. In the case of the Faculty of Education at the University of Nigeria, the nexus of relationships between organization and ethos or environment assumes an added dimension of significance because the essential innovative elements of the organization were framed as explicit or direct functions of that environment. This is seen not only in the constant attempt to conceptualize the doctrine and program of the entire University in terms of the "needs" of Nigeria but equally explicitly in the Commission or charge given to its Faculty of Education to assume leadership in the reconstruction of the Nigerian educational system. When it is further recognized that this commission, while stated in the enabling documents which gave birth to the University, was a commission which was viewed as threatening in the environment outside the university, the urgency of comprehending that environment in order to understand the process of institutionalization is increased exponentially. Although it is not possible to detail here all features of that environment, it is both possible and advantageous to suggest some of its main contours which in large measure accounted for the strategies, achievements, and failures of those providing leadership.

The Political Environment

Unquestionably among the most salient factors to be reckoned with in appreciating the ethos in which the University sought institutionalization is the circumstance that the University was born concurrently with Independent Nigeria, and under the aegis of the man most immediately associated with

achieving independence. Furthermore, Nigerians at the point of independence were convinced that they stood on the threshold of a new age, an age to be marked by rapid economic as well as political change. As many another in underdeveloped world, they saw the twin Gods of Independence and Economic Development beckoning them to a new and better life. They were convinced that once freed from the restraints of colonialism, which were viewed as having applied economic reins in the interest of the riding colonial power, they could plan their own economic destiny rationally and move forward rapidly not only to achieve it but to reap its material rewards. Political independence, economic development, and planning seemed to go hand in hand.

For many of the highly literate there was a fourth conviction, less tangible and having almost a spiritual quality about it. This was a faith that with independence could come a cultural rebirth, drawing sustenance from roots deep in indigenous soil and elevating the African to a position of self respect, to that "human dignity" which he had felt lacking as a colonial. Couched often in such slogans as cultural independence, negritude and African personality, this faith is an important ingredient in the self-confidence and self-esteem of many emerging African elites. Nigeria, as the most populous and potentially most powerful country in Sub-Saharan Africa, was in particular high-lifting into independence with exhuberant enthusiasm and unbounded expectations. To its intellectual elite, far more than to the elite in the French states which surrounded it, political independence unaccompanied by cultural and economic emancipation, was shadow not substance. Many of the Southern Nigerian elite harbored a burning conviction that educational independence, education reconstruction, and educational expansion

were broad highways by which more comprehensive cultural and economic independence could be attained.* The relation of the "value" of cultural independence to the "Nsukka experiment" as felt by students was captured in the ceremonial language of the University's first valedictorian. In this particular instance the value was elicited in support of the""innovation" of autonomous development:

> The University of Nigeria, as it was to reflect the new status of the country could not afford to be an appendage of any other University. The University of Nigeria believes that it is only when it possesses the exclusive right to choose, plan and undertake its own research without dictation from outside can it truly fulfil its destiny--that of the restoration of the dignity of a man in Africa. Affiliation to foreign institutions therefore was looked upon as a retrograde step for an Independent nation. What, one is prone to ask, has this much-advocated affiliation achieved for the older universities in Africa? Among other things, it has made them become mere images of their overseas benefactors, with practically the same curriculum, with no individuality of their own. Nsukka could not afford to be so reduced. It had to serve a new nation and the recipe was bound to be different. It had to cater for more people in a country where University education had hitherto been then monopoly of a privileged few. Its curriculum therefore had to be geared to the requirements of the new nation-state it was out to serve. It had to diversify its programme so as to meet the challenge of the hard felt needs of a growing African society. As harbingers of this great tradition of African education, we are not unmindful of the great responsibility thrusted upon our shoulders. As bearers of the Message of Nsukka, we know we have a mission. True to the motto of this University, the dignity of man, the African man, must be restored.(1)

Such a faith was as much or more a part of faculty as of student belief. A pamphlet by one of the University's first lecturer's in education, now its Dean of Students, illustrates clearly the link seen between education and cultural independences or liberation from the "colonial mentality."

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*A leading member of the college Faculty accounted for the success of innovation at the University of Nigeria by pointing out that "we were in a stage where experimentation was easy--we had just achieved independence. This made it possible to try things new in other domains than government."

(1) Onu, Peter Uchebuaku, pp. 77-79. Origins of the University of Nigeria, First Graduation Ceremonies, pp. 77-79.

Selecting as the theme of his pamphlet the assertion by the Premier of Eastern Nigeria that "Our Education System is Bad," Ukpaby proceeded to blame its "badness" on the colonial masters and to argue that the emerging thesis that political independence without intellectual independence was slavery still.

> The central theme in the whiteman's system that we now operate was knowledge for use in the interest of the master. At the back of all this was the desire and the intention to acculturate. The Nigerian was to be taught to read and write no matter what. He was to be "religious" and may remain filthy. Cleanliness as next to godliness was a mere expression to be recited. Do you wonder that the "educated" Nigerian buys a radio for as much as twenty pounds before he thinks, if ever, of buying a filter? Do you wonder that he changes his top clothes daily without changing his underwear for a whole week? These essentials were not necessary. The Nigerian was to be taught to wear trousers and shirts and coats and ties and shoes, all of which he bought from the merchant and wore to attend the whiteman's church, where he was told that his god was devil, and his sins as black as his own skin. All this was good enough in the sense that the educational system was planned to accomplish some specific objectives. To teach the colonial subject to think was to dig the graves of the masters. This is excusable because nobody is supposed to dig his own grave. The Nigerian was "educated" if he could spell, write and read, eat the whiteman's food, drink tea and coffee, and dress like a whiteman. If he could develop the kind of attitude that the colonial master had in regard to his father and mother ('stupid niggers') the Nigerian was highly 'education.' His parents' religion was superstition. He could prove it by quoting the whiteman, not by thinking it through. He had no part in thinking. In fact, he had no system of thought, whatever. He did not know and did not need to know his right from his left. If he was in difficulty, all he had to do was consult the whiteman who always had the 'right' answer. The Marine Officer who said to his Nigerian crew "use my senses not yours" was attesting to the aims of the colonial education.
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> This Marine Officer is still in Nigeria today, 'training' the Nigerian to take over from him. This whole attitude pervades our entire life. Before the Nigerian rustic, the Nigerian graduate is a whiteman who says to his 'illiterate' fellow Nigerians, "use my sense, not yours," Nigerians at the 'top' say to those at the 'bottom', "use our sense, not yours" and government by consultation is ridiculed as a sign of weakness. The

> Marine Officer did not need to tell us to use his sense, not ours. We know this already. It is the way we were brought up; and we are very good at not using our sense. The primary school pupil wants his teacher to TELL him what to do and how. The teacher himself wants his supervisor, manager or education officer to tell him what to do and how. The third-class clerk wants the second-class clerk to tell him what to do and how. The Nigerian Minister of State wants his expatriate Permanent Secretary to tell him what to do and how, and so on to the rumour that Lagos asks London what to do and how. You have both the anatomy and the physiology of the colonial mentality we talk about so much. The educational system we operate or that is being operated on our behalf strengthens this type of mentality.
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> The battle for political independence is won; but we remain conquered. The ideas and attitudes to ideas that the British left behind still enslave and blind us. We still find it difficult to see our problems and ourselves with our eyes clear and open. We see them through the cobwebs of colonial education. Until these cobwebs are removed, our educational system will continue to be bad. But the realization that the system is bad, is the first step to correcting it.*

Although many of the emerging Nigerian elite would have enthusiastically endorsed this type of analysis, they likewise felt strongly that the education they had received had been an education of "quality"; and like the neighboring French elites they were reluctant to leap to educational remedies which might in any way imply they were accepting an education au rabais. In short, the confrontation of a new demand for educational and cultural independence and an abiding confidence in the essential quality of the import from Britain created an uneasy ambivalance: the battlefield of new and old educational ideas was to be fought not only between Nigerians but within each Nigerian.

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*Ukpaby, E. N. The Eastern Nigeria Premier on Education. Enugu: Eastern Nigeria Printing Corporation (1965), pp 2-3, 5.

The significance of the new political environment for the direction in which education would develop is not exhausted by its corollaries of "education for development" or "education for a new mentality." Political forces in more familiar guise were likewise creating an environment which would inevitably shape or limit educational change. The slogan in 1960 was "One Nigeria," and as recently as 1965-66, when I again talked with Nigerians in all ranks of life, "tribalism" was being decried as the greatest national evil. (As if to prove their point, the same respondents who decried "tribalism" would often in the next breath append a "but" which ascribed uncomplimentary characteristics of those of one or another rival tribe.) In the first flush of independence and Nigerian nationalism, Ibo and Yoruba lecturers at the new University on their own initiative organized and taught evening courses in their respective languages to students from the opposite tribe, with great pride and enthusiasm.

But even by this time the devisive forces were crystalizing. In the period when the original University Of Nigeria law as passed the conception of a "national" university had been so strong in Azikiwe's mind that the governing council was to include representatives appointed by the Government of each region. By the time the University actually came into being, however, it came into being as a Regional ("state") Institution not only in the sense of being created by Eastern Nigerian law but also in the sense that even that law was not actually implemented, for it was already obvious that no Council appointed in part by Governments of other Regions would be acceptable to either Azikiwe or the Eastern Government, even should otherGovernments be willing to make the required appointments. The revised University of Nigeria Law in 1961 recognized the fact of political life and provided for a governing

Council appointed entirely by the Governor of the Eastern Region. With the exception of Dr. Elias, a Yoruba from the Federal District and a political associate of Azikiwe, the Council appointed in accordance with the new law included no member who was not of Eastern Nigerian origin; and legislation to create a rival Western Nigerian University at Ife was already on the books in Western Nigeria.

Meanwhile growing divisions along tribal lines marked Nigerian politics. Three major political parties dominated the scene at the point of independence: The Nigerian Peoples Congress (N.P.C.) was based in the North and dominated the government of that Region; the National Council for Nigeria and the Camerouns (N.C.N.C.) had its major support base in the East and controlled the Government of that Region: and the Action Group (A.G.) was based chiefly in the East and similarly dominated the Government of that Region. Although the N.C.N.C. and the Action Group had originally started as inter-tribal parties in southern Nigeria, political forces and strong personal rivalries (especially after the assurance of independence) pushed toward the identification of parties with Regions and tribes. Thus in the 1955 debates on the University of Nigeria Law in the Eastern House, major opposition to the University had come from the Action Group as Opposition; by the time of debate on Revision of the University of Nigeria Law in 1962, the Action Group was no longer strong enought to form even a nominal opposition in Eastern Nigeria, that role have been taken over by a loosely affiliated group of "Independents." Meanwhile, in the West, the N.C.N.C. had given way almost entirely to the Action Group; and when that party split into Awolowa and Akintola factions in 1962, remnants of the N.C.N.C. divided between the two rival Western parties. Concomitantly, by a policy of repressive measures and appeals to tribal loyalties and animosities, the Hausa-Fulani N.P.C. in the North

effectively suppressed its emergent opposition. Thus while the University of Nigeria was in a position to enlist ( ) students from the West out of ( ) at its opening in 1960, the percentage of students from that Region declined thereafter; and during the first two years of the University no "real" Northerner was admitted. As the legitimization and salary recognition to be given teaching qualifications rested upon joint agreement of all Regions, and as the Government and Ministry of at least the Western Region looked upon Nsukka as the political shenanigan of an opponent, its Faculty of Education was placed in a difficult and almost untenable position. It was not until the sharp break in 1962 between Akintola and Anwolowa, and the temporary alliance of Premier Akintola with the East, that the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, became ostensibly less unacceptable for a brief time in the West. When Akintola later shifted political alliances from East to North, the position of "real" Western students in the Faculty of Education again became dubious, protected as teachers were only by the receding line which had under British rule existed between professional and political decisions in the Ministries of Education. When, at the beginning of the 1966-1967 school year persons of non-Eastern origin were ordered to leave the Eastern Region, some four hundred students out of a total enrollment of about twenty eight hundred were affected, that is, approximately fifteen percent.

The significance of political forces in institutionalizing the university cannot be hold entirely in the interplay of politics <u>between</u> tribal groups, however. With the coming of independence, Dr. Azikiwe, who had created the University almost single-handedly, relinquished his position as head of the N.C.N.C. and as Premier of Eastern Nigeria to become Governor General (or later) President of Nigeria. He selected as his successor a young and

personally ambitious Easterner, Dr. M. I. Okpara, who had served in his cabinet. As new head of the N.C.N.C., and as Premier of Eastern Nigeria, Dr. Okpara soon revealed de facto albeit unpublicized independence; and much of the political history of the first five years of independence in Eastern Nigeria can be summarized in the shift of the mantle of power and esteem from Azikiwe to Okpara. The latters ability to lead the party to overwhelming success in the 1962 elections within the Region, in which Dr. Azikiwe as Governor General could not participate, strengthened the former's position; while Azikiwe's subsequent inability to do anything about either the Federal Census results or the Federal Election in December, 1964, (both of which enhanced Northern power especially at the expense of the East) occasioned his further eclipse among the political elite in Eastern Nigeria.

As President Azikiwe continued to view the University as his private creation, and as the first Vice Chancellor of the University continued to approach the Eastern Region Government almost exclusively through Azikiwe, the lines between the University and its effective political and economic base became dangerously frayed. Although no personal ill-will existed between Vice Chancellor Johnson and Dr. Okpara, and indeed a mutual respect may have developed, the same type of relationship did not exist at the next lower echelon of Administration. Mr. Chukwudebe, who had been accepted by Dr. Johnson as his right hand man and as his chief interpreter of the Nigerian scene, was anathema to Mr. Udoji, Chief Secretary of the Eastern Government. It was not really until the appointment of Dr. Taggart as new Vice Chancellor in 1964 that the University began a deliberate policy of cultivating good relations with the new Okpara power structure in Eastern Nigeria.

In a very real sense, the test of institutionalization of the University

in Eastern Nigeria was its ability to survive this sharp change in the political power structure from Azikiwe to Okpara. The final complete eclipse of the power of Dr. Azikiwe which came with the military coup in January, 1966, and the subsequent increase in the effective power of Mr. Udoji, were seen in reorganization of the University Council to remove supporters of Azikiwe, in the elimination of Azikiwe and Chukwudebe from University posts, and in the temporary freedom of the official Nigerian Outlook to publish criticism of the University and to raise questions about its academic integrity. On the other hand, the slaughter of the Ibo civilians in the North beginning in June, 1966 and the subsequent Hausa military coup in July-August, 1966, appeared certain to solidify Ibo sentifment in favour of a University which so clearly represented Ibo genius and Ibo achievement.

If politics was one force which impinged upon institutionalization, the drive for economic development was a second. That this force could not be divorced from political changes in a state relying largely upon state-sponsored or state-abetted development schemes is clear. Whatever the limitations of specific development policies may have been, the national and regional commitment to the concept of "economic development" was clear even before independence. Although both nation and Region engaged in building a fair share of prestige symbols--luxury hotels, ministerial mansions, and other public "monuments"--and although political considerattions frequently entered into development decisions, there was an underlying commitment both to economic development and to "the planning approach" in achieving it. Before independence the International Bank had published its Report on the Economic Development of Nigeria, and the Eastern Region had undertaken a further economic survey of its own. In 1962 each of the Regions, and the Federal

Government, published economic development plans. It was in keeping with these plans, and the manpower projections of Harbison and others, that educational policies were ostensibly developed, even though religious, political, or encrusted traditional resistance often operated to abort plans. The fact that there was this conscious "planning" approach to economic development, and the fact that the university claimed its programs were designed explicitly in terms of "manpower needs" embodied in plans, gave programs visibility and at the same time rendered them liable to support or criticism on grounds quite different from those which had previously been used to judge university programs. Simultaneously the discovery that the oil potential of Eastern Nigeria was far greater than previously believed, and the rapid movement of oil companies to exploit this potential, further enhanced Ibo self-confidence and independence.

The national and regional comitment to planned economic development was quickly translated on paper into its educational corrolaries. The first of these, in keeping the Harbison and Ashby recommendations, was that a vast expansion of secondary education was needed if the high-level and middle-level manpower which would be required as Nigeria "leaped" forward into modernity was to be available. In Eastern Nigeria, where Dr. Okpara realistically recognized the importance of agriculture (which accounted for 80% of Nigeria's exports), agricultural development became a major plank in the educational and social platform, revealing itself in farm settlement schemes, a requirement that secondary schools introduce agriculture into their curricula, and publicity revealing the premier himself working his agricultural plots. A second educational corollary was seen to be a vastly increased emphasis on science. Speaking at a University convocation, Dr.

Okpara stated openly that Government intended in the future to limit its scholarship support exclusively to students in science and agriculture. Immediately after independence, the Minister of Education visited India in a quest for science teachers; and early the next year in addressing the Nigeria Union of Teachers argued that emphasis in education must be changed "above all, to scientific education . . .if we are not to be left behind in the race to improve the standard of living of our people," underscoring his position by announcing Government's decision to devote £ 648,000 to improve scientific teaching in secondary schools.

A shift in Ministers of Education in no way affected the emphasis on science and a new policy was announced providing a special annual bonus of over one hundred pounds to science teachers in secondary schools. [redacted] A new dimension to this emphasis was revealed by the decision of Government "to introduce primary school children to the world of science as a necessary step to a systematic and resolute study of science" which would be necessary if Nigeria were to "catch up with the advanced countries of the world." The third educational corrollary of economic development was to be an increased emphasis on <u>technical education</u>, an emphasis which merited one of the two priority positions in the Economic Development Program of Eastern Nigeria and which is discussed in some detail below pp. These latter emphases were continued when the new military government took control in January, 1966, and the <u>Nigerian Outlook</u> probably reflected majority opinion when it commented editorially on both the need for technical education and the frustrations facing those who were technically educated under the title <u>Technical Education</u>*.

> It is natural that with the growing industrialisation of the country which is now recieving a new impetus under the new Military regime, emphasis on education will shift to technological and scientific education and manpower needs.
>
> For the enterprising forward-looking student the present offers tremendous opportunity which he will do well to seize. The new Military regime recognizes the fact that the future of Nigeria rests on rapid industrialisation which in turn depends on the technical man-power it will have in the next ten years. In this connection it is committed to a policy of encouraging pursuit of technical education among young Nigerians by its decision to increase the number of scholarships for Science and Technology in this and subsequent years.
>
> This is a measure of its determination to match word with action. It is also an encouragement to existing trained technical man-power and an inspiration to prospective Engineers, electrical workers etc.
>
> But what was singularly lacking in Government encouragement before and which the new regime should uphold is realism. We cannot talk our young people into taking an interest in this difficult field of education while sustaining conditions that inevitably lead to the frustration of those who have come out of training. There is hardly any difference between the prospects for promotion of men with technological education and others. If anything the latter have better prospects.
>
> Furthermore, the higher cadre of Nigerian Engineers, for instance, have hardly any experience in the field, since they are not as constantly utilised as they naturally would wish: no where else has the reliance on foreign personnel and so called experts brought so much frustration among their Nigerian colleagues.
>
> We call for a new approach to technological and scientific education and our man-power needs, which will give encouragement both to students and to the men on the job.

The situation here described reflected a further fundamental ambivalence among Nigerians: a belief in the necessity of technical education and yet a faith inherited from the British that Honour degrees in Arts were the real hall mark of the leader in all fields of endeavor. Despite this ambivalence it is not surprising that all but ten of the Nigerian principals interviewed in the course of this study looked to an increased emphasis on science, technical education, practical education or agricultural education during the years immediately ahead and that all individuals in the such "status positions" as Zonal Inspector, Education Secretaries or president of a professional education association anticipated the same shift.

A further social force destined to affect a College of Education was religion.

Although many Nigerians unquestionably maintained a dual loyalty to traditional beliefs and to Christianity, it was the latter which promised access to the advantages of the emerging society through the medium of Church Schools. The strong religious propensities of the Eastern Nigerians, and the educational ladder to social mobility and economic advancement which church-run schools provided, made the Churches political and educational forces to be reckoned with. Although many denominations existed in Eastern Nigeria, the Catholic Church was clearly dominant in the Region, numbering among its adherents almost two thirds of the acknowledged Christains.

As in many other lands, the most common meeting ground of the Church and Secular State was education. At the point of Independence, Catholic secondary schools were run almost entirely by Irish fathers or European or American sisters. These had established a reputation for providing quality education in the conventional or familiar academic vein. The reputation of the Irish fathers, and the political strength of the Church had, therefore, led some County Councils or communities to entrust the running of their "public" schools to the Church as well. Thus a powerful and academically conservative institution stood as the central pillar of the educational edifice. The church had, however, established a seminary system and young Nigerians were being trained in Divinity and for religious endeavor; and a noticeable but gradual current in post-independence Church history was the transfer of education from the hands of the Irish fathers into the hands of Nigerians, trained either for religious office through seminaries and divinity schools or, far more occasionally, for education. Already serious cleavages between clergy and Nigerian lay teachers were beginning to reveal themselves in secondary schools, and the Catholic Church was not immune from charges by teachers and others of using its state grants

for other than strictly educational purposes. By the time of independence, the Church and the Ministry seemed set on collision course, courses which promised to involve a College concerned as it was with the "reconstruction" of Nigerian education. (See below pp. and pp.).

A final social force which cannot be overlooked in any consideration of the institutionalization of an educational program is demographic. Nigeria prided itself on being the most populous nation in Black Africa. The full extent to this claim was not to become apparant until the census of 1962, however, when the official population figures revealed a rise in population from 35 million in 1935 to 55 million in 1962. Although both political considerations in census taking and practical considerations in census counting had no doubt exaggerated the population explosion, it was unquestionably true that the Nigerians' proclivity for procreation was a major economic and social factor to be reckoned with; and that economic and social reckonings of educational programs would have to take into account (1) a population in which a fantastically high percentage of the people were in the period of preparation for economic production rather than in actual economic production, and in which (2) the rate of growth of the G.N.P. would have to be extremely rapid to keep ahead of population growth if the aspirations of the people for the amelioration of their material well-being was to be in any way realized. The fact that these figures would inevitably raise a series of problems concerning the shape of the educational pyramid, the remuneration which could realistically be offered to teachers, and the economic market for the "educational output" at the end of each level of schooling posed institutionalization questions for a program of teacher preparation, questions which could be foreseen but not assessed at the time of this study. Already, however, there was a growing sense of unease and disenchantment with what existed, a disenchantment which could not fail to provide a latent force favoring innovation.

The Educational Picture

If underlying social forces would ultimately determine the viability of educational innovations, it was the educational system and the educational establishment which were most immediate in time and position to institutionalizing changes attempted by the College of Education. In almost all of the developing nations the granting of independence has been followed by three strong movements in education: (1) rapid expansion of education, (2) an attempt at curriculum reform (especially in the directions of building it upon local culture and of giving it a "practical" bias) and (3) increased secular control:* Each of these is playing its part in Nigeria, and particularly in Eastern Nigeria, although the time sequence with respect to independence was somewhat unique in that rapid expansion had in fact preceded full independence.

The first point about the educational system to be noted is that there had grown up in Nigeria a terrific demand for university education. This demand existed at both ends of the university: there was demand by students to enter the university, and there was an increasing demand for university graduates, a demand which was of course exaggerated or distorted in the period immediately before and after independence when expatriate personnel were being replaced in government service by Nigerians.

The pressure which was building up underneath the universities can be gathered from any of a number of statistics. When West Africa, using the judgements of such educational conservatives as Arikpo and Esua, argued in a 1955 exchange against the need for a new university in Nigeria, Fafunwa's reply to their position was based on such a pressure analysis:

*Coleman, James S. Education and Political

> Some 6,000 Nigerians complete secondary education annually and at least half that number are capable of pursuing university education. Ibadan admits an annual average of 100, leaving some 2,800 potential graduates unprovided for (Note: some were likewise accepted at the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology). . . .
>
> With the rapid development of secondary education in Nigeria, the two schools will be unable to cope with the demand for higher education and a large number of qualified students will continue t 3o abroad for their education.
>
> There are 3,500 Nigerian students abroad today as compared with 400 at Ibadan, and possibly the same number at Nigerian College. As long as two-thirds of our students seek higher education abroad because our facilities are too limited, so long will there continue to be need for either expanding our present facilities or establishing more colleges. . . .

Ukeje in replying to the same estimate pointed out that in 1954, 2,468 boys and girls entered for the Cambridge School Certificate examination in Nigeria, and 1,844 passed, and then went on to comment:

> Consider for a moment, in this present day and age, a single University, nay! a university college for that matter, of approximately 400 students population for a country of 32 million and on the verge of political freedom! Consider further the stunning fact that this institution has no faculties of engineering and economics, but it has a faculty of theology! *

The pressures below th4 university level which were already apparent in 1954 were to mount explosively in the next five years as Ghana gained independence, as Nigeria gained increasing home rule, and as the ultimate date for independence was set, approached, and finally passed. Educational systems which had been geared reasonably well to meet the needs of the tutorial powers, were judged woefully inadequate by the new nation. To "national" concerns were added the "personal" concerns of tens of thousands of Nigerian holders of the Cambridge School Certificate or the General Certificate of

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* It should be noted that the Cook-Hannah-Taggart Report urged a second school of Theology as one of the first priorities at Nsukka!

Education, Ordinary and Advanced levels. Some notion of pressures can be gained from the following statistics on secondary school expansion, expansion which was beginning to occur helter-skelter despite the efforts of education officiers to maintain reasonable standards in the opening of new schools:

TABLE A

EDUCATIONAL ESPANSION IN EASTERN NIGERIA

Year	Approved Secondary Schools		Successes in the West African School Certificate
	Eastern Nigeria Schools (Students)	All Regions of Nigeria Schools (Students)	
1957	68(12,242)	- - - -	1122
1958	82(13,960)	- - - -	1182
1959	106(19,231)	718(115,586)	- - -
1960	113(22,137)	883(135,434)	1602
1961	148(25,908)	997(168,238)	1848
1962	207(32,712)	1156(195,999)	1892
1963	231(39,938)	1245(211,879)	3042

Even as one considers the pressure which had built up under the university system, one must also examine the sharp gradations in the salary structures within the economy. Those in the educational establishment are most relevant to the study at hand. All teachers in Nigeria were placed on strict salary schedules in accordance with the paper qualifications they held. Most students, and especially secondary school students, had been supported in school as a "good investment" by their parents, their village, or some kinship sponsor. The ability of the candidate to repay this investment, with appropriate "interest", depended upon his success in securing employment at a level which would enable him to repay the debt through the education of others ("brothers" or village protegés), loans, girfts, houses for parents,

and support of family or village projects. The starting points on the scale, and the points which could be reached after 16 years of service are indicative of the financial reward which awaited the student who went on to the university, even if he remained in the relatively poorly remunerated profession of teaching were as follows. (1960 scales used)*

Table B Salary Schedule	Beginning Salary	16 year Pt.
Grade II teacher (Four years of Teacher Training School following Primary Schoo.)	L 180 p.a.	L 385
Pivotal Teacher (Secondary School plus two years of Teacher Training)	L 228 p.a	L 450
University Graduate without Professional Qualification	L 690 p.a.	L 1422
University Graduate with Professional Qualification	L 762 p.a.	L 1584

It is small wonder that there was tremendous demand for university schooling not only from the immediate recipient but from those who had invested their earnings in his education and stood to profit by an enchancement in his salary. (The average annual per capita income in Nigeria is £ 30) As originally envisaged, the University of Nigeria Education degree program--even if the individual remained in the Eastern Region rather than moving into higher paid Federal District or even if he entered a Church School rather than receiving employment in the better paid government schools - promised to reward four years of university training by an annual salary three times that which he would be earning if he had merely continued teaching. The doctrine and program of the University of Nigeria were specifically designed to capitalize upon (or serve as a release for) this explosive force.

If social pressures were rapidly building up to provide further educational opportunities for the mounting numbers of secondary school leavers and for thousands of independent students who had secured paper qualifications through correspondence courses offered by British colleges, both social and individual pressures were likewise mounting for an increased output of univer sity graduates. The rapid expansion of secondary schools called for an equally rapid expansion of secondary school staff to teach the expanding number of students. In Nigeria and Ghana the educational system was second only to the construction industry as an employment market. The desire to establish schools was motivated by both social considerations and profit. Increasingly secondary schools were being opened by private proprietors. Such schools were often enormously profitable institutions. Politically they also served the proprietor either as a base from which to engage in political activity or as an indication to constituents of the benefits which the (politician) proprietor was bringing to his area. While the best of the proprietors turned profits back into impriving or expanding school facilities, this was far from a uniform pattern. Others pocketed the profits.

This expansion of school facilities which was occasioned by development plans, private and religious motivations, and community pride, was governed or limited to some extent by the Ministry of Education. In order to open a secondary school and ultimately be eligible for the government grants (which alone made the schools profitable), at least one university graduate teacher had to be provided for each ninety students. There were consequently financial benefits to be derived if one could secure the required minimum of graduate teachers to start a school. This created a strong demand situation

to which must be added whatever professional or religious considerations which governed the proprietors and managers of schools. Although it would be unrealistic to consider a staff composed completely of graduates as the economic optimum in Nigeria, the downward distortion which could occur can be roughly estimated from the 1961 Annual Report of the Ministry of Education in Eastern Nigeria. That year, out of a total of 1,247 teachers in secondary grammar schools, there were 521 graduate teachers, of whom 299 (overhalf) were expatriate. Although the Peace Corps was in part to fill the gap created by the departure of other foreigners, the further expansion of secondary schools (both in terms of number of schools and in terms of number of "streams" per school) required securing more graduates. Thus particularistic motives, such as profit or propagation of the faith, demanded either the increased production of graduate teachers or a reduction in the number of qualified staff required to open schools or to recieve grants in aid.

THE ASHBY REPORT

Writing on the development of the University of the North, Anthony Kirk Greene comments at one point "Then came Ashby"-- a sentence with which educational historians already demarcate the 1960 watershed in the growth of Nigerian education."* It would be difficult to over emphasize the significant of the Report of the Commission on Post Secondary and Higher Education (Investment in Education) not only because of its specific recommendations and the influence they had on subsequent educational practices in Nigeria, but even more importantly because theapproach taken by the Commission in facing its task represented a distinct breakthrough in educational thinking. In examining the composition of the Commission (three Nigerians, three British, and three

* Kirk-Green, Anthony "University for the North," West African Review Sept., 1961, p. 34.

Americans under the chairmanship of Sir Eric Ashby of Clare College, Cambridge) and its approach to its task, the leading British authority on Nigerian education has pointed to several implications of the Commission's work which arise quite apart from its specific recommendations. As these considerations were inevitably to have enormous influence on the institutionalization of the University of Nigeria and the types of programs in professional education which were initiated there, his analysis merits specific mention:

> The international character of the membership of the Commission was significant in that it indicated a change that had taken place in the attitude of the people of Nigeria. Whilst recognizing the special contribution that had been made by the British to the development of education, as an independent country, Nigeria's leaders recognized that educational experience other than British could be of value to them.
>
> . . . .much more important was the approach of the Commission to their brief . . . .the Ashby Commission approached their task within the context of the whole education system but they set the system itself within a new framework of emphasizing the importance of taking into consideration that "consumer needs" for manpower and by insisting that education should be examined in relation to the aspirations of the nation for rapid social and economic progress.
>
> . . . . the Commission (made) explicit a general complete change in attitude toward the financing of education. To view 'that expenditure on education should be limited to what could be afforded out of current resources, a view which had dominated the financial policy throughout the period of colonial tutleage, except for the "priming the pump" policy of the Colonial Welfare and Development Acts, was therefore replaced by a view that expenditure on education was in fact investment,a view which gave rise to the title of the report, Investment in Education* ([redacted])

To these may be added one additional implication: namely, that the Report stressed a way of focussing educational aspirations so that targets and priorities could in fact be set, and rationales for these developed from a common base.

* Lewis, L.J., Society, Schools and Progress in Nigeria, pp 51-52.

The broader social demand considerations operating in Nigeria are indicated with considerable specificity and great lucidity in the Report itself, but they were suitably summarized by the Federal Government of Nigeria in a White Paper which accepted the Report in principle:

> In March, 1959, the Federal Ministry of Education, after consultation with the three Regional Governments, appointed a Commission consisting of Nigerian United States, and British members, under the chairmanship of Sir Eric Ashby to conduct an investigation into Nigeria's needs in the field of Post-School Certificate and Higher Education over the next twenty years. . . .
>
> The Commissions Report rests on three foundations: their conception of Nigeria in 1980; a study by Professor Harbison of Nigeria's needs in 1970 for high-level man-power, and their estimates on the present capacity of the educational system. Unanimously rejecting a cautious approach to their task, whereby the educational system might be improved within the limits of budget, the Commission deliberately chose the path of boldness. They set put to imagine the Nigeria of 1980 - - a nation of 50 million people, a giant in Africa, a voice to command attention in world affairs, and a people playing their part in a technological civilization. Their proposals are made to this and are, in the Commission's own words, "massive, unconventional and expensive."
>
> The Ashby Commission's Report covers wider ground than is indicated by the terms of reference. In order to assess Nigeria's needs for Post School Certificate and Higher Education, the Commission found it necessary to estimate in broad outline the number of pupils and teachers in primary and secondary grammer schools up to 1970; and they also made recommendations covering various stages and types of technical education . . . .
>
> In order to provide a flow of recruits for post-secondary education the secondary school intake should be increased from the level of 12,000 (1958) to over 30,000. . . .
>
> The Commission found that something like nine-tenths of primary school teachers and over half the secondary school teachers are insufficiently trained. By 1970 the staff for secondary schools, technical institutes and teacher training colleges should be half graduate: the remainder would be well-qualified non-graduates.* . . .

Harbison's manpower study, upon which the report was based, estimated that between 1960 and 1970 in Southern Nigeria the net increase in the number of

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* Educational Development, 1961-1970, pp. 1-2.

graduate teachers needed for secondary, technical, and teacher training schools would be 3,700 (an additional 1,600 would be needed in Northern Nigeria) and that in addition to these it would be necessary to add a Replecement factor of 2,100 (an additiona 1,000 in Northern Nigeria), suggesting a total demand for 5,800 graduate teachers. In addition to these, a category of intermediate Qualified Non-Graduate teachers was proposed, of which 3,300 would be required in Southern Nigeria alone. Furthermore, these quotas would have to be filled in the face of competition for personnel arising from expanding commercial and industrial activity. In 1977, for the Federation of Nigeria as a whole, only 31% of the teachers in Secondary Grammar Schools and only 18% of the teachers employed in Teacher Training Colleges were university graduates.

The picture was further complicated by the fact that operating in this kind of a seller's market, the graduate with his services to sell could reveal a cavalier disinterest in the schools that employed him and in their students. This disinterest revealed itself in what principals and proprietors referred to as an "unprofessional attitute" toward teaching and in the rapid turnover of teachers as they moved either to schools which allowed them to enjoy "city life" or to more highly remunerated non-teaching employment. The principal of a well-respected grammar school in Enugu reported during the survey conducted in connection with this study that of the 28 teachers he had started the school year with in January, 1965, only seven remained in school by November.

In addition to setting targets for the number of graduate and "well qualified non-graduate" teachers needed, the Ashby Commission recommended a program of University vacation courses for a minimum of three thousand teachers per year. In order to upgrade teaching in the primary schools (especially the

teaching of English),longer vacation courses were recommended for secondary school teachers.

The year the Report of the Commission was published, University College, Ibadan, the only "University" in Nigeria, enrolled a total of 1,136 residential students in all fields. It was against a background of these projections, production limitations, and pressures that the University of Nigeria with its more "open" or flexible admission policy was inaugurated. (For an understanding of the role of the Ashby Report in legitimizing specific education innovations, see below pp. 403-9)

The acceptance of the Ashby Report by the Government of Nigeria,(which in accepting it actually increased the target figures it had proposed) indica ted the tremendous faith in education which had developed in Souther Nigeria. Despite the faith in education, a faith which led to allocating over forty percent of Eastern Nigeria's budget to education, morale in the schools and among teachers was declining and scepticism among parents as to the investment value of education was beginning to reveal itself. The dissatisfaction with the educational system among teachers was revealed clearly in the Report of the Conference on the Review of the Education System in Eastern Nigeria, (1962). The Conference noted in its letter of transmittal that "The popularity of the subject may take this Report beyond the walls of the Ministry and we therefore have thought it necessary to open with a chapter . . . . setting out the major causes of disconctent . . . ." Substantively the report began as follows:

> The one popular topic of conversation is education. From the clerk on his office desk to the peasant on his way to his farm the eternal subject of discussion is education - - its shifting sands, its burden, its inadequacy to mould the present youths into decent men and women -- and so on.
>
> Neither Government nor people are satisfied with the mounting cost. In fact, we are in great danger of facing a possible era of setting-back from the universal popularity of, and belief in, education to a scepticism as to its value and doubt as to whether it justifies the value set on it and the sacrifice it entails.

The catalogue of the ills besetting education which the Conference set forth gives a sense of the mounting frustration, and of the interrelatedness of economic and social ills as the promise of universal, free primary education first made in the 1950's had gradually become a mockery:

> Expansion in the era immediately preceeding the Universal Primary Education decrees and after was due largely to --
> (a) Inter-village rivalries, particularly in the matter of full primary schools. . . .
> (b) The fanning of this rivalry by inter-denominational scramble for schools with religious expansion as background motive.
> (c) Introduction of Universal Primary Education which gave the impression that part, at least, of the aim was to combat indiscriminate establishment of schools on denominational lines. But, unfortunately, the Universal Primary Education schools made the confusion worse confounded as they created two or three uneconomic school units where one or two existed before. . . . With the introduction of Universal Primary Education the distinction between aided and non-aided schools virtually disappeared and the floodgates of expansion were thrown open. Finally, the inexperience of most Country Councils in school management and administration, worsened by the corruption of some of their Education Committees, has dragged the name of Universal Primary Education into the mud . . . .
>
> Village and denominational rivalry in the matter of opening schools has made nonsense of the formula of social usefulness . . . .It is a safe guess to say that the community and Government spent no less than 11 million on primary education in 1961. . . . Community after community has farmed out its palmbush for Assumed Local Contribution and has reached the limit of its resources. . . . Teachers in Voluntary Agency schools

> are being retrenched in their hundreds, and thousands of school children in Standards V and VI are roaming the streets for inability to produce individually or through their communities the high level of Assumed Local Contribution called for. . . .

Arguing for a reorganization in terms of efficiency and economy, the the Conference hoped

> The eternal nightmare of insecurity of tenure that haunts teachers would disappear as a result and the Christmas message of "glad tidings of great job" would recapture its meaning for teachers' families many of whose heads have for years now had to face Christmas without November or December salary or any hope for their job in January.

Pointing out what had happened as the original hope of abolishing fees proved over-ambitious, the Conference pointed to the reintroduction of fees which meant to the community; even after the number of school years had been cut:

> The present rates are 150 per annum for each of the Standards III and IV and 240 per annum for each of the Standards V and VI with disastrous results of exodus of pupils, closure of schools, and retrenchment of teachers which are taking place even as this conference is sitting.

Finally, the Conference pointed to the inevitable inefficiency of being "faced with a large army of teachers, unspirited and disillusioned, almost cursing their star that they ever were teachers."* There is every reason to believe the Conference report was accurately reflecting a general malaise affecting more and more of the people.

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*. The teaching profession, earlier esteemed and relatively well-renumerated among professions open to Africans, had suffered a rapid eclipse in prestige. Low salaries relative to other salaried "white-collar" workers, undesirable working conditions, and a general decline in reputation had to lead to a situation where, for wxample, a popular epithet of derision among the Ibos was the expression nwa-teachers, implying that a project or action was the quality associated with teachers. This general disdain of teachers and their lot posed an additional problem for institutionalizing a Faculty of Education.

The low esteem in which even secondary school teaching was [redacted] posed one of the most difficult tasks for the institutionalization of a university college of education, for the disesteem in which the profession was held largely determined who would enter a college of education, how students would view themselves and their programme once having entered, and the respect the College and its students could command from others in the University. An overwhelming portion of the Education graduates interviewed during this study considered that at the University they had been looked down upon. There were to be sure many factors that accounted for this: "we were viewed as intruders in other fields," "we were thought to be old man and unfashionable", "our course didn't allow us to participate in social activities", "we were viewed as jacks-of-all trades and pursued by the ghost of specialization", One of the saddest commentaries, and one of the commentaries which most clearly set the task facing anyone who wished to institutionalize a program in Education, was that they recognized they were demeaned by virtue of the profession they had chosen. Their own comments on how they were viewed as university students reflects clearly the status of teaching in Nigeria.

> We were viewed as inferior at first with the connotation of low status associated with teachers.
>
> * * * *
>
> We were viewed as poeple doomed to teaching all their lives . . . they think we cannot get employed elsewhere except in teaching.
>
> * * * *
>
> Many students looked down on us. This is sometimes because the profession is looked down upon by the public.
>
> * * * *

Other students tended to look down on Education students because they are already designated as teachers. This was an attitude they brought with them from outside the University where teachers are not often very highly regarded.

* * * * *

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.

* * * * *

Education students were never held in high esteem by other University students. Not because they are unintelligent, or couldn't hold their own, but because they were trained for the teaching profession which is considered as the least financially rewarding profession.

* * * * *

At the inception of the University, Education students were . . . despised by other students just as other teachers in the field are despised by the Civil Servants.

* * * * *

Teaching has never been looked upon as respectable.

* * * * *

I believe Education students are despised by other students in the University because they feel that whoever does Education is exclusively being prepared for the teaching profession which many students dislike.

* * * * *

Some students look down upon Education students with the same contempt the teacher is looked upon in the field.

* * * * *

Education students are looked down upon. Part of this attitude stems from the traditional look-down on teachers. Part arises from lack of self-confidence in the Education students themselves. They are conscious of being looked down upon and so are either not free or bad mixers.

* * * * *

> (A woman student) "Education students were regarded as academic inferiors and as the most narrow-minded and unfashionable group of students on the campus. These views no doubt arose from the same way teachers are viewed in Nigeria by people in other professions.
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> * * * * *
>
> Education students are viewed as old men who are not capable of doing other subjects. They feel that they are people filled with antiquated ideas. They view them this wise because the term teaching is attached to their courses and they are not better paid after their courses.
>
> * * * * *

The judgements of the Education students as to how they were viewed by others is supported by the small sample of respondents who had taken their work in the arts and sciences but were teaching after graduation, one may imagine often by necessity rather than choice. At least five out of a small sample of twenty such graduates indicated that the low prestige of teaching was a major reason the students in the College of Education were not respected, other reasons advanced being their age, their poorer initial entry qualifications, their seriousness in application to their studies to the exclusion of social life, and their shabiness of attire.

Typical comments by graduates of other departments concerning the education students confirm the perceptions of the latter:

> "Those old headmasters, they work hard." (Referring to the Education students.)
>
> * * * * *
>
> I Had to settle a dispute started by some rascally boys who were snubbing and criticizing Education students because they thought they were too old. . . By 1964 cooperation was much greater. This was because there had been clarification of the nature of their course; people understood they were not coming only to learn "METHOD"- ("Method" being looked down on in Nigeria and associated with the Teacher Training College).
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> * * * * *

"I don't think they compared favourably with other students. Why? Many people look upon education as unimportant compared with other professions."

* * * * *

"Students still look down on teaching as a low job. Hence the students in Education are looked down upon -- rightly or wrongly."

* * * * *

Half of these students who had in fact ended up in teaching despite taking degrees in arts or science, indicated that they would advise a younger brother who wished to go into teaching not to do so. Such comments as the following concerning the advice and help they would give reflect their desdain for the vocation:

" To be frank, I would advise him "never, my son" to take up teaching as a profession, unless things change in condition of service."

* * :* * *

"Teaching is never to be the first choice of his. He will choose a more professional course, eg. Accountancy or Engineering."

* * * * *

"I wouldn't encourage him to pursue this vocation because of the condition of salary. It is poor, very poor compared with other vocations."

* * * * *

The students in Education had accurately assessed and perhaps even magnified this feeling; but fortunately among many of them it appeared to bring about a cohesiveness and loyalty to their program and their profession.

During the first five years after independence, the percentage of proffesionnaly trained primary school teachers increased albeit at the cost of dismissing many persons who had made a lifetime of teaching; but the promise of secure wages remained illusory as voluntary agencies and Country Council

education committees frequently found other uses for the funds granted to or secured for schools. This culminated in periodic strikes against the various Voluntary Agencies and County Councils and ultimately in a mass teachers strike and the decision of the government in 1965 to change policy and place primary schools under the supervision of district school boards.

Some suggestion of the important role of organized religion in Eastern Nigeria has already been given, but no description of the educational situation in Eastern Nigeria would serve without more specific attention to the role of Christian churches in that education and to the mounting stresses between Government and teachers on the one hand, and Churches or "Voluntary agencies" on the other. Education had largely developed under church auspices and was carried on by churches with government subvention. In a period when Government wished to allocate funds so as to maximize economic development, education became a potential battle ground between secular and religious authority. The attempts of the Ministry of Education to develop an economically rational and coordinated system of education ran contrary to the evangelical purposes of the churches. The concerns expressed in the Ikoku Conference report which had referred to the "inter-denominational scramble for schools with religious expansion as background motive" were under-scored time and again in the years immediately after independence. Efforts at coordinated planning got as far as the policy level but selfom were put into actual operation because of strong church opposition. Although the Protestant denominations had divided Eastern Nigeria into Zones to be operated by separate churches, and although steps toward a unified Protestant church of Nigeria were moving

forward during the time under consideration, rivalry between Catholics, Protestants, and County Councils continued unabated in education. One informant in the Ministry told me how he had been called to a local community which had a viable community school with full classes in order to help divide that school into three parts at the insistance of the Missions. What had been one economically feasible school he was now asked to break into three uneconomical schools: One Protestant, one Catholic, and one County Council. The classrooms were divided, the furniture was divided, the playing fields were divided, and finally he was asked to divide even the latrines. The recommendation of the Ikoku Conference calling for school amalgamation was not signed by Father Jordon, Education Secretary for the Catholic Church, which felt that Council schools had not given adequate safeguards for the religious liberty of Catholic children.

Under Dr. Imoke, the Minister of Education who took over the portfolio in 1962, serious efforts were made to deal with the conflict between secular and religious concerns. First, the divisive effects of religious instruction in the schools were to be dealt with by a common religious syllabus in the primary schools, a proposal which was accepted only with major reservations by Protestants and came under serious fire from the Catholic Church. Archbishop Heerey, writing for the Catholic Bishops of Eastern Nigeria, warned

> "We consider it our duty to state categorically that we cannot accept a common syllabus. We propose instead that the Catholic Church and the Christian Council of Churches should submit a syllabus suitable to the faith of the children. Secondly, we state that five periods of doctrine a week are necessary to graduate the Christian formation of our children."

Imoke remained insistent upon both some common religious instruction and rational coordination and consolidation of schools. Arguing before the

Eastern House in favour of his policy, he insisted it was the duty of the Region to see that "our children are brought up in the right spirit of unity and cooperation and that our resources for education are put to the best economic advantage," stressing as he did so that past practice had placed an undue burden on communities. The latter point he illustrated from the experience in Port Harcourt:

> Early this year, I heard of protests and demonstrations by Port Harcourt Catholic women complaining that their children had no school place in the municipality. The Provincial Commissioner, Port Harcourt, got in touch with me and I promptly ordered the Municipal Council to provide whatever additional accommodation was necessary. To ascertain the actual needs, registration centers were opened for children to be registered. The Press spoke of over 2000 Catholic mothers portesting, but only 230 children as far as I know, actually registered! What is more, while Catholic mothers were staging protest marches, headmasters of a number of schools in Port Harcourt were complaining of lack of pupils to fill all places."

Thus, while the Catholic Church was vigorously maintaining its right to operate its own schools with public subvention, and appears even to have encouraged protest marches by parents in support of its position, the Ministry was equally adament in insisting upon a measure of coordination and public control in order to promote unity and to provide for a minimum of economic efficiency in school operation. The plight of mission school teachers, who frequently went months without pay despite the government subvention, created a situation which pitted most teachers in parochial schools against the missions they were working for and served to ally the Nigeria Union of Teachers with the Ministry on this vital problem. The implications of such a situation were potentially enormous for institutionalizing a university college of education, in which (1) the senior faculty members were committed

to a concept of community or public education, (2) they were further committed to the responsibility of the University to play an active role in reconstructing Nigerian education, (3) the Dean of the Faculty was a Moslem in a Christian region, and (4) a majority of graduates in education would necessarily return to mission schools to serve as teachers or principals. As the Ministry of Education was also looking for "allies" or front men in pushing a politically dangerous policy, the possibilities of a nexus of relationships developing between University and Ministry was enhanced even as relationships between University and Churches were endangered.

The Ibo Culture Pattern

An important ingredient in the environment into which the university was introduced, and an ingredient which it would be difficult to overstress, is the character of the dominant tribal group in that area: the Ibo. One of the Americans most heavily involved in the development of the University attributed its success in becoming established to its place as a unique manifestation of the Ibo genius and the Ibo's self-image--as their proof to themselves and the world that whatever anyone else could accomplish, the Ibo could likewise accomplish. It is customary to stereotype traditional African societies as being resistant to change. In the case of the Ibo, this is an inapt stereotype; and success in institutionalizing the University as an organization incorporating innovations must be understood partly in terms of Ibo receptivity to change.

The Ibo refers to himself in language, or with adjectives, which learly indicate that he is change-prone: Ibos are, in their own eyes, as well as those of others, dynamic, "pushful" (a compliment, not an epithet), the "go-ahead people." Smythe, who has examined the new elites of Nigeria carefully, comments that "among them (Ibos) it is said the "go-getter" is admired, 'the man who has wives and children and who bestirs himself and makes money . . . A man who just sits is not respected." This is a judgment in which other students of Nigeria such as Green and Coleman appear to concur.

The characteristics of Ibo culture which are particularly relevant to the acceptance of the new university as an innovative organization are not hard to locate, although there may be greater difficulty in accounting for them fully. The Ottenbergs, who have made perhaps the most careful study of Ibo culture, note several characteristics which are relevant:

> "If we examine the traditional culture more closely, we see that there are elements of social behavior which help to explain the tendancy toward change. The Ibo are a highly individualistic people. While a man is dependent on his family, lineage, and residential grouping for support and backing, strong emphasis is placed on his ability to make his own way in the world. The son of a prominent politician has a head start over other men in the community, but he must validate this by his own abilities. While seniority in age is an asset in secular leadership, personal qualities are also important. A secular leader must be aggressive.
>
> The possibilities of enhancing status and prestige are open to vitually all individuals except decendants of certain types of slaves and are not restricted to members of particular lineages, clans, or other social units. Ibo society is thus, in a sense, an "open" society in which positions of prestige, authority and leadership are largely achieved. . . .
>
> The high population density of parts of Ibo country undoubtedly is a basic factor in . . . mobility today and probably was in the past as well . . . It effects seem to be physical mobility, particularly by younger family members, and adaptation to change.
>
> Ibo culture can thus be characterized by its emphasis on individual' achievement and initiative, alternative prestige goals and paths of action, a tendency toward equalitarian leadership, considerable incorporation of other peoples and cultures, a great deal of settlement and resettlement of individuals and small groups, and considerable cultural variation. . . The "flexibility" in Ibo culture does not lie in any structural weakness in . . . groups but in individual's ability to work through and across them to achieve desired goals and in their freedom to select alternative activities.*

The achievement orientation of the Ibo has other consequences, which reveal themselves through the socialization process even with young children. If the Ibo of a new generation is expected to make his own way, or as a

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* Ottenburg, Simon and Phoebe, "Ibo Receptivity to Change," in Bascom and Herskovitz, Continuity and Change in African Cultures.

minimum to validate by individual achievement the social position he has inherited, the socialization process must engender the qualities which provide for this. In the judgement of the same scholars,

> Children are at an early age encouraged to take initiative, to farm, to learn to dance, to form their own play groups-- or at least they are not generally restrained from doing these things. It is in the socialiazation process of the very young child that this orientation probably comes about-- one of "try it out", or a relative lack of shame at an enterprise attempted and failed but a strong sense of shame in the case of failure to try.*

The introduction of European education by the British met little resistance from the Ibo.. The Ibo recognized the power and authority of the British, and sought to take this power and authority for themselves, using education as the means of accomplishing this; children were sent to school; villages built schools; scholarships and even higher education were sought-- both for the benefit of the individual and for the benefits which would flow back to the family, village or clan. Competiveness combined with acquisitiveness led to a faith in education, a rational calculation that this was the route that led to success and prestige.** The thirst for education is fantastic; those who fail to secure entrance into the formal school system or lack the funds to attend, seek other routes to diplomas and spend endless nights of studying under the bush lamp to secure, by external examination, certificates which are viewed as passports to employment, as indeed they were during the earlier years of the century. Now that the flood of school leavers has surpassed the job market, however, the Ibo tends to feel cheated or defrauded when the certificate does not provide its normal reward in terms of salary,

* Ottenburg, Simon and Phoebe, in Wester, Hans.

** Cf., Ottenburg and Ottenburg in "Ibo Receptivity to Change."

prestige, and status. Nonetheless, Ibo culture did quickly adopt the school as a means of getting ahead in an environment which was changing. Receptivity for any education which promised to "open doors" was there.

Although the Ibo came, within his flexible or open culture, to prize schooling highly, it must not be assumed that a comparable openness prevailed regarding the types of schooling which were acceptable, as can be witnessed by any teacher who has worked in the school system:

Ottenburg and Ottenburg have commented further on this pehnomenon as follows:

> Ibo education, in the broader sense, is now geared for change, It is characterized by strong pressure for schooling, competition between individuals, and clear-cut rewards. The learning necessary for political and economic power is now acquired relatively early: the wise men are now the youths, who are in touch with the new social and political system, who understand and can deal with the modern world.
>
> Educational standards have risen very rapidly in recent years, and school facilities have not been able to keep up with the demand. the Standard VI certificate, once a panacea, is now often useless in qualifying for employment. Young people have a feeling of being let down, betrayed, and humiliated, when, after years of schooling they find they are unemployable. They cannot go forward, and they refuse to go back to traditional pursuits.
>
> In schools there has been a tendency to traditionalize educational procedures and views, usually on the basis of European thought and custom and often without regard to the students' needs. School procedures tend to be regimented, and learning is largely by rote, with little initiative left to the students. . . The success or failure of a large investment of time, money, and efforts rests in the certifying examination given at the end of a course lasting several years. In students' preparation great reliance is placed on books as the legitimate source of knowledge- a mechanical attempt is made to transfer knowledge whole, in its original form, by memorization, from the book through the mind of the student to the examination paper. The process has almost a ritual quality in that if it is properly performed, without a slip, it results in the award of a certificate from an unseen force in Enugu or Lagos that possess great power. *

The University, and the College of Education in particular, were thus confronted by an environment characterized by ambivalence and a dilemma. Receptivity was there to the extent that the University provided an opportunity for education, a channel through which Ibo initiative, drive, competitiveness, and acquisitiveness might flow. Resistance was there to the extent that this channel had already become (prior to the coming of the University), defined in highly traditional patterns which had in the past led to successful examination results and which students, in terms of this past experience, prized and sought to sustain. Thus the faith in education was in part offset by an equal or greater faith in those <u>particular inherited forms of education</u> which Nigerians had learned to cope with before entering the University and which they had to come to expect in universities. Reverence for forms could lead to strong resistance both when it came to modifying anticipated university programs or practices and when the College of Education attempted to "assume leadership in the development of more professional elementary and secondary school programs," as it was charged to do by the Cook-Hannah-Taggart Report.

BARRIERS TO EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION: Standards and "Standardless"

Despite environment forces operating in favour of the createion of a new university in Nigeria, considerable forces were mobilized against it. The kinds of arguments which had been advanced in West Africa in 1955 clearly reflected the conservative bias of many, including persons who by virtue of their position in Nigeria might hamper the University in its development. The West Africa commentary itself is of interest in this regard.

> Nothing does more credit to West African politicians than their enthusiasm for education: in no field have the new governments been more active. Even when, as seems to be the case in the Gold Coast, ambitious plans produce great difficulties, the ambition to revolutionize education remains admirable. . .
>
> Dr. Azikiwe has criticized University College, Ibadan, as a "million dollar Baby" which has to be given a fresh subsidy every time it cries, but which produces very few graduates. He has also criticised the "academic" bias of English-model education, in contrast to the "vocational" bias of the American model. Everybody must sympathize with professional qualifications. But is another university the answer?
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> The real reason for the small output of Nigeria graduates lies in the small output of secondary school pupils ready for university training . . . A new university can only draw on the same "pool" as Ibadan, so that, unless it lowers entrace standards still further it will compete with Ibadan for students just when the University College of Nigeria is beginning to get into its stride. . . .
>
> The second problems of the proposed new college is money. Eastern Nigeria's finances are parlous. In some areas elementary education is endangered by shortage of money to pay teachers. Any money the Eastern Government could raise for a University should surely be spent on teachers' salaries. . . .
>
> The next problem is staff. Dr. Azikiwe is rightly concerned to draw on American talent. But Americans are the most expensive of all people to employ, and properly qualified Americans would

be difficult to attract. Indeed, anyone concerned about his academic status would have to consider whether to risk coming to a new institution without accepted academic sponsorship. It is sometimes argued that there are enough qualified Eastern Nigerians to form a nucleus of a staff; but those qualified for university teaching are already employed, and it would be disastrous to employ, even if they have high-sounding qualifications, those not suitable for University College , Ibadan.

The real problem, difficult to define but easy to recognize, is one of standards. The device of "special relationship" with London has ensured that the University College of the Gold Coast and Nigeria maintain standards both in their staff and in their degrees. There have been difficulties and irritations, but on the whole the :special relationship" has worked well. Without such a relationship which no first class university is likely to offer, it is hard to see how a college, starting under the difficulties bound to face a new one in the East, could produce graduates whose degrees would be acceptable outside Eastern Nigeria.

Dr. Azikiwe has faced the problem and has declared that he does not care if the degrees are not acceptable "to the inhabitants of Ruritania". But if standards are lowered the new university will produce a flood of nominal graduates for whom the East cannot, and the rest of the country will not, find employment. Educational standards in Eastern Nigeria at present are probably the best in West Africa; and any lower at the top would mean a lowering right down the ladder. The people of Eastern Nigeria who have also shown such remarkable capacity for grasping educational opportunity and for making sacrifices for it, deserve, and can take advantage of university education of a higher, not a lower, standard than other parts of Africa. To suggest otherwise is to doubt their capacity.

Some of the branches of study suggested for the new college seem more appropriate to a polytechnic--surveying and librarianship, for example--and introduction of such subjects might make it even more difficult to maintain university standards. . . . *

Although subsequently acknowledging that "nothing in this paper has ever attracted so many letters, mostly hostile, as the leader we published under the heading above," the editors of West Africa went on to point out that the ideas were not their own invention but were confirmed by Mr. Esua, Secretary

West Africa, May 28, 1955. Cf. West Africa, July 23, 1955, for further for further editorial comment.

General of the Nigeria Union of Teachers; Dr. Aniago, later to be Executive Secretary of the Nigerian Universities Commission, and Mr. Mellanby, Principal of University College, Ibadan. It is certain that while the journal was naive in assuming that Mr. Esua automatically spoke for the teachers of Nigeria, the position which the paper advocated, and which Mr. Esua had argued in radio broadcasts in Nigeria, did represent a considerable body of educational opinion which constituted a significant barrier to creating or institutionalizing a second university, particularly if its patterns of development were to depart from those of University College, Ibadan.

The deep concern for standards, the tendency to fill this meta-value with a particular cultural content drawn quite exclusively from Britain, and the confusion which existed between the concept and a particular institutionalized device for maintaining it (namely special relationship* with London University), were strong throughout former British Africa. In part this concern for standards may be traced to British experience in India, where the proliferation of institutions of higher education with widely varying "standards" had resulted in a debasement of the currency of degrees. This debasement in India apparently led to a fear, at the time consideration was

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* Special Relationship was an arrangement in the British empire whereby in university colleges in colonial areas were set up first in a form in which their students would work for degrees of the University of London, the statutes of which permitted the awarding of external degrees. According to this scheme each university college prepared syllabi and examination which were sent to London for approval and moderation, whereby London provided external examiners for the University colleges, a divsory services, and privileges for university college faculty to work as internal students for University of London degrees. In these ways it was hoped to assure that the University college would award "a degree of world-wide currency." (Cf., C.T. Ingold, "London and Universities in Developing Countries." in Overseas Universities, No. 3, October, 1963) pp.16-19 Cf., also Walton, A Special Relationship, Universities Quarterly, 1965, pp. .)

being given to university level education in Africa, that a similar debasement might occur there. This concern of the British for maintaining standards was clearly reflected and even magnified by the African Intellectual who had his own psychological reasons for proving he could measure up to the European standards.

It is partly in terms of this concern for "standards" that Smythe and Smythe, in examining the new Nigerian elite, point to and account for deep-seated distrust of American education, a distrust which "sometimes seems to American-educated Nigerians to be malicious and dangerous." as follows:

> It was natural for the British in their years of stewardship in Nigeria to promote the ideal of British education as the best to be secured, as the French entolled French education in their overseas possessions and the United States exported American Educational goals to the Philippines, Hawai, and Puerto Rico. It was what they knew and understood; it required no interpretation. As the British were supplemented by Nigerians educated in British universities, there, too, fell under the spell of the old school tie. Moreover, homogeneity in educational background mean harmony in values and objectives, to some extent; foreign educational systems with different values and objectives required adjustment and invited comparison.
>
> A second very real real reason for a kind of discrimination against those educated in the United States was the difference in attitudes toward standardization. The diversity of locally determined educational curricula and standards in American universities was legendary, while the belief in fixed, centrally determined standards in the United Kingdom was equally well recognized. The passion for theoretical equality was supported by a firm belief in the examination system which British educators have sometimes viewed as far stronger in West Africa than it is in the United Kingdom. At the same time, the absence of any guide to the evaluation of degrees from various American universities seemed to many to justify the rule of thumb that, with some exceptions, an American master's degree would be equated with a British Bachelor's degree, to safeguard standards and save the time and trouble required for evaluation of individual qualifications.*

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* Smythe and Smythe, The New Nigerian Elite, pp. 159-160.

As Nigeria moved rapidly toward independence, and as Nigerians displaced the British in Ministries, the tendency of remaining British education officers to further discriminate in favour of British degrees, in the hope of maintaining stability during the transitional period, became even greater. Thus an American teacher training College principal whom I had occasion to interview, and who possessed his bachelors degree in an academic field and a professional master's degree from Indiana University, informed me that while originally placed on the "graduate" salary scale, he had after two years had his credentials reassessed by a British colonial officer and was placed on the salary scale set for the Yaba Certificate, a certificate roughly equivalent to the two year diploma of a junior college.* Similarly, a graduate student now attending Michigan State University, when interviewed in in connection with this study reported the following incident in Eastern Nigeria:

> "X" graduated from Harvard with a Master's degree in Education. He returned home with great enthusiasm to teach in one of the schools. He spent months without a job in his home country. Finally I helped to locate a teaching job for him. When "X" started to teach,his salary as a holder of Master's degree was lower than mine, and I had no university education. The "powers that be" felt that "X's" Master's degree did not measure up to their expectations. Pressure was put on the authorities of the school in which "X" was teaching to either terminat his appointment or lose the grants they received. After eleven months of harrassment, "X" was asked to resign.

The extent to which this behavior was a matter of genuine professional principle, and the extent to which it was a psychological consequence of a situation in which embittered education officials found themselves forced to terminate dedicated professional service, is difficult to assess. Clearly, however, the fact that American institutions of higher learning had themselves no firm

* To underscore his crime of having an American degree, he had to repay the additional amount he had received during two years by being "erroneously" Placed on the graduate scale.

standards by which they judged applicants from African schools, sometimes offering entry with advanced standing to persons who had been certificated from teacher training colleges (in Nigeria not even the equivalent of high schools) did much to confirm the uspicions of Ministries that American education was totally devoid of standards. The fact that intractible leaders in the Nationalist and Independence movements had been products of American education may also have had its unconscious effect when making assessments.

The essentially anti-Ame ican bias of much educational thinking is indicated even more clearly in an assessment of American education by two members of the faculty at the University College, Ibadam in a volume published almost simultaneously with the launching of the University of Nigeria, Nsukka:

> It is also difficult to generalize about the universities of the USA, because they are so numberous and so varied. The first fact to realize is that the condition of university education in the USA is the product of the state of the schools. The state of the schools is the product of a misguided conception of democracy which may be (slightly but not bery unfairly) summarized as "Identical education for all at the pace of the slowest." This combines with a peculiarly miscellaneous curriculum and an unwillingness on the part of teachers to insist on either mental discipline or the accumulation of factual knowledge to set the academic level of the average school-leaver of eighteen not higher than and sometimes appreciately lower than the British School Certificate . . . . Flexner compares the 'search for a high school or college graduate who can write and spell, and who is master of the elements of mathematics, a science of modern languate' with Diogene's search for an honest man.
>
> It must be admitted that the appaling backwardness of the American schools creates a vast hunger for further education, comparable to that to be found in West Africa. . .The universities exist to satisfy this hunger, not to fulfill an abstract ideal or university education, not to give the best training to the best brains, nor

> indeed to give the best training to the greatest number of people. There is a vast proliferation of so-called universities which have no academic standards and precious few of any other sort. University numbers are much too large; a year or two ago Ohio State University reported a student population of more than 18,000. Does anyone really believe that they are all competent to receive a university education in the sense in which it is understood elsewhere, or that an institution is capable of giving more than mechanical instruction to vast numbers? . . It cannot be said too strongly that the first degree in an American university is worth no more than an English High School Certificate. . . Further, the combination of enthusiasm and ignorance leads to the inclusion of the curriculum of subjects which ought never to be found in universities, "proofreading" 'versification', "guidance for investors' journalism, and at a later stage (but often too early) theses for higher degrees on such topics as "Photographic Studies of Boiled Icing" or Administrative Problems of the High School Cafeteria; the amount of wooly sociology is almost unbelieveable. . . *

Despite the fact that such resistances and attitudes were strong among the numerically preponderant British-educated in the new elite, the winds of change were already blowing. With the coming of independence the availability of American aid increased rapidly, and with the promise of the Peace Corps, and with the decision of Nigerian politicians to seek science teachers in Pakistan and India, a reassessment of foreign degrees and the British "equivalences" to be awarded them was clearly required. A memorandum prepared for the Joint Consultative Committee on Education by the Federal Ministry indicated that while in the past it has been the policy to reject all first degrees of most American institutions, experience had now indicated that what the American university student lost in depth he

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* A. Olubummo and J. Ferguson, The Emergent University, Longmans, 1960, pp. 13-14, See also the Appendix of Smythe and Smythe, Capter X for salary differences between British and American graduates.

gained in breadth, by comparison with the British university student; and that by and large "it is fair to say that the British general degree may be compared to the bachelor's degree of some of the leading American universities." It was further added that "this difference in depth is what generally determines our judgement as to the suitability of a candidate for employment in the public service of Nigeria." Other factors, such as accreditation by American accrediting agencies, and Mary Irwin's volume on American Universities and Colleges came to be standards in evaluating credentials. The impact of the Peace Corps teachers, while undoubtedly varying with individual cases, likewise was to have considerable impact throughout souther Nigeria in upgrading the estimate of American university education and reinforcing the University of Nigeria's attempt at institutionalization.

Some suggestion that the hegemony of British higher education on Eastern Nigerian thinking was breaking was revealed by the responses of fifty-two non-graduate teachers who asked to indicate where they would prefer to attend a university if outside Nigeria.Although twenty of these still selected Britain, eighteeen chose the United States, eight chose Germany, and eight chose other European and African universities. The strong "london" influence still persisted, however, in that this university outstripped all others, received ten first choice votes which was more than such "runners-up" as Oxford, Harvard, and Michigan State received all together, while Cambridge was no one's first preference. It would appear that the past practice of allocating the empire to London, the shifting pattern of scholarship availability, and conceptions of the "practicality" of education in various nations were emerging in a new amalgam that made for increasing

receptivity for American education. This seems born out by a small sample of Arts and Science graduates from the University of Nigeria who were asked what would have been their preference of an overseas university at the time they entered the University of Nigeria: the responses among the group, which might be presumed to be somewhat more biased toward American education, did in fact reveal an equal division as between America and Britain.*

This potential strain between the innovative thrust of the University, especially along more American lines, and the conservative bent of the existing power structure in education was clearly documented at the Carnegie Seminar on Education, the initial planning seminar designed to help the College of Education chart its course in the years ahead. (see below pp. The innovative mood in which the college hoped to operate was succinctly presented to the seminar by Dr. Karl Bigelow of Teacher's College, Columbia who in his opening address as chairman stressed the need to experiment, to search, to seek new roads. His note of challenge was clear:

> The university staff, it seems reasonable to infer, starts in an experimental mood; it desires not to impose but to create.
>
> There is an enormous challenge here: a new nation, a new university, a mood of creativity. It is a challenge that we can scarcely resist. It presents each of us with both an opportunity and a responsibility. It does not present us with an easy task. . . . We shall not make decisions here: that burden must remain on the shoulders of our host. What we can-- and I will say must-- do is help sensitize them to the complexities of what they have tackled , to the issues that need to be carefully considered, to the alternatives which appear to lie before them. * *

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* One graduate in assessing the advantages and disadvantages of having done work at the University of Nigeria , pointed to the American orientation in the following comment:

"At the present time there are no disadvantages. But before people, especially the uninformed ones, used to say that UNN degrees were inferior because their programmes were modelled from American Universities. . . because they felt that degrees from America were cheap and inferior. But now the people have come to their senses."

** (Nigerian Outlook February 3, 1961, pp. 1 & 7)

Diametrically in contrast to the note he struck was the address of the then Minister of Education, G.E. Okeke, which clearly endorsed not innovation but reinforcement of the status quo. As reported in the Nigerian Outlook the following day, and as capitalized to stress his majore "message", the Minister of Education cautioned:

> There is, of course, always romm for experiment in education BUT WITH SO MANY OTHER PRESSING NEEDS, I THINK THOSE WHO WISH TO HELP US WOULD BE BETTER ADVISED TO TRY AND MEET THESE NEEDS WHICH CLEARLY ARE SET OUTLINE THE ASHBY REPORT AND TO GRAFT ON TO AND EXPAND OUR EXISTING EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM RATHER THAN TO TRY TO PERSUADE US TO ADOPT NEW EXPERIMENTS WHICH, EVEN IF SUCCESSFUL, MUST NECESSARILY BE ON SO SMALL A SCALE THAT THEY CAN HAVE NO REAL SIGNIFICANCE IN THIS REGION IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. *

This resistance to major innovation was also the element in the Seminar selected by the Nigerian Outlook, the newspaper in Eastern Nigeria published by the Ministry of Information, as the subject of its editorial on the seminar, an editorial significantly entitled NO TIME FOR EXPERIMENT.**

The editorial argued as follows:

> In his opening address to the seminar on education at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, yesterday, the Eastern Minister of Education, Mr. G.E. Okeka, made a revealing observation about foreign interest in our educational programmes.
>
> "I have noticed," the minister said, "that some of the agencies who offer us aid wish us to adopt their policies and establish new educational institutions which meet their own ideas of education."
>
> This is unfortunate for we have, during the last decade, been working our porogrammes designed to gear our educational system to serve the needs of the country.
>
> It is strange therefore to see how we could be expected to adopt systems and ideas which "even if successful, must necessarily be on so small a scale that they can have no real significance in this Region in the foreseeable future."

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*. Nigerian Outlook, February 3, 1961, p. 2

** Nigerian Outlook, February 2, 1961, p. 3

> We agree entirely with Mr. Okeke that "those who wish to help us would be better advised to try and meet (our) needs and to graft on to and expand our existing education system rather than to try to persuade us to adopt new experiments. . . .
>
> Speaking about teacher training yesterday, Mr. Okeke made another point which should recommend itself to those who, like us, have felt strongly about the appallingly low standard of education in our schools. He said that Eastern Nigeria was turning out about 4,000 trained teachers a year and that the need now was to improve the quality rather than to increase the output.

It was clear that by this time a prejudgment had been made as to the directions in which the College of Education would be moving, possibly deriving from the interests of A.I.D. in promoting comprehensive schools, possibly from the University's early and ill advised launching of a certificate program for teachers.

Clearly the most important single characteristic of the environment into which the University of Nigeria and its College of Education were born was the fact that this was already transitional environment in which old values and new were competing. Furthermore, the emergent elites were effectively in control of the situation. The balance of power was perhaps best epitomized in the Eastern House, where beplumed and elegantly dressed members of the House of Chiefs were able to discuss each piece of legislation, but where the effective power lay with members of the House of Deputies, Western educated and eager for a New Nigeria. This is not to say that Nigerians were not characterized by central ambivalances: both nation and individuals hoped and believed that the transition from tradition to Modernity could be made with minimum damage to traditional values and institutions-- Nigerians sought a solution which maintained respect for age, the

loyalties of the family, the sanctity of inherited beliefs, But when conflict came between the need for Modernity, and the strengths (purified in Memories) of a past that was never to return, the balance of power already lay with the values of the Western-educated and Western-oriented elites.

The difficulty which the University and its College of Education encountered was not a difficulty of the conflict between long-standing traditional beliefs and values and emergent beliefs, values and institutions-- rather it was a conflict of beliefs within the latter. Western education had become accepted. The goals of economic development and political independence to which it was ostensibly addressed had become accepted. The central questions which remained concerned the kind of educational institutions which would assure the fastest and surest advance into a world characterized by the "adavantages" of Modernity. Long experience had indicated that the educational system which the British missionaries had established during decades prior to independence assured those who availed themselves of it the material, strategic, and "spiritual" advantages the West held out. It assured such advantages first and foremost to the immediate recipient of such education; to the extent that traditional family loyalties survived, and this was a very large extent, it assured a spin-off of such advantages to all that surrounded the successful student. Education was seen as the surest highway to personal,family , and village progress. The fact that an African might have to sell his soul-- visibly at least-- to Western gods was minimized by the fact that these very gods brought such magnificent bounty to those who would do them obedience.

If education in the Western mode promised the individual and his family an entrance into modernity and the benefits which came from being affiliated

with the Modern or exchange sector of the economy, it promised much the same to the Nation. Although Nigeria (as other African nations), had gained its foreign exchange, and to some extent its national income, from the export of primary products, its ability to both mazimize income from primary products and rectify its balance of trade required that it develop a reservoir of persons skilled in the "ways" of modern productive enterprise a and capable of developing and operating the infrastructure necessary to support such enterprise. The impact of the preachings of the "Chicago School" of Economics, and the manpower analysis variant of this school which developed particularly at Princeton University, did not fall upon deaf ears in Nigeria: the people were anxious for panaceas, and such documents as the Ashby Report encouraged them to believe that education did in fact promise a brighter economic future. If Modernity was wished--and it was--there was ample reason to believe that the principle means of its achievement lay through maximum use of the broad highways of educational development. If some of Nigeria's own economic analysts were skeptical of single panaceas, its political leaders were not; and the role of education--and particularly technical and scientific education--was accepted as <u>sine qua non</u> of economic development.

Derivative from private motivations of student, family and village for economic betterment <u>through education</u>, and from the aspirations of government for economic development <u>through education</u> was a second order motivation. In such a demand situation it is no wise surprizing that school-running should become a popular mercantile operation. Private school after private school was thrown up to satisfy the demand, community school after community school was established to assure that no community was by-passed in the rush to

"wealth". Religious schools truggled in a growingly unequal battle to see that "higher" values were not sacrificed to mundane considerations and that the correct proportions of souls were directed into their respective heavens. Schools sprang up; Mercedes sales boomed for proprietors; family after family hoarded its pennies and shillings to invest in the education of its most promising offspring. Ministries of Education struggled vainly to maintain standards, and in order to do so insisted on readily applied and unequivocal criteria implying specified percentages of "graduate" teachers on teaching staffs before allowing the Government grants which made it profitable for community, proprietor or Voluntary Agency (Church) to found a new school. For every school proprietor in his Mercedes, a supporting cadre of teachers in their Peugeot 404s was required. The search for "dependable" school teachers who could show the necessary university diploma and be counted on to still be holding classes at the end of the school year was indefatigable. Private hopes, national interests, and profit motives were welded into one demand figure for graduates. There was a clear receptivity for programs which would supply teachers of the requisite qualifications in the quantities required. If these graduate teachers could be clearly pre-addressed "to school only", so much the better.

Although it was undoubtedly true that there was a receptivity for programs which would produce university graduates, there was no necessary receptivity for other changes in the schools. A half-century of British-type education had persuaded Nigerians that it was this type of education which led to preferment; this was "real" education. After all there were models which set the gold-standard of education; if one could approximate these

models, no fear of debasement need arise. Thus, if the environment was ready for wholesale educational expansion, it was not ready for wholesale educational experimentation. The existing content of education was carefully protected: upper cadres in schools had been largely educated within the tradition themselves and accepted it with few reservations; an elaborate syllabus-cum-examination system had been set up to assure that content(especially in secondary education) was not changed too far or too fast. Cautious adaptation, not rapid reconstruction, was seen necessary to assure that any changes made to meet "emergent" demands not eventuate in providing a bath that failed to get the baby clean.

This concern for traditional and "standards" affected the College of Education much more directly than it did many other units in the University, and some understanding of it is necessary. If the concern with standards was offset somewhat for universities by an accompanying belief that universities should possess considerable autonomy, this did not apply to other schools with which the College of Education must necessarily work. Commited as it was to playing a leadership role in the ultimate reconstruction of Nigerian education to meet the needs of the emerging nation, the College faced both reverance for standards and an accompanying reverence for understood means of assuring them throughout the educational system. It is not at all suprizing that the Commonwealth West African countries had patterned their educational system closely after that prevailing in the United Kingdom. The Educational system which was adopted in Eastern Nigeria was one which included seven (later six) years of primary and "infant" school, followed by a five year secondary school, followed by a two year "Sixth Form" or higher secondary school, which was i n turn followed by the University.

While there is little doubt thatthe quality of work did vary from one school to another, depending upon available facilities and staff, every attempt was made to apply the concept of uniform quality standards to all schools, Consequently syllabi were worked out and certification of successful completion of any level of instruction depended upon passing an examination which was based exclusively upon these syllabi. For the secondary school, this examination was by 1960 administered by the West African Examinations Council which had been set up with the assistance of the Examination board which administered the Cambridge Overseas Examinations. An explicit attempt was made through examinations and syllabi to maintain equivalence with standards prevailing in Britain for the secondary school leaving certificate. As the surest way to do this was to modify content as little as possible, and even to send papers to Britain for marking, the syllabus in West Africa very closely resembled that used in Britain. There was an extreme reluctance on the part of many Nigerians who had been educated through this system to depart markedly from the standards they had successfully met. The process of revising the syllabus was an extremely slow and laborious one, proposed modifications passing through various subject matter panels and committees before ultimately being worked into the syllabus, which was regarded as a type of "contract" between schools and the examining body. This elaborate system effectively served as a restraint on innovations which someone might wish to introduce "in a hurry." The Higher School Certificate, which was likewise administered by this body, tended to be even more closely tied to the British syllabus and standard. Similar syllabus and examination procedures tied work in the vocational fields to examinations of the City and Guilds of London Institute and examinations of the Royal Society of Arts.

A vast number of young persons attempted to continue their education outside of these secondary schools (largely because of high schoolfees and unavailable place in the schools.) They engaged in independent study and sat external examinations, which were administered in the same way, generally for the Royal Society of Arts Certificates or more frequently the General Certificate of Education of the University of London. These students enrolled with correspondence colleges in the United Kingdom which provided very efficient instruction, if the measure of efficiency in passing the particular examinations which were set. As many of the subjects which were pursued had little or no relevance to the Nigerian scene, and as almost all syllabi were drawn largely from European content, these examinations were not directly geared to Nigerian content or culture. Furthermore, as the "arts" fields were the easiest to pursue by independent study, studies pursued and the certificates granted were biased in directions directly counter to the perceived needs of Nigeria in technological and scientific fields. Since Government salary schedules were tied directly to these certificates in many cases, and since British employers in Nigeria were able to interpret these familiar qualifications, this entire content and all the limitations of a memoriter examination-oriented system were set all the more rigidly in the wider economic system. Any attempts by the College to initiate change in this system thus promised repercussions outside of the schools required use of an eleborate modification procedure, and threatened understood relationships between salaries and education existing in the society.

If safeguards for quality against violent change in secondary education were provided through syllabi and eleborate external examinations systems,

the same general guarantees had been worked out for higher education. The universities established in West Africa had been staffed largely with the assistance of such bodies as the Inter-University Council in the United Kingdom. These institutions operated as University Colleges of the University of London(or Durham), which vetted their examinations, provided them with external examiners, and then gave their graduates the stamp of British craftsmanship by awarding them a University of London degree. But if this system is implied a respect for an existent set standard, it held within it also the seeds of rebirth; for part of the tradition which was thus zealously guared was the tradition of university autonomy-- the belief that it was the right of the university to set its academic program, that this was a domain protected from Government or public interference. Thus a university once established, even if outside the University of London pattern, found itself shielded by a tradition permitting change which had grown up as the automatic accompaniment of a system which had essentially copied a British model. Universities could anticipate the right to work their own gardens with a minimum of lay interferences.

But by the time of independence, and during the years immediately following independence it became increasingly evident to all Nigerians that something had gone wrong with "real" education. The products of the primary schools were no longer securing the jobs their certificates "entitled" them to; there was a gnawing suspicion that soon the same would be true of secondary school leavers. Coupled with the promise of economic development through industrial expansion and modern agriculture which was prominent in Government economic development plans, this suggested a need for change. After all, wasn't "science" the clue to industrial development and the agricultural

revolution? Wasn't technical education the obvious implication of industrialization? For many the old investment had already passed up paying its dividends. A change was needed.

And teachers also wanted a change. A vocation which had once been the highest to which a Nigerian could aspire, had gradually lost its luster. Rapid educational expansion drew more and more ill-prepared youth into the "profession", it lost both its distinctiveness and the respect formerly attached to it. Other employment opportunities had opened up in Ministries and cities. The Civil Servants who occupied most of these new positions received the perquisites of the British civil servant-- the car allowance, living quarters in the G.R.A., the social life of city and club. The teacher was somehow left out, especially in rural areas. If he was in the primary school, he often found himself without his paycheck as expansion of education surpassed the ability of the Government or Agencies to collect the sum necessary to support him. The massive size of his occupational group made for strong resistances to any financial improvement through salary increases. But he did have a hope: the doctrine of economic development made "his institution" fundamental; it only remained to make the connections explicit and programmatic. Hopefully with these changes would come the rewards he felt he deserved.

The connections were made explicit. The Harbison manpower studies and the Ashby Report that emanated from them reflected the Economic Doctrine of Chicago. Education and high-level manpower became viewed as keys to the gates of economic development. With independence, the reservoirs from which flowed educational ideas and supporting external aid funds were opened wider.

Through these gates came the Americans, breathing the fire of "open door" educational policies, "practical education", and proclaiming the "social" and "economic" dividends of education. In a situation in which governments were already fully committed to "Economic Development", in which schools were now suddenly legitimized as machines which could produce economic outputs, a College of Education committed to producing many teachers all clearly stamped "for teaching only" and to a new educational doctrine labelled "education for employment primarily" stood a good chance of making the grade.

To be sure, resistances persisted. The slogan system of standards--with its attendant corollaries of "special relationships with London", "University examiners," "Honours degrees" and "specialization" would not die easily in a society in which the majority of the new power elite revealed their status through [redacted] cut by just such tailors and looked askance at new and competing slogan systems. Furthermore, procedures and routines, well-established to protect the existing system from deterioration had developed a resistance all their own, as procedures and routines tend to do everywhere. Change in institutional forms which might upset these routines, or limit authority (as is the case of a University bypassing Sixth Form!) were to be resisted. But for every resistance in the environment, there was at least an equal force for change. The Ibo himself was change-prone; he prided himself on his pushfulness, his dynamism, his ability to do new things. His national hero, and many of those around him, and thrown over the traces and been educated in America. Was it not fair to suspect that it was this American education which in part accounted also for throwing over political traces

and gaining political independence in Africa? If Azikiwe called for a similar overthrowing of the traces in education, wouldn't the Ibo be ready to follow him? If the top echelons of the official educational establishment had been hand-picked by British educational officers from the ranks of supposedly "safe" or Colonial-educated Nigerians, there was a growing cadre of "young Turks" in the non-official establishment. These "pushful" young men were already educational entrepreneurs and were talking in terms of technical schools, community schools, comprehensive schools and the like. Often too they were doubling as politicians, most frequently in the N.C.N.C. New education and economic development seemed to go hand in hand. Political independence was their ready ally.

For political independence brought with it a dynamic of its own. In the words of a Nigerian quoted elsewhere, once we saw political independence had been gained, all changes seemed possible. But it was not only that other changes seemed possible, they seemed necessary. To the new elite, political independence without overt renunciation of "colonial status" was incomplete. Colonialism became the epithet--the nasty word. Education which had existed pre-independence was colonial education; the new education must be non-colonial. The content of the education before independence had been drawn from the Whiteman's culture; the new education must be drawn from indigenous culture. Whatever the practical difficulties that stood in the way of giving programmatic interpretation to such slogans as "cultural independence", their appeal in an era of new won political independence was undeniable. Political independence, Economic Development and educational change appeared undeniably wed.

Thus the environment was ready for change. The dominant tribal group in the Region in which the University was founded was a group which had already proved itself receptive to change and able to capitalize on economic advance. The fact of independence reinforced the conviction that things could change, that there was no longer need for old forms to stand. There was an immediate market for university-educated teachers-- a market compounded of the demand for high school places by parents seeking to make the "investment" of educating their children to take place in the exchange economy, the demand presupposed by economic and Government planners who saw a need for rapidly expanded secondary education to provide needed reservoirs of "middle level" and "high level"manpower, and the demand of the education proprietors seeking a way to find the personnel to make their schools both functional and financially viable. And there was also a demand in Government for support: for support against those forces which threatened to hamper planned educational development, for support in the shift to new types of "practical" education which the tradition had not afforded, for support in helping the Ministry of Education maintain its place in the hierarchy of importance, a hiararchy increasingly justified by reference to roles played in the fight for Economic Development.

An ethos of change is usually characterized by its own slogans and its own rationales. These appeared in such appeals as "Nigerianization", "Colonialism","Economic Development," and "Science and Technology". Each of these was a convenient handle to which University doctrine could be attached. An ethos of change can also be characterized by its own legitimizing documents. These appeared in Eastern Nigeria in the form of the Development Plans, the Ashby Report, and even the Report of the Ikoku Conference.

Much as slogans, these comprehensive reports provided handles to be seized upon by any prospective educational organization . In order for an organization to attach itself firmly to emergent values it needed primarily leadership which would be (1) creative enough to seize existing slogans and translate them into program and (2) viable enough to command the support of relevant publics for those programs. In a newly independent Nigeria with an emergent indigenous elite, many of whom had devoted their attention specifically to education, leadership for translating slogans to program was not lacking. The fact that many of these leaders had received their education in America and that the very symbol of Nigerian independence, Dr. Azikiwe, had not only received his education in America but had made "American practical education" a sword with which to attack the dragon of British "colonialism" had, long before the first sod was turned at Nsukka, gone far toward psychologically harnessing any innovations to be attempted there to the twin stars of Independence and Nationalism. But this is the story of organizational doctrine.

CHAPTER 3

DOCTRINE AS AN EXPLANATORY VARIABLE IN INSTITUTIONALIZATION

If the analysis in the preceding chapter is correct, the environment which existed in Nigeria at the point of independence and immediately thereafter was one which was generally receptive to the idea of educational change. If this receptivity was more to the concept of change than to specific practical embodiments of change, it is not surprising. The idea of change accorded well with the fact of independence; practical proposals or embodiments of educational change threatened well-established routines, symbols of status and prestige, and raised uncertainties about the economy of the educational system. Those in positions of authority frequently attributed their own achievements and their own status to the existing educational system. They saw changes in that system as threats to established positions. Caught between their desire for something new and their fear of the newness which they sought, they were marked by the uncertainty and ambivalence that marks transitional men in many contexts. It was the function of doctrine to establish normative linkages between the old and the new, between establishment and innovators, such as would legitimize innovations which came with the new organization. Doctrine itself could not perform this function; but it could provide connections which made organizational innovations appear less new, less threatening, and correspondingly more legitimate. It could tip the balance. If it could perform the function with the publics which would ultimately either institutionalize or reject the innovation; it could also provide to leadership within the organization norms or standards which could guide the projection of programs and the establishment of priorities. This latter function would be served only to the extent that there was genuine commitment to doctrine by the leaders in the organization.

This chapter purports to examine the development of doctrine, the extent of commitment to doctrine by those in Education, and the nature of the doctrine as it was transmitted to the students of the university (who would in Nigeria inevitably be its chief diffusion agents) and its other publics.

The Historial Development of the University Doctrine

The University of Nigeria was born in the womb of doctrine and had surrounding it, even before it saw light of day, a full-blow slogan system which was to be its heritage, and as it proved, as significant in its institutionalization as the practical operations which accomplished its birth and weaning. This doctrine was neither totally new to Africa in 1960 nor genuinely indigenous. Although frequently enunciated by the MSU group which was to assist in its implementation, it was their creation only in the sense that they largely established the mix of doctrinal elements. African education, and specifically African education in the English-speaking areas, had for forty years been a subject of periodic study by education missions which attempted to provide guidelines for its development. The superficially remarkable thing about these general commissions, if one excludes those which had devoted their attention explicitly to Higher Education, is that there was a remarkable similarity in the intent of their recommendations and, to a certain extent, even in the language in which these recommendations were couched. That such study bodies should, facing roughly comparable conditions, come up with broad guidelines which were similar is not really remarkable. As Peshkin* has pointed out, after carefully studying two such sets of recommendations, when study commission faced roughly the same conditions, it is not surprising that their recommendations tended to coincide

*Peshkin, Alan. "Educational Reform in Colonial and Independent Africa." African Affairs, July, 1965, p 210-216.

The importance of this for institutionalization of the University of Nigeria, and its Faculty of Education, is that there had developed a tradition, not carried through to practice for a number of practical and organizational reasons, that already encompassed important ingredients of the doctrine that the new university was attempting to extend into the realm of higher education. Almost all Nigerians paid at least lip service to this tradition.

It was to portions of this doctrinal tradition that Dr. Azikiwe appealed in advocating a new university for Nigeria in the Eastern House of Assembly in 1955.(1) He selected from the reports of the Phelps-Stokes Commissions which had studied and reported on African Education in the 1920s, passages which clearly embodied not only elements of doctrine but even the very slogans which were to characterize the new university. Seconding a bill to establish the new university, he proceded:

> I must admit that I have been much impressed by the recommendations of the African Education Commission . . . . particularly the following:
>
> That all concerned distinguish clearly the educational <u>needs</u>, namely, the education of the masses of the people, the training of teachers and leaders for the masses, and the preparation of professional men who must pass the conventional requirements of British universities.
>
> That the education of the masses and their teachers be determined by the following elements, namely, health, <u>ability to develop the resources of the country</u>, household arts. . . .
>
> . . . . by encouraging an education adapted to their <u>actual needs</u> . . . . The time has passed when the old thesis can be successfully maintained that a curriculum well suited to the needs of a group on a given scale of civilization in one country is necessarily the best for other groups on a different level of advancement in another country or section . . . .

1/ See Lewis, L.J., ed. <u>Phelps - Stokes Reports on Education in Africa,</u> London: Oxford, 1962.

> . . . . this should clearly imply such changes as that there should be more emphasis on education for native leadership; that European officials should gradually give way to a trained native African civil service; that duly elected Africans should play a larger part in the legislative councils of the colonies. . . .
>
> . . . .the aim of education is to develop the manhood and womanhood of the rising generation for the sake of their peoples. Anything narrower than this must lead to a stagnant and menacing flood of unemployed and unemployable youth.

Encapsulating the philosophy of which he was talking, Zik concluded

> In order that the foundations of Nigerian leadership shall be securely laid, to the end that this country shall cease to imitate the excrescences of civilization which is not rooted in African life, I strongly support this Bill to effect that a full-fledged university should be established in this Region without further delay. Such a higher institution of learning should not only be cultural according to the classical concept of universities, but it should also be vocational in its objective and Nigerian in its content. (Italics added to indicate elements dominant in the "Nsukka experiment.")

It is not surprising that it was university Faculty of Education persons who were by training and interest in the best position to orchestrate this theme and recognize its programatic implications. Of the persons who were to be this Faculty's dominant members during its first two years, all were not only educated in America but were educated there during a period in American education when the philosophy of John Dewey, and particularly that of his social reconstructionist interpreters and epigones, was dominant. I was educated at Illinois in the Social Foundation of Education by a group composed in its entirety of persons who were at the time avowed "social reconstructionists." More importantly, the dominant Nigerians in the group received their doctorates during the same period, or slightly thereafter, and by and large at schools which were similarly noted for adherence to, or leadership in, the Progressive Movement which emanated from Dewey's thinking. Thus Dr. Okala, one of the first senior lecturers, was a

graduate of Teachers College, Columbia; Dr. Fafunwa, the first Nigerian Head of the College of Education and later Dean of the Faculty, received his doctorate from New York University; Dr. Ukeje, the third senior member in the original faculty, likewise received his doctorate at Columbia having first done work at Ohio State University. Thus the three most dominant members of the Faculty of Education not only received their own higher education in the United States, but received it in Faculties of Education which were markedly Dewey-oriented and were, in fact, oriented toward that variant of Dewey's philosophy known as Social Reconstructionism. Ernest Ukpaby, a fourth dominant member of the leadership group, who later became Dean of Student Affairs at the University, had smuggled himself out of Nigeria in defiance of the Colonial government, in order to attend college in the United States. There he received his undergraduate education at Tuskegee and his doctorate at Bradley University, both institutions noted for their vocational orientation. Furthermore, all members of this leadership group had taken their doctoral work either in the Social and Philosophical Foundations of Education or in Higher Education. The dominant theme orientation is perhaps most clearly represented in the dissertations of Ukeje and Ukpaby, entitled respectively Nigerian Needs and Nigerian Education: A Study of the Critical Needs of an Emergent Nation and the Role of Education in Meeting Them (1957), and American Education: A Critical Analysis of its Possible Implications for Nigerian Education (1956.) The doctoral theses of Okala and Fafunwa had likewise been devoted to problems of educational change, albeit within an historical and/or cultural-historical framework. Dr. Okala's which bore an anthropological imprint was entitled Educational and Cultural Dynamics with Particular Reference to an African Kingdom, 1857-1936, (1953); Dr. Fafunwa's historical and critical dissertation was

entitled, An Historical Analysis of the Development of Higher Education in Nigeria, (1955). Dr. Fafunwa had returned to Nigeria from the United States with the intention of founding, in conjuction with another Nigerian, a private university which would offer an alternative to the Ibadan approach, only to be forced to abandon the project by official hostility and lack of financial support. Dr. Okala, as a leading Nigerian historian pointed out to me, upon his return to Nigeria in 1953 to many of the rising Ibo elite appeared to stand as a symbol of the Nigerian challenge to the British education system and the logical head of any revolutionary Nigerian university which might be created. Other persons holding status positions in the early development of the Faculty (Dr. Sinclair, Second advisor in Education; Dr. Davis, First advisor in Vocational Education; Dr. Ferns, Second Advisor in Vocational Education; and Dr. Udoh, First Head of the Department of Vocational Education) had all received their doctorates at Michigan State University and were familiar with and sympathetic to the "land grant philosophy of education." The only member of the Faculty of Education in the early days who was not thoroughly ~~embued~~ with the pragmatic-reconstructionist outlook was Mr. John Anowi, an educational psychologist, who was within three years to opt out of the Faculty of Education in order to establish the University Department of Psychology.

The Episode of the Million Dollar Baby

The allegiance of those who were to become the effective leaders of the Faculty of Education to the overall doctrine of the university was publicized long before the university opened its doors. The occasion for publicizing their allegiance was an editorial attack on the decision of

the government of Eastern Nigeria to establish the University of Nigeria. Some nine months before presenting the Bill to establish a university in the Eastern Region of Nigeria (1955), Dr. Azikiwe had taken occasion in the Central House of Representatives of Nigeria to attack what appeared to him the extravagant or luxurious approach to education at University College, Ibadan. In an address presaging by a decade Cartierism he stated inter alia:

> My humble opinion is that University College, Ibadan, is becoming a million-dollar baby. Every time the baby cries he is given a kiss worth one million pounds, and so the baby has found out that it pays to cry, and crying has become his pastime. I feel that it is time the legislature applied the brake to this tendency toward squandermania.

This address was to have repercussions nine months later when the bill to establish the new university was introduced. Shortly after passage of the bill, Mr. Esua, Secretary General of the Nigeria Union of Teachers, attacked the notion of an independent university, partly on the grounds that it would divert money from secondary and elementary education and partly on the grounds that failure to establish a "special relationship" with a British university presaged a lowering of standards. These and other arguments were picked up by the editor of West Africa in a leading article entitled "Another Million Dollar Baby?" (see below., pp. 183-194)

The West Africa article elicited, as the editors commented in closing off their columns to the ensuing debate many weeks later, greater comment from readers than any other article they had published. Before debate on the editorial was closed off, however, both Mr. Ukeje and Mr. Fafunwa (than in America) had occasion to reply to the attack through the columns of West Africa. Although their replies dealt in part with the claim that adequate provision was already made for the higher education of Nigerian

students, it is more important to note that their replies were already couched in the slogans which comprised the new doctrine, a fact which was later noted by Dr. Azikiwe in a public address on the history of the university.

> It will be observed that the captious criticisms directed against the new university were made virtually by amateurs and not necessarily by experts in education. Mr. Esua, of course, is connected with organization of teachers in a trade union. Mr. Arikpo is a lawyer. The editor of West Africa is a journalist. Others were either ill-informed or mischevious columnists, or misinformed students or fault-finding free lance critics. But two outstanding educators attacked the views of the editor of West Africa and I will not paraphrase their expert opinions .. .. ..
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> He(Fafunwa) postulated the philosophy of education which should guide Nigeria as a new nation, in these words: " The immediate problem that confronts Nigeria today is that of relating her education system to her own native invironment. No university outside Nigeria can help accomplish this; it must be done by a university located within Nigeria and not tied to the apron strings of a foreign institution. Unless Nigerian institutions are distinctively Nigerian, they will eventually be worse than useless.
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> Greater emphasis should be placed on native culture and literature and less on Greek and Shakespeare. Economics, surveying, engineering, education, African history, agriculture, home economics, business administration, the social sciences, safety engineering, etc. must take their place in the great hall of learning. Experimentalism will have to sup-plan the old conventional methods of research. A college must be willing to blaze new trials. Its teachers must be dedicated men and women who have broad vision and are not afraid of making mistakes. These are the challenges of higher education in underdeveloped countries. We may ignore these problems now, but we cannot postpone them indefinitely. Unless our present efforts are directed toward the eventual solution of these problems, the existence of our present institutions will be morally indefensible and financially unjustifiable."
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> Then Mr. Ukeje ended the debate as follows: "Any educational institution, no matter its level, to be functional and of a high quality, must be integral part of the society it serves; it must be adaptable and appropriate for the aspirations of the people in its setting. But, is foreign association through which the new institution is invariably chained by foreign traditions, which may not be suitable to the new setting, the best way to achieve these, or maintain

'standards'? The world is changing very fast and we must either gallop along or be left perpetually behind."

Thus the two Nigerians who were to be most influential in directing the affairs of the Faculty of Education at Nsukka during the first five years publicly advocated and vehemently defended much of the innovative doctrine five years prior to the actual launching of the University. As their vehement public endorsement could seriously handicap them upon returning to a country in which education was still controlled by a British civil service committed to the very notion of outside supervision they were attacking, and at a time when the only university actually operating in their home country was one which made great display of its "special relationshi" with London, there seems no doubt that these incipient leaders had a deep and long-lasting commitment to the doctrine they were later to try to implement.

The first distinctively Michigan State University involvement in the formulation of doctrine came in response to a request made by the East Region Government in August, 1957, to I.C.A. and Interuniversity Council to send experts to survey the situation and advise the Government of Eastern Nigeria on the establishment of the University. In response to this request a three men commission, composed of J.W.Cook, Vice Chancellor of the University of Exeter, John A. Hannah, President of the Michigan State University , and Glen L. Taggart, Dean of International Programs at the latter institution, surveyed the educational situation, albeit separately, and prepared a report which was duly submitted to the government.

The report emphasized a theme that was already familiar, nothing that Dr. Azikiwe and other Nigerian leaders placed emphasis:

> . . .upon the establishment of a university that would relate its curriculu, research, and other activities to the social and economic needs of Nigeria. In order that Nigerians will effectively perform roles of leadership which they are increasingly assuming and will assume several years hence with the coming of independence, there is interest in the country for founding a university, and subsequently a broader educational system, rooted in African life. Although there is desire to draw fully upon the educational philosophies, methods, and experiences of other cultures, still there is the hope that in doing this the resultant system will not be an imitation but rather a full adaptation to the needs of the indigenous culture.

Following their study, the advisors agreed that "the development of the University of Nigeria, based on the concept of service to problems and needs of Nigeria, is a desirable project and one that should receive support. . . ." More importantly from the standpoint of doctrine they made a series of recommendations which for the first time (if one ignores one eclectic university enabling law which is difficult to see as a consistent interpretation of any doctrine) suggested a programatic interpretation the slogan system which had shown such persistence. The first recommendation, which was never acted upon, called for the creation of a group of educational experts to make an intensive analysis of the social and economic problems of Eastern Nigeria. "These analysis(sic) should be used to define specifically the functions of the university to the people of Nigeria." It was further recommended that a Provisional Council be established for the university "composed of people representing programmes concerned with the significant economic and social problems of the Eastern Region. This body should be recognized as provisional, but it should be capable of giving advice and making decisions that will help define and determine the philosophy and development of the institution." Beyond such procedural recommendations, the advisors on the basis of brief exposure to Nigeria

attempted to supply some content to the unfilled x's , y's and z's of the doctrinal equation, namely the "needs", "problems", and "indigenous culture", which were to determine program.

In doing so the Michigan State University model was followed quite slavishly, proposals calling for inclusion of (A) The Sciences (because they form a base on which other subjects can be built), (B) Agriculture (because Agriculture is the chief occupation in Nigeria. . . . and there are few indications in the Eastern Region that scientific findings are being used to improve production and marketing of agricultural conditions, (C) Engineering because "consideration of construction of buildings, roads, and bridges is now in process" and because "it is doubtful that significant increase in levels of living can be attained with an economy based solely on agriculture, (D) Home economics because "people who employ labour indicate that the productive capacity of the individual is relatively small. This is thought to be associated with poor nutrition . . . There are, of course, many other problems related to home management and family care which need academic attention". (E) Business and Public Service because efficient management is a significant need of the country, (E) Education in order to provide "Leadership in the development of more professional elementary and secondary education programs" and to meet the problems of "raising the standards of those now in the teaching profession", (G)Humanities and Theology, because "Nigerian culture appears to have a highly religious background" and university"needs to take into account the religious and cultural aspects of Nigeria. Too much emphasis must not be placed upon technology and rationalism at the expense of the values that constitutes the morals of the people," (H) Finance, because "an important aspect of the analysis and planning of the overall

development of the institution" (I) Architectural Planning, because "the general utilization of the site or sites should be geared to the specific academic fields and functions of the university," and because of "danger of developing architectural work prior to arriving at definite decisions as to the specific nature of the university, thus presenting the problems of a possible future failure of the buildings and facilities to serve its needs effectively." Thus, in keeping with the MSU pattern, rather unique among American landgrand universities, Religion was inserted in the curriculum--and even placed there in oppostion to rationalism, while concern with medical problems (at either the level of doctor or health clinician) was ignored. Strangely the social sciences, so crucial in societies undergoing change, were included only be broadest inference.

The specific content filled in by the Cook-Hannah-Taggart Report would have reduced the number of recognized "needs" from 6 Faculties and 20 Institutes (which had been enumerated in the University of Nigeria law, 1955) to priority fields, six of which were justified in terms of the "needs" of Nigeria and two of which were justified in terms of the internal operations of the University. The importance of the Report for the subsequent structure of the university was negligible, for it was to the original enabling legislation rather than the Report that the university administration turned in setting the pattern of the university. Its importance is setting or charifying doctrine is more problematic. It reiterated the familiar slogan system, proposed a machinery for giving such concepts as "needs" specific meaning, and then provides an interpretation of the doctrine in terms of priority fields. It must in particular be questioned how reasonable an interpretation of doctrine there were. The omission or elimination

of such fields as Fine arts, Music, Dramatics and Journalism ignored the very fields by which it was most possible to transmit conspicuous indigenous cultural and moral values in the society, the transmission of which the Nigerian elite felt so important to their cultural independence or rebirth. The priority given to Theology (not even religion) had likewise been incorporated in the University of Nigeria Law and led the new university to duplicate a field existing at Ibadan and squander resources on a college in which the faculty at times outnumbered the students. At the same time it is interesting to note professional education raised for the first time to a priority field. Dr. Azikiwe, in the famous "Million Dollar Baby" address quoted above ~~and~~ for suggested courses in education could be taught "within the framework of the Faculty of Arts", that this "would only cost the university the salaries and perquisites of the teachers, plus some additional books in these fields in the library, together with a small sum for other contingencies, " hardly a proposal which suggested a high priority for professionalization of the field. When priorities were first actually made operational at the University in 1961-62 through admission and scholarship quotas, it would appear the influence of the Report was felt; for at that time Education joined Agriculture, Science, and Engineering as a "priority field," a position it retained throughout the period considered in this study.

From the time the University actually opened its doors in 1960 there have been numerous ceremonial occasions upon which the doctrine of the University could be restated and further crystalized. The first such statement appeared in a pamphlet prepared by an American advisor. This pamphlet, entitled THE UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA IS BORN and celebrate the opening of the University and circulated to guests upon that occasion. Its statement on

the Philosophy of the University is more useful in suggesting the directions in which the American advisory group hoped to move than in providing specific interpretation of doctrine, but it did bring various strands of doctrine together in a relatively coherent statement:

> The University of Nigeria is built upon the faith that education can and should make a difference in the society it serves and in the character of the men and women it educates. . . . The extent to which this nation achieves its measure of greatness in the future will depend upon the extent to which it is able to apply its finest intellectual and moral resources to the tasks confronting it. The University of Nigeria can contribute to this future only throughthe courageous, yet deliberate, planning of its entire programme to serve this end. . . .
>
> Its educational planning will require a continuous search for the real problems of Nigeria, West Africa, and the contemporary world. It will require a renewed emphasis upon the application of man's accumulated knowledge to the solution of these problems. . . . It will require that sense of . . . . devotion to service to ones fellow man, lacking which, knowledge becomes more pedantry. In its search for educational patterns which will meet these requirements, no sure and final answers will be available. Foreign educational systems provide a reservoir of ideas and experience, yet final answers will be found only by adapting these ideas to the new setting of our time and country. The ultimate answers we seek can be shaped only through the application of creative imagination and bold experimentation. . . .
>
> Students become productive, contributing citizens only as they find their own strengths and the directions in which they may be of servie to others. In part it is the function of the faculty to stand ready to provide guidance and direction as these are sought. To this end informal as well as formal seminars and contacts with the faculty will be provided and encouraged. . . .
>
> One of the persistent problems of universities is that of developing programmes and curricula which accurately reflect their underlying purposes and philosophies. One of the major tasks of the University of Nigeria in the first years of its existence will be the planning and implementation of programmes which reflect its unique purposes. Certain intellectual needs are the common requirements of all students in the University. The serving of these needs will require the development of courses and programmes which encourage students to analyze both the persistent problems of man and the pressing problems of our own era and their particular culture. It is through the development

of such courses and the application of such teaching methods that the University hopes to provide the common intellectual and moral bases which are the hallmarks of the educated man . . . .

The additional requirement for such a university is that of application, the requirement that the knowledge it imparts and the intellectual skills it develops meet the practical test of rendering service to man. On the one hand this requires that the University help develop in all its students a respect for honest labour and a commitment to human welfare. On the other hand, it requires the University develop professional and practical curricula which produce citizens who are broadly educated and at the same time equipped with specialized knowledge which will enable them to engage in productive work in a rapidly changing society. . . .The initial development of programmes and curricula in Agriculture, Education and Engineering, rooted in the problems of Nigeria and the people of Nigeria. . . . are designed to serve as pilot programmes to point the way for the development of further areas in the future. . . .

The University of Nigeria is committed especially to the promotion of those forms of research which bear directly upon the pressing problems of the people of Nigeria. The extent to which this University can engage in creative research in the social sciences, the natural sciences, and the professional fields as they apply to Nigeria will in large measure determine the long-range contribution of the University of Nigeria to the lives of the people of Nigeria.

The University of Nigeria is dedicated to the proposition of serving not only its students but the total society which supports it, In its commitment to service the University will stand ready to assist present teachers, farmers, businessmen, and others with their problems through such means as seminars, conferences, and short courses. In its quest to be of service to the people, the University expects in many fields to go to the people and not wait for them to come to it. In a very real sense it is hoped that the boundaries of the University will be the boundaries of the society is committed to serve. The University ultimately hopes to measure its success in terms of the changes it has helped to make in the lives of all the people of Nigeria. *

* The University of Nigeria is Born, October 1960,pp. 1-5

A further delineation of the notion of a common intellectual base for all students took shape during the first year in the decision to develop a program of General Studies (see below) As this was at first to prove one of the most controversial of the new doctrines of the University, it was to this point that Dr. George Johnson devoted himself exclusively in addressing the University at the opening of the second academic year. On that occasion he argued for the doctrine and the program on the basis of citizenship and leadership responsibilities of University graduates:

> The democratic principles upon which the Federation of Nigeria is founded point to the necessity of developing an informed citizenry. It is not necessary that all Nigerians have a University education, but if Nigeria is to develop a free society. or government of the people, by the people, and for the people, then the people must be informed. The heavy responsibility for keeping the people informed falls inescapably on you, the students of the University of Nigeria and other educated Nigerians regardless of your special areas of competence.
>
> We must have a general understanding of the forces that exist in the world today that may affect Nigeria...
>
> Universities in various parts of the world have recognized the importance of equipping students with a knowledge of the techniques and methodologies necessary to understand the nature of today's problems. An increasing number of these Universities have developed programmes to meet this need. The University of Nigeria offers its General Studies programme wherein all students will acquire an understanding of the importance of communication, the nature of social organizations and the scientific age in which we live. In the judgment of the governing body of University and the academic staff, this programme is an essential aid in meeting Nigeria's needs in the field of higher education. That it may be a new type of programme to some of you should not be disturbing. . .

While ~~Although~~ the American advisory group spoke most strongly in behalf of General Education, and must be given major credit for initiating this innovation. Dr. Azikiwe continued to devote his efforts to explicating and advocating the "land-grant philosophy" of applied or "practical" higher education, to which he had become wedded while studying in America. It would appear that he accepted the General Education concept as an ingredient of this more comprehensive "philosophy" but it was not upon this ingredient that he focused his primary attention. Upon being installed as Chancellor of the University he took the occasion to restate the land-grant philosophy as he saw it, stressing that in addition to its emphasis upon a multiplicity of applied fields it encompassed an "open-door" policy of admission to extend the benefits of university education to all who could profit from it and an obligation of the University to carry its knowledge to enlighten persons and activities far from University Halls:

> As chanticleers of a new African society, history has charged us with the task of building a new nation out of the debris of a hoary past. To build this ideal nation, the builders must have certain definite objectives and for such objectives to have enduring value, they must be inspired by a philosophy which is pragmatic.
>
> Whilst proping to find an answer, it dawned upon us to study critically the philosophy of th land-grant universities and its role in revolutionising higher education. We discovered that the American Morrill Act of 1862 made it possible for universities to be endowed by the State and at the same time give life to the democratic ideal of equality of educational opportunity.
>
> The creation of such an "open door" to those who have the native ability and illectual aptitude for higher education to bring out of the Pierian spring of knowledge and skill was unprecendented in world history, and the experience gained has given impetus to the production of scholars, research workers and productive elements in society.

> Another ingredient of the land grant university system is the transplantation of higher education to the people and relating its curriculum to their needs. This is not necessarily an extra-mural course, as such; rather, it is an effort to transform factories, workshops, farms, and houses into university classrooms, so to speak, and thus bring the benefit of higher education to the greatest number of people who, ordinarily, would not be able to have access either to the savants who teach in the universities of the land or the information contained in learned theses, treatises, brochures, and other documents of an academic nature.*

By this time the essential doctrine of the University was set and subsequent innovations have been designed either to translate doctrine into program or to consolidate or institutionalize the latter. Addresses by the first two Vice-Chancellors of the University serve, perhaps, best to encapsulate the doctrine of the University as it was viewed by those who were attempting innovations. In addressing the Nigeria Society, in 1962, Dr. George Johnson enunciated the philosophy clearly as he saw it:

> The university is commited to a philosophy which would permit it to offer courses in such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and industry without excluding the classics, the arts, and the scientific studies. The philosophy is embodied in five basic concepts:
>
> 1. The government provides financial support for higher education through a system of periodic grants.
> 2. Higher education supported by these grants is not restricted to an upper class, but is designed to include the sons and daughters of the working people.
> 3. This eduction prepares students to apply the discoveries of science and advancing technology to daily life.
> 4. Scholars involved in this type of higher education also carry on applied research on the practical problems of the people.
> 5. The faculty teaches not only the students resident on the University's campus, but also adults through the country wherever they have the need.

* Azikiwe, Nnamdi. A New Breed for a New Nation. Aba: International Press and Bookshop, 1961, pp. 12-13.

> To the extent that the University is true to this philosophy, the courses of study of the University must be related to the day-to-day life of Nigeria and focus upon the social and economic needs of this nation. For one of the basic aims is to promote internal and practical education in Nigerian communities as a whole. . .
>
> General studies. . . purpose is to provide the student with an understanding of man and man's problems and the tools by which man has solved these problems in the past and present with the hope that some of these tools may be used to solve man's problem in the future.
>
> In other words, the programme is attempting to give the student some insight into the impact that science, economics, politics, religion, art and philosophy has had on him as a Nigerian, an African and a world citizen. The student should thus be provided with a broad base of understanding which will permit him to understand the part he has to play as a specialist and college graduate in his community, region or nation.
>
> It is in the faith that diversity and flezibility in education, like diversity and flexibility in thought, is a sign of strength rather than weakness in a society, that the University of Nigeria has been born.

His successor, Dr. Glen Taggart, in addressing the faculties of the University at the beginning of the 1965-1966 academic year reduced this five points commitment to three major themes:

> First, it is a university which is knowledgeable and sensitive to the needs, problems and interests of the people of Nigeria.
>
> Second, it is a university whose academic programmes have a distinct public service orientation, whose faculty sees as its major role a commitment to develop students who, because of their education, feel a responsibility to serve others and contribute by hard work to the building of this nation, rather than students who, having achieved a university degree, would expect to be accorded prestige and status, and be served by others.
>
> And third, it is a university dedicated to the concept of mass education at the highest level. *

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* The Record, Nsukka, October 9, 1965, p. 1

Although the Vice Chancellors spoke of the fundamental "doctrinal elements" of the University, elements which it was difficult to fault, it remained for the Registrar of the University, Mr. Vincent Chukwumeka Ike, to state and defend certain "operational doctrines" which became equally identified with the university. This he did in an address (delivered as part of the graduation ceremonies in 1964) in which he analyzed Nigerian criticisms and concerns about the new university. ~~as the same characteristics have as part of the graduation ceremonies in 1964 in which he analyzed Nigerian criticisms and concerns about the new university.~~ As the same characteristics have been identified in this study by students and school-related persons alike as among the distinguishing characteristics of Nsukka, his statement of the criticisms is of value in singling out doctrinal elements of a different order.

I have tried to analyze the grounds on ehich we have been criticized:

(1) One ground is that we began a full University. What was the quarantee that we would not award cheap degrees indiscriminately, without the watchful eye of a reputable and well established university?

(2) Another ground for criticism was the admission of holders of the West African School Certificate or the Ordinary level G.C.E. to the University. The comments from the Report of the National Universities Commission echo this . . . .

(3) Our American friends may not like to hear this, but one other reason why many people in Nigeria feel standards cannot be high here is because of the prominent role which Americans are playing in this University. The image of American education in this country and in many other countries which were at one time British colonial territories is not very complimentary. . . . Very few people know about the invaluable contributions being made by the U.K.Department of Technical Cooperation, and the Netherlands Universities Foundation for International Cooperation towards the development of the University, nor of the international nature of our staff.

(4) One other criticism has been the unprecedented rate of expansion. How could a university expand so rapidly without sacrificing academic standards? . . . . Dr. Njoku (now third Vice Chancellor of the University of Nigeria) remarked, referring to Nigeria, "one of the most important considerations to bear in mind is the very rapid rate of change--so rapid that we sometimes begin to think that we are working to a . . .different time scale from the rest of the world." The University of Nigeria has had to expand very rapidly in keeping with the tempo in the country. Rapid expansion in itself need not however be synonymous with low academic standards, provided it is backed up by sound forward planning.

One significant thing is that hardly any of the criticism of this University has been based on the adequacy of the degree programme which we publish annually for all those who care to read.*

In an attempt to assess the [redacted] of the University doctrine, all publics of the University which were interviewed in the course of this study were asked to state what they saw as the major distinctive elements in the university. No attempt was made to ask respondents to distinguish between "doctrine" and "program" in this identification, nor between the broad doctrinal elements and those "operational doctrines" of the trype to which Mr. Ike had referred. A content analysis of the respondents to this open-ended question permitted the subsequent classification of their replies into ten innovation-clusters, which may be defined as follows:

1. The pragmatic orientation. This category of response included references to education being designed to meet the "needs" of Nigeria, particularly those needs which were related to manpower and economic development; references to a vocational orientation in education, including references to the university offering work in fields not hitherto considered "worthy" of university status; references to the concepts of "use" or "functionality" as the criteria or tests of educational value; and references to types of preparation which enabled graduates to handle the "practical problems" which they confronted when they left the university. The overwhelming proportion of those answers

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* Ike, V.C. "Academic Standards at the University of Nigeria"; pp.71-74 in Graduates Album and Speeches of Convocations, University of Nigeria, Nsukka,

which fell into this category employed the concept of Nigerian Needs. (Particular attention was frequently devoted to the offering of the professional degree in Education as a response to such needs or such a vocational orientation.

2. General education. This category of response included references to the required general Studies program of the university (see below, pp.), to the fact that the Nsukka program required breadth "as well as specialization", to "horizontal education", and to the notion that an educated man must know a little about a lot of things. Such an education, it was frequently asserted, produced "flexible" graduates who were at home in the world and any situation in which they found themselves.

3. Nigerian cultural content. This category of response included references to the belif that the university drew its content from Nigerian culture, frequent reference being made to the Nigerian arts. When garbed philosophically, such reference indicated that education must always be "cultural", when garbed in nationalist clothing, they contrusted Nsukka education with "colonialist" education to the disparagement of the latter.

4. Flexible or lower admission standards. This category of responses included references to the publicly stated admissions policy of the university which accepted students at the West African School Certificate level (after five years of secondary school) as well as after the Higher School Certificate (seven years of secondary school), and to "flexible" admissions policies, implying varied admission points. Those reacting favorably to the admissions policies of the university tended to refer to them as "flexible", those who reacted unfavorably tended to refer to them as "lower".

5. Large enrollment. This category of response included references to increased intake of students or to increased output of graduates. Those reacting favorably to this innovation generally referred to such justifications as "giving everyone a chance" or "meeting expanded manpower needs of Nigeria", whereas those reacting negatively considered the threat of unemployed university graduates piling up.

6. Non-elitist or service orientation. This category of response included references to the fact that the university was to be of service to the total community (for example through conferences for "poultry raisers"), to the fact that its graduates considered themselves part of rather than apart from their communities, and that Nsukka graduates recognized that they had an obligation to serve others. Other references included the ability of the graduates to miz freely with the uneducated and the unsophisticated or the willingness to get in and do a job of work. Within the university this orientation was seen as involving students not having personal service, being expected to serve themselves, not having special caps and gowns, and being expected to share dormitory rooms.

7. Rapid Development. This category of response included references to the fact that this university had developed very speedily, often including references to the launching of many programs simultaneously. Often this speed of development was contrasted to the deliberate and careful pace of development which had characterized the previous university tradition (especially Ibadan).

8. Independent status. This category of response refered to the autonomy or independence of the university, to the fact that it was the first "indigenous" university and was empowered to grant its own degrees from its inception, as contrasted with Ibadan which had started in special relationship with London.

9. American, British-American, or International Orientation. This category of response included a number of differnent interpretations of the "flavour" of the university, all of them having one common element--that it was not a distinctly British-type university. Some viewed the new university as being built on American lines, some as representing a fusion of British and American models, and some as characterized by an"international faculty"--apparently in contrast with the previously known patterns of faculties which were predominantly British.

10. Evaluation system. This category of response referred to those elements of the evaluation system within the university which were new to Nigeria, notably the cumulative credit system with American-type "grade point averages", frequent examinations and cumulative achievement as part of the final evaluation and degree-determining process, and evaluation in all fields covered rather than only in one's principle field of study.

Whatever may have been the innovative doctrine as viewed by the leaders of the University, it is these elements which strike those around the university as (1) being distinctive of it, and (2) actually characterizing it. The frequency with which these various "innovations" or "distinctive elements were referred to probably gives some indication of their saliency, this frequency being indicated by various publics in Table c. [illegible]. As four of these innovation-clusters are quite strictly doctrinal, and as student and graduate responses revealed these were frequently viewed as among the major innovations of the University, it is worth letting the graduates of the university describe these innovations in their own words.

The first of these was the pragmatic orientation toward education, expressed both in terms of the university program being designed to meet "needs" of Nigerian society and in terms of emphasis on applied fields in education. The External Examiner in Education had noted that the final examination papers of Education students had revealed their strong commitment to such a pragmatic philosophy. The students in turn identified this as a distinguishing characteristic of their alma mater, as the following responses taken from questionnaires and interviews clearly demonstrate.

Illustrative Nigerian expressions of the innovation:

> Most of the courses are geared towards the needs of the society and the emphasis has shifted from mere theory to practice. I believe that the ideas are right in the light of the present needs of Nigeria. As a new and developing country, Nigeria needs men and women who are prepared to serve her here and now and not while collar job seekers who merely sit at tables to issue orders.

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> The unique degree programs found in the Institution such as(i) the General Studies Program, (ii) Uniques degrees as B.A. Bxc Education and degrees in Home Economics, Secretarial Studies, physical Education and Vocational Education, (iii) Its closer touch with the people of Nigeria and the outside world. These ideas are quite right because Education should cater for the needs of the people. The graduates of this University, as I have experienced myself, find that they are fully prepared to fact the problems facing the life outside the campus, especially in these unique degrees mentioned above.

* * * * * * * * * * *

> The programmes of the university are geared to suit the needs of an emergent nation, Nigeria. . . .The programmes of other universities before the birth of the UNN were not designed to suit the needs of the country. They were designed for Colonial peoples. Some graduates from U.K. or others from the Continent of Europe, eg. Engineers, could not handle and repair engines or electrical engineers could not install electrical plants. But now the products of the UNN are practical men and women. . .

* * * * * * * * * * *

Besides its being a systhesis of Nigerian, American and English educational systems, the University is basically an institution that provides education for USE. It is in short pragmatic in the main and this is its chief distinctive character.

* * * * * * * * * * *

A second and closely related series of comments referred to the anti-elitist orientation or value pattern which the university had ostensibly produced in its graduates and which had been emphasized a number of times in public policy statements by university authorities. This verbal allegiance to a democratic egalitarianism was a further frequent theme, especially among the early graduates of the university, who revealed various facets of this orientation in such replies as the following:

In direct education ideas, it afford its products the opportunity to learn to associate with their fellow folks. . . in some time past university education tended, inadvertently, to create an unapproachable elite class which spoke, lived and hoped like non-Africans. Some of such trained alite who attempted to live like the common man in the community had a very keen eye on political importance and eventual capitalism.

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What I believe is new or differnt is that the University products are more part and parcel of the society than is true of the Ibadan boys. I can illustrate by a vacation experience. In our town there was a community project . The Ibadan boys stook in the streets in suits, while the Nsukka boys got in trousers and worked. . . (These ideas are right.) If you believe education is socialization, then make students part and parcel of society.

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The integration of the university and society produces students who rather than think of themselves as the priviledged class looking down on the less fortunate regard themselves as servants sympathising with the less fortunate and coming down (sic) to their level, mixing freely without distinction. These regard their education as an opportunity to be used for the service of others.

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Holding the short courses for people from various walks of life through its adult education centre, holding of seminars on the countries problems. . . Its idea of education for use and servide to the nation makes the university of Nigeria outstanding.

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"Restore the Dignity of Man". People commend the way Nsukka graduates and undergraduates don't segregate themselves from society; they deviate from the traditional way of being different! People always feel at home with students and graduates--this increases their impact. When I did research work in the last year of education in the Onitsh Urban Area, I found people had been cut off from university. The UNN is the first university making an effort to coordinate these levels. "Ibadan students look foreign even in their own country."

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The idea of service, eg., Self-service cafeteria and the introduction of work scholarships to aid financially handicapped students.

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The University of Nigeria is committed to and therefore has embarked upon what I have to call "down to earth" education. This new educational idea is lucidly expressed in the Forward to its educational calendar where it says, "We cannot affort to continue to produce or to encourage the continued production of an upper class of prasites who shall prey upon a stagnant sterile class of workers and peasants". . . . the University of Nigeria has been founded as a levelling agent to discourage social stratification and to reduce unemployability to the barest minimum . . . . The University has come to produce a new breed of citizens who believe in the dignity of labour, equal pay for equal work, and the equality of men.

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Its graduates are taught to regard themselves not as a privileged elite removed from and spiteful of less privileged bulk of the society, but as ordinary members of the society ready to use their newly-acquired knowledge and skills in the service of that society. They are taught to live, not merely preach, democracy. . . . Another radical feature distinguish the University is the way it is carrying uniwersity education and its benefits home to the villages, to the educated and barely literate alike, through its diversified short non-degree professional courses and its extra-mural programmes (work-shops, conferences, and the like). Hitherto, the average Nigerian had known University as a "sacrosanct" institution reserved exclusively for the academically "initiated." The nonstandoffish down-to-earth all-hands-on-deck attitude of its graduates is already becoming a distinguishing characteristic (" like the American," some say). The Nigerian public--at least the Southern Nigerian public--is appreciatively

getting the feel of the philosophy of the University of Nigeria.

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An important point is that unlike products of sister universities, eg. Ibadan, our people miz easily with the members of society who are not members of the elite. A product feels he has come out to serve the needs of people and be like the people. For example, when I saw you over there, I was out working in my small farm; graduates of other universities wouldn't do this type of thing.

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The idea of making the university serve the needs of the community for which it is built. . . making the university produce graduates that are part and parcel of the society for which it is created. . . I believe (this is right) because in the past our universities in this country had been producing graduates who feel they are elites and as such better than the community from where they had come, thus staying outside and aloof from this community ("an island"). The University of Nigeria produces graduates who are adaptable and adjusted to their societies.

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Education in the U.N.N. is based on democratic principles. The student of the university is taught to be simple in his life, especially after his university education--to recognize and respect his fellow man, even the street cleaner. As a result of the General studies programme of the university, the graduate of the U.N.N. is not a one-subject graduate. He can fit into any society. I strongly believe in these ideas because I feel that no man is an island to himself. Every individual has his own personality and is important to the society in his sphere of life. One is not educated if he knows only, say, History and remains perfectly ignorant of all other subjects--if he can't understand his fellow man or can't fit into any society.

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Before coming to the university I always felt a university man was someone who was different from all other members of society; but I've discovered this is a myth. If a university man wants to serve society he must mix freely with others in that society so they feel he is part of them. I always felt the student lecturer relationship would be only in the lecture room: we had social get togethers, seminars, felt free with them; had access to the head of the department. We were often, sent with lecturers to investigate some social problems. For example, it was at Nsukka that I say that even primary school teachers could come to the university and mix freely with the Faculty, including the Dean. If those I used to think superior can mix freely with them, why can't I do the same? Any superior knowledge is only of benefit if you can use it for the benefit of others.

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A third theme which graduates and students identified as characterizing the University was that education involved more than specialization, that it involved general education or a breadth of understanding which equipped the graduate both to find his place in life and to understand the world around him:

> The ideas that education should be broadbased and community involving. The departure from the traditional narrow-down scheme of study which is the legacy of colonial past, especially the inclusion of the General Studies programme which traditionalists felt tampered with the depth of work to be covered but which really does not in any way affect the depth but rather through integration of courses simplifies the chosen field of study and provides basic ideas in tackling other courses.

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> The introduction of General Studies. . .an educated man should know something about everything and possibly much about something. So in addition to the field of specialization, as student ought to know something about other fields.

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> There is a combination of the narrow specialization of British Education and the General Studies program. Breadth is combined with depth. It would be untrue to say from my own experience that the experience of combining breadth with depth has been successful. This is because in the subjects where the aim is to wider the breadth of the students intellectual formation, the overriding motive on the part of the student is to pass exams. As far as the students are concerned the obsession for exams prevents and will continue to prevent a real and genuine synthesis of the three backgrounds. Ideas are weighed on their exam value instead of their truth-value. This is a handicap.

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> One distinctive feature of the University of Nigeria is that which aims at producing graduates who know little about many things and then much about one or two things, hence the introduction of General Studies programme. . .The General Studies programme makes for versatility.

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> The university aims at giving the students a broad outlook in life--academically, socially, culturally and politically, and to avoid producing graduates of narrow specialization who know only history, education, English and nothing more. . . (This is right) Even though,professionally, a man must be attached to one field of life, yet to be successful in this field of life, he must not be totally ignorant of other fields. In the totality of life and living, knowledge is one. The question to be in front of every enthusiastic human being is "How do I use the knowledge of other fields to promote my own?"

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A fourth theme, surprisingly far less frequently referred to by students and graduates, and perhaps less frequently realized in practice than other elements of the enunciated doctrine, was the comitment of the University to draw its course content from the culture of Nigeria. Although the students had frequently recognized the role of their education in preparing them to deal with the "needs" of society--frequently thought of in terms of the types of manpower called for in a modernizing economy--they far less frequently saw the University as exemplifying an emphasis on course content which was specifically Nigerian, although the commitment to a program which was built out of indegenous cultural content had clearly been an element in University doctrine. In part, this was, of course, a function of the fact that within most fields of study such content was not necessarily relevant to the "discipline" as currently defined; and even with such fields as history and literature the amount of such content codified and available for study was strictly limited.

> It is the first varsity in Nigeria which actually geared its programme to the society. . .Education is cultural, full stop. Any varsity for Nigeria should bear the above definition of Education in mind.

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TABLE C - UNIVERSITY INNOVATIONS IDENTIFIED BY VARIOUS PUBLICS

INNOVATION	EDUCATION STUDENTS		EDUCATION GRADUATES	PRINCIPALS AND ED. SECRETARIES	
	"Freshmen"	"Seniors"		Including UNN	Excluding UN
R=	100	64	88	88	76
1. Pragmatic Orientation	51	65	66	41	33
2. General Education	88	44	62	39	30
3. Nigerian Cultural Content	7	10	14	12	9
4. Admission Standards	1	4	5	11	10
5. Large Enrollment	9	4	9	12	10
6. Non-elitist Service Orientation	3	10	32	12	10
7. Rapid Development	2	0	1	9	9
8. Independent Status	2	3	7	3	3
9. American, Fused, or International Flavour	16	17	14	15	14
10. Evaluation System	26	21	13	3	7

> Preservation of the cultural heritage: the university program in education, history and African studies emphasize this. . .the understanding of the cultural heritage enables the students to understand the past, appreciate the present and plan for the future.
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>
> It is the ideology of the restoration of the dignity of man. To achieve this, things African are emphasized. For example, African history is compulsory for all students of history and all students taking courses in General Studies.
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An examination of the figures shown in Table C . reveals that the two innovation-clusters which stand out most clearly are related to fundamental University doctrine:

(1) the "pragmatic" orientation, which involved gearing education to Nigerian needs and giving priority to applied or vocational fields, and (2) the commitment to "General Education" as a major component in all the University degree programs. Each of these was readily identifiable because it possessed a clear programmatic interpretation, but each was likewise a core element in the frequently verbalized doctrine of the University. The innovations in the evaluation system--which included such disparate elements as "Frequent examinations", and "the cumulative credit system," and "no third-class honours degree" - stood out in the mind of students, being closely related to their immediate concerns, but appear quickly to lose their significance to graduates and are scarcely known to others. It is likewise clear that these innovations were not elements of fundamental doctrine but rather a subsidiary order of operational practices. The elitist and service orientation of the University, which had been strongly

noted by its first or "pioneer" graduates is less frequently noted by those currently in the university, perhaps a reflection of improved amenities, perhaps an unintentional shift in emphasis as the University has become established and "respectable", perhaps a function of whether respondents are "still in" the University or "already graduated" and confronted more directly by the wider community. If more than a function of the last named, however, this would mark an important shift in doctrine as internalized by students, probably ultimately its most effective diffusers.

Any dissection of answers which attempts to isolate such elements belies, in one sense, the tenor of may responses in which students wove various strands to form one synthetic "philosophy" or doctrine. Such encapsulated philosophies, reveal themselves in responses such as the following:

A senior in Education, with 20 years prior teaching experience:

> The educational programs are diversified to reflect the needs of society. The aim is to produce a new breed of Nigerians who will serve the nation and not to be served. The programmes are flexible to allow for adaptation and modification. There is an experiment in international cooperation. The university tries to synthesize American, British, Asiatic and African cultures. . . These ideas are right because Nigeria needs educated men and women dedicated to serve mankind, people qualified for particular services--such as education, agriculture, engineering, etc. New attitudes and skills, interests and abilities are being developed. Nigerian culture is given scope to flourish in arts and music. Diverse courses cater for diverse abilities and interests in people.

A senior with a similar long period of teaching experience writes:

> Unlike other universities the University of Nigeria does not regard education as a new coat or a source of pride. It regards education as a preparative for active life in the society. It aims at functional training. Students are not made to delight in traditional university dress or behaviors. It aims at all round education. These ideas are right because the traditional ideas about education in Nigeria are based on

foreign culture. If Nigeria must develop her own culture and society she adopts a new attitude to life-- to aim at development through education.

Graduates of the university delineated doctrine and responded to it in much the same way, as was revealed by such responses as the following:

Courses such as journalism, business administration, secretarial studies, home economics, physical and health education fine arts, etc. which are regarded as diploma courses in British universities are integrated into degree programmes in Nsukka, and as such the courses become popular. . . Nigeria pays greater premium on degrees than on diplomas even though the diploma may be as high or even higher than the degree course, hence the integration of such courses into degree programmes makes the recipients be on equal status with their fellow students in the markets of employment.

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The educational ideas of the university are functional in nature, they are pragmatic ideas geared to meet the needs of Nigeria in the field of high level manpower which is necessary for the organic growth of Nigeria. . . .the true value of University education in a developing country can be judged on the basis of the contribution with the University makes towards the overall progress in the country--Here, the University of Nigeria is a success.

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Its orientation of programme to specifically Nigerian needs. Its training of its graduates to apply themselves effectively in their areas of employment, so that education becomes functional rather than just intellectual. Its offering, at graduate level, courses that serve Nigeria's needs, but not until its openings were offered in other universities; eg. secretarial studies.

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It has a wide course of studies including vocational courses which hitherto have not been accepted in the British system as regular university courses. Moreover, the university's curriculum is oriented to suit the Nigerian environment. These ideas are right because education which has no bearing on the life of the people is worthless.

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Relaxed emphasis on theoretical concepts and on purely literary and humanistic curriculum. Greater emphasis on education which transmuted theoretical concepts into practical uses, and which relates classroom work to the needs and problems confronting the people of Nigeria in particular. . .A good education should help solve his own problems and contribute to the well-being of his society. Unless youths are taught to realize the problems confronting a developing people, they'll be unprepared to accept the challenges of the 20th Century.

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It is doing what universities in Europe and America have been doing for centuries now. The curriculum is designed to reflect Nigerian environment, to solve Nigerian problems and to meet Nigerian needs. Moreover, the undergraduate, apart from acquiring skills in his chosen field is obliged to take courses in the department of General Studies. This is designed to help him overcome the problem of narrow specialism and be able to play his role effectively as a citizen of Nigeria and the world. These ideas are right. Education is 100% cultural; any educational system that does not transmit the people's culture is worse than useless. The University of Nigeria, by insisting upon relating its programs to Nigerian culture, is taking the right step in the right direction. The General Studies program as already mentioned is designed to broaden the students' view about life to help him overcome the problems of provincialism and specialism and to make him a citizen of Nigeria and the world.

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It is a new type of varsity for Nigeria in that right from its establishment in 1960 it assumed the right of awarding degrees to her qualified students without first affiliating itself to any university overseas. It is different from other West African universities in that the tutorial staff comprises professors and lecturers from almost all important nations of the world, the student body is equally international in content and outlook. The broad-based curriculum is free from the taints of the old colonial system, embraces a greater number of fields of study than other varsities, touches more on the needs of a growing nation, tends to be horizontal to reach lives beyond the campus walls. These ideas are right and laudable but they imply some formidable problems which some of the introducers are either not ready or incapable to cope with. It is the problem of application of these ideas in a practical way in order to effect some changes in the society that has been long accustomed to copy or imitate what the former overlords had done, rather than

think and create with the help of such new ideas as have been introduced by this unique university. To the man on the spot the glowing ideas seem wrong when placed against the old educational background which makes their application impracticable if not impossible. It is here that some of us (University of Nigeria educators) by sheer force of circumstance become classroom technicians rather than educational engineers which we are really meant to be.

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First, it started with breaking the old colonial beliefs that education is for the benefitted few; that education should be vertical without breadth; that the teacher no matter his placement academically can ever see the walls of a university and finish up as a teacher. The University of Nigeria as well as all that it did started certain disciplines within the university which were previously thought of as outside the scope of what the university could do. This university in short brought itself home to the people. These ideas, as held by the university of Nigeria are quite right. During the colonial educational periods, the country hardly solved the pressing man-power needs. Only the benefitted few got University education and were regarded as the very important section of our society while indeed they were not. Most if not all prided themselves with their white collar jobs. There was no progress. With the arrival of the University of Nigeria with its broad based education--graduates from different universities compete for existence and recognition in our society today. For your information, we are not disappointed--we hold our own and in many areas we are sought for our applications.

A senior with somewhat less teaching experience reveals the extreme functional orientation of many of the graduates:

The U.N.N. believes in mass production of graduates. It believes that knowledge is useless unless it can be used, ie. functional knowledge. It believes that education should be oriented to the particular environment which it is to serve. It believes that anything needed in society can be taught in a university level. It emphasizes general rather than special education. These ideas are right. If knowledge or education fails to solve some of the needs of society it is not worth having. Though specialists are needed in some fields, what Nigerian Society needs more today is people with general knowledge or rather general

> education. Again, curriculum must be oriented to the environment in which it is to serve.
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> The U.N.N. relates its programme with the needs of the people of Nigeria. The students are being trained to be practical in their approach to the problems of the society. Functional education is being pushed vigorously. Emphasis is being laid on the areas of concentrated manpower needs of the nation. (These ideas) are right because education is an instrument for the service of society. It is therefore most important that the course of study of the university should be directed towards providing for the need of the people the university is intended to serve.
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> The University of Nigeria has given the idea that Africans can establish an institution of this nature and without much tutelage of the non-Africans, still run it. It is the first time that a university education is meant for a few. Several courses that people thought were below the rank of a university have been brought to this level. . . The idea that university education should be for all is right for it is in conformity with the democratic principle of equality of opportunity and more so because it will make available talents that would have otherwise been lost. Bringing almost all activities of mankind into the university will lead to their highest development.

In this consideration of total university doctrine three factors stand out. First, the major doctrinal elements of the total university were matters of firm faith with the top Nigerian leaders in the Faculty of Education. They had been influential in the delineation of this doctrine years before the opening of the university, they were committed to the doctrine, they had eagerly sought positions at the university partly because they hoped to see this doctrine implemented, and in the interviews conducted five years after the opening of the university they reiterated their faith in the doctrine. Second, there was considerable agreement between leaders of the university and its most numerous school-related publics as to what the major innovations of the university were. In particular, students and graduates

in Education identified the same doctrinal elements as were enunciated by the leaders of the University as its principle articles of faith. Third, as will be described in greater detail in Chapter VII, students and graduates not only identified these doctrinal elements but in large part identified with them. They had, in fact, internalized the doctrine and were enthusiastic in viewing themselves as examplars of the type of education which had been worked out to realize this doctrine.

Doctrine in Professional Education

The nexus of relationships whereby College doctrine and University doctrine were intertwined was complex. These relationships may be considered in three ways. First, to a large extent, College doctrine was merely a replica of University doctrine. The College was fortunate in this respect for the audiences to which it addressed itself were, by and large, familiar with education discourse; and College leadership could verbalize educational doctrine and expect understanding even if it could not always expect approval. Second, as one of the "applied fields" in the University, the College and its program were an application of the vocational and pragmatic dimension of the "content" or interpretation the university was giving to such slogans as "meeting the needs of Nigeria". Finally, the College of Education doctrine became an extrapolation beyond university doctrine. It would be surprising if a sub-organization were bounded entirely by the limits suggested by the doctrine of the total organization; certainly the College looked upon itself as providing a cutting or growing edge to doctrine, a point at which new ideas and roles could generate, be explored, be applied. Thus, doctrine, in

Education, can be examined as a replica of university doctrine, as an application of that doctrine to a specific field of human activity, and as an extrapolation beyond the doctrine enunciated by all-university leadership.

Any attempt to identify the doctrine of the University or its College Education faces one other difficulty. Categories which have a certain analytic cleanness, do not necessarily reveal the same cleanness when applied in programs. Categories suitable for analysis can prove inappropriate as schemes for organizing action. When the scholar becomes educational leader he is seldom concerned with doctrine per se; he is concerned with the interpretation and implementation of doctrine; and in his hands and in this context the distinction between doctrine and program loses significance. Pursuit of this distinction is often like trying to locate a shadow line: at times it seems neat and clean, at other times blurred. Such a line has the further unsettling characteristic of being constantly on the more; what today is expressed purely as doctrine has tomorrow been given programmatic interpretations, and allegiance has spread from the slogan to the program which has been attached to it. Conversely what has been introduced on the action level finds need for rationalization; and from this rationalization a new increment is added to doctrine.

In the operational scene, quite apart from the problem of disentangling private or individual interpretations of doctrine from organizational doctrine, this poses a further difficulty. On the other hand, doctrine without programmatic interpretation has a [redacted] ring; one questions if it has real content or meaning; on the [redacted] hand, once programmatic interpretation has been worked out, this interpretation begins to usurp the

ce of the original doctrine. For example, at the University of Nigeria, ng the Americans in particular, a concept of broad,general education was erpreted by the second year to mean an MSU-type program of interdiscip- ary courses ("broad fields") organized within the same broad categories scholarly endeavour which M.S.U. employed, namely the Social Science, Humanities, the Natural Sciences, and English and written communication s (excluding mathematics). Once the slogan "general education" had been en this specific interpretation esentially a borrowed interpretation, it to this particular program or interpretation that most allegiance was d. Thus,those who viewed the university frequently saw a particular gram form as the innovative element; the original doctrine of which s was an interpretation was in less clear focus. When this shift occured, ovative thrust tended to be lost; and at the University of Nigeria there a clear danger by 1964 that allegiance to this particular interpretation ld mean that all university curricula would become frozen in an T tern in which General Studies provided all the breadth, the remainder of k being in one narrow field.

The doctrinal charge to the College of Education contained in the k-Hannah-Taggart Report urged only that the College(a priority field) uld "be concerned with leadership in the development of more professional mentary and secondary school programmes" and should concern itself not only h creating new teachers but "raising the standards of those now in the ching profession." The Carnegie Seminar in Education, held in February, 1, was originally intended to give greater specificity to these broad rges; but it was used instead primarily as a means of eliciting the

opinions of others rather than enunciating ~~committing~~ any established doctrine. Its main function in the latter respect was altered to an indirect one: we deliberately designed the program to reflect the doctrine that educational programs should come to grips explicitly with the problems of an emerging society. Participants and topics were selected to place focus on this theme. At no time in the program did I, or any member of the College of Education, make any address which enunciated policy or program. While the final Report of the Seminar was a distillate of ideas judged relevant to this theme, (the criteria for selection from the reservoir of ideas presented being thus an implicit "philosophy of education") even this Report was not publicly circulated. The Plan of Development for the College of Education which was prepared two weeks after the seminar, was likewise on internal document although it did necessarily present a programmatic interpretation of emerging doctrine.

The first public statement of "philosophy" made on behalf of the College of Education came as the first conference of the Eastern Nigerian Secondary School Principals Association, a conference which was held on campus at their request. Also at their request, I addressed the Association on the new College. This was the first occasion used to make public any major themes in the doctrine of the College. As the address given was checked with several Nigerian members of the College who had bythen arrived, it represented more than my personal predilections and may be considered a major delineation of doctrine. Categorized here under major doctrinal headings but otherwise as then presented the doctrine was as follows:

1. The role of the university as critic:

" A university is never an agency designed to mirror the society it serves, a fine reflector in which the society may primp and poweder its nose and take pride in itself. Rather a University is another kind of being altogether. As perhaps no other agency within society, except the church, the university is by its very nature committed to be the critic and the conscience of society. It is my hope that the University of Nigeria in the years ahead will follow in this treasured academic tradition."

2. Social relevance of education:

" I should like to examine one small facet of the question of the adequacy of present Nigerian secondary education to the threat of the future. Most social analysts would agree that when individual's fondly cherished and, comfortably nourished aspirations are thwarted, social conflict and disorder are imminet possibilities. In country after country we have observed that disgruntled educated classes, persons who have educated themselves in the belief that education was the ladder to opportunity and success only to find the doors were not magically opened (or that there were no doors at all) have served as fodder upon which social unrest and social conflict have fed. . .. That the hoolidan element can easily be rallied to attempt such disorders is easily attested by the recent demonstrations in Lagos. And to this cauldron they would brew and add a nation of Standard VI boys who pathetically believe that the school leaving certificate would take them off the farm, would open the doors of opportunity to him. Ass to the cauldron a mushrooming of conventional secondary schools, secondary schools that will produce W.A.S.C. holders who are but little better prepared by training in terms of usable skills or in terms of inclination for the hard work that goes into building a new nation. The seeds of social disorder are there; and as educational leaders,as the real architects of the world of tomorrow, we must stand ready to bear our share of the responsibility if the edifice crumbles."

3. Curriculum revision:

"It is not going to do to continue to turn out secondary school graduates who have the inheritance of academic background and no salable vocational skills. With the most charitable and kind invention in the world, government and business can absorb only so many superluous and basically untrained clerks; after that there is little space for many certificate holders to go other than into the ranks of the dissident unemployed . . . .I am suggesting that the secondary grammar schools are going to have to introduce practical, vocational studies which can be

taken alongside these, even at the sacrifice of producing a student who has had to forego one or two of the established disciplines. Whether such courses should be in business, mechanics, principles and practices of education or other fields I am not prepared to say. But I am convinced that you can no longer turn out a vast number of graduates who have not genuine, practical ability.

It is no longer going to do to think we can handle the citizenship aspects of education merely by teaching the W.A.S.C. syllabus in history. Leaders in secondary grammar schools with what help the universities can give them, are going to have to attack frotnally the problem of helping students understand and participate effectively in their society. Those ingredients of political science, sociology, international affairs, and economics which are necessary to reach intelligent national and international decisions cannot be left to the incidental learning from the occasional lecture, the chapel sermon, or the interest club."

4. Educational leadership.

"What kind of a person should a Faculty of Education at a University attempt to produce? There are two possible answers to this question. In many countries and in many circumstances it has been decided that the job of faculties of education was to produce educational technicians. Educational technicians are persons who are equipped to do a little better what is already being done inadequately. In normal times and normal circumstances the production of teachers as technicians may be sufficient. But for our times and our circumstances it is not enough. The alternative is to turn out of our university potential educational statesmen. Unlike technicians, such statesmen-teachers will not be committed solely to doing a little better what is already being done. They will be men of action and ideas; men who are willing to innovate, to seek new answers to old problems, to put ideas to the ultimate test of action. The fashioning of a curriculum which will produce such people will not be an easy task. . . .

Interestingly enough, it was the final point(with a fortunate unscrambing of the metaphor) which became the central slogan of the college:

"We are producing educational engineers, not educational technicians." (~~Infra, pp.~~) See below, pp

* Hanson, John W. "In Friendly Persuasion," presented at Convention of Principals of Secondary School of Eastern Nigeria, Nsukka, March 24-25, 1961.

Although the speech evoked little response from most expatriate school principals present, it received enthusiastic endorsement from the then smaller number of Nigerian principals. A group of the most enthusiastic of these, largely American educated, came to my house after the convocation to underscore their enthusiastic endoresement of vocational education and curriculum change and carried away a copy of the address to be reprinted and circulated.

Ernest Ukaby, who had recently joined the faculty and was looked upon as "one of them" by this group, served as particularly effective normative liaison officer between the College and the growingly prominant group of Nigerian secondary school principals.

A week later I presented a paper to the annual conference of the Afro-Anglo-American Program in Teacher Training at Makerere College, Uganda. Although much of the address was devoted to justifying the University of Nigeria program at large, a justification based partially on the Ashby Report and partially on Lord Lindsay's program at the University of North Staffordshire (Keele), this address to an audience composed largely of university faculty members and key Ministry of Education personnel in African ministries presented more fully the doctrine we were trying to develop at Nsukka. Entitling my address PROGRAMS IN TEACHER EDUCATION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA; A LOOK BEFORE THE FACT, I presented a summary which probably states quite clearly the doctrine as it was then visualized and the main problems I saw confronting us in establishing and gaining acceptance of doctrine and program.

~~In discussing the establishment of new universities, the Ashby Commis~~

~~on Higher Education in Nigeria~~, I then commented in part as follows:

"In Britain the common pattern of development for new universities (though this pattern has now been abandoned) was for them to start as colleges taking degrees of the University of London, and then to come of age as universities, giving their own degrees. In the United States of America the pattern has been different; each university started with its own degrees, and these degrees had to acquire a market value by their intrinsic excellence. Both these patterns have advantages and disadvantages. It has been of inestimable benefit that University College, Ibadan, started under the wing of London University: a standard has been set for higher education which other developing countries envy. But it would not be in the national interest if one single pattern were to be imposed on all Nigerian higher education. The hope for Nigerian higher education lies in its diversity."

It is in this same faith that diversity in education, as diversity in thought, is a sign of strength rather than of weakness in a society, that the University of Nigeria has been born. While the new University undoubtedly has drawn, and shall continue to draw, heavily upon British and American models by virture of the training and background of its advisory personnel- and we are all of course limited as well as produced by the educational milieux in which we have studied and taught - the University is sincerely attempting to develop a pattern which will be uniquely appropriate to Nigeria. Without attempting to enumerate the familiar British ingredients in this pattern, I think it might be well to point out some American strains which are apt to present an element of novelty and educational uncertainty in African educational circles.

The Philosophy of the University

These can perhaps be more clearly indicated by reference to the stated and developing philosophy of the University than in any other way. The University philosophy grew out of the report of a joint British-American mission which looked into the feasibility of a new university and made recommendations concerning its nature.

> This mission "recommended that a full fledged university should be established without further delay. It held that such a higher institution of learning should not only be cultural, according to the classical concept of universities, but it also should be vocational in its objective and Nigerian in its content."

Further sections of the report, which has been accepted as an official working paper by the government of Eastern Nigeria, made explicit reference to the American land-grant "philosophy of education" which was recommended as a basis for the new University and which is now explicitly held as the philosophy of that university.

The land-grant "philosophy" may be simply stated. It hold centrally that university studies should be both cultural and vocational. The wedding of cultural and vocational pursuits, it is held, does not demean a university but rather elevates the vocations and, through them, the community as a whole. . .

The land grant philosophy imposes only two such criteria for the inclusion of programs and curricula: (1) Does the program meet a pressing need of the society for trained personnel? (2) Does the preparation of such personnel necessarily rest upon comprehension of fundamental disciplines of University stature? I mention this philosophy only because it affects in a number of ways the programs and organization of the College of Education at the University of Nigeria.

As this philosophy has been implemented in the best of the land grant institutions, certain corollary features have tended to develop. These features will, I hope, likewise characterize the development of programs at the University of Nigeria. Four such features might be mentioned.

1. The fundamental disciplines in the arts and sciences are necessary foundations for all programs and consequently students in the various applied fields take work in these disciplines. In a sense then, the arts and science departments themselves take on a "service" function of preparing people in the underlying knowledge which will be necessary for the adequate comprehension of their vocational programs.

2. The organizational structure and the degree status accorded different programs is designed to avoid invidious distinctions between pure and applied work, between "academically respectable" work (by which is usually meant "academically traditional" work) and work which bears more clearly the stamp of the market place. Thus work in such applied fields as education is accorded full degree status; teachers in education are "faculty"; and Colleges of Education bear equal rank with Colleges of Science.

3. Two common needs of our time are explicitly recognized within the framework of all curricula established. The first of these is that all persons who are going to occupy leadership position in any society- and it is expected that university graduates will do this- require studies when they are relatively

mature which will prepare them to understand and be oriented towards resolving the major problems confronting the human communities (local, nationa, professional, and international) to which they do and will belong. Generally an attempt has been made to provide this orientation and understanding by "general education courses, often explicitly designed for this purpose. Such general education program are usually planned to help the university student assess the contributions of the humanities in resolving persistent problems, the place of the social sciences in modifying the human situation, and the nature, role, and significance of natural science in contemporary life and thought.

4. Considerable flexibility of programs is afforded to take into account individual strengths and potentialities.

The Program of the College of Education

If I were to trace out the implications of this philosophy of education in detail, they would lead us into three functions which the College of Education aspires to perform for Nigeria. . . . namely, (1) rendering service to communities, schools, ministries, and teachers on immediate problems they are facing; (2) conducting research on the underlying problems which are hampering the adequate development of education; (3) and engaging in instructional programs to prepare teachers and other educational workers. In view of the fact that we hope to accord first priority in the immediate future to instructional programs to provide teachers for Nigerian schools, I shall not now discuss the service and research activities in which we hope to later engage. But at the same time I should like to emphasize that there is no attempt to distinguish between certain of these functions as appropriate to universities and others as inappropriate. As a matter of fact, one noticeable difference in the organizational implications of the philosophy mentioned is that there will be no distinction between an Institute of Education and a Department of Education: the functions of each shall be served through a single administrative structure, the College of Education.

1. Degree Program: First priority in our instructional programs is to be given to the provision of a degree program in education. Students will be admitted to this degree program next October. The length of time required to complete the degree will vary from three to four and one half years depending upon the previous academic background and experience of the student. Admission of students will be by examinations and interview at various points from WASC. to the H.S.C., with consideration given to professional qualifications and experience. The program will place relatively great emphasis on breadth and thus necessarily less emphasis on

depth than is often the pattern. The program as currently planned includes four major vertical strands which continue throughout most of the four years.

(1) Work in two teaching fields. . .

(2) Professional preparation. . .

(3) General education . . .

(4) Practical work related to community study and community change.

Major Emohases

Although the land-grant philosophy requires that an educational institute stand ready to alter its program to meet the pressing needs of society at any time, it is already possible to predict certain major fields of emphasis which appear to be developing at the University. For example, the College of Education as an institution is not likely to devote its primary attention to the work in the sixth forms. If I were to state a preference, it would be that the College devote major attention to Improving primary education in the country. It is my belief that the major problems of the secondary schools and upper forms are problems that are not intrinsic to them: most of the problems stem from the woeful education of youngsters in the lower classes. It is consequently, my sincere hope that we can devote a major share of out attention to dealing with the problems of early education. To attempt to attack this problem directly through the preparation of primary school teachers ourselves would, of course, be futile. If, however, we are able to prepare significant teacher training college tutors who are adequately trained themselves in the methods of instruction appropriate to the lower classes we shall have rendered a major service. It is,consequently, my hope that the College of Education will be able to build up a faculty which includes persons competent in such fields as the teaching of reading, the teaching of arithmetic and science to young children. Our employment policies will be designed to augment our faculty by additions in just such fields.

A second major emphasis which it appears to me the College of Education at the University of Nigeria might appropriately accept would be an emphasis on school administration. This is a field in which tremendous strides have been taken in the United States: and while the problems and procedures will necessarily be different in Africa, it would appear that the heads of Nigerian schools are, for the most part, sadly lacking in training which would prepare them for the business management, program development, personnel and leadership roles which are appropriate to the administrator. The fact that a number of our faculty fave them-

selves specialized in the field of school administration gives us a ready body of competence which we may tap in developing programs in this field.

The third field of emphasis through which it would appear we might make a unique contribution would be through concentration on vocational education. Whether in praise or scorn, the epithet "practical" is almost universally applied to American education. The fact that the University of Nigeria is beginning its educational career under the aegis of one of the most "practical" of the American universities and with the assistance of educational consultants who are well versed in American educational practice, would seem to give in an initial advantage in developing teachers in such needed fields of practical education as vocational agriculture, technical and industrial education, commercial education, and domestic science education. The plans of the university which calls for the development of colleges at agriculture, engineering, commerce, and home economics will provide the academic content for curricula which might be offered in these teaching fields.

Problems Confronting the College Education

It would be easy to enumerate a long chain of problems which confront a new college of education: problems of library, problems of policy formation, problems of student selection, problems of status. I should like however, to limit my remarks to two problems which cause me a great amount of concern. The first of these problems is external. Earlier in this paper I quoted from the Ashby Report a selection which referred to the American pattern in which "degrees had to acquire a market value by their intrinsic excellence." One of the major problems which I am now confident that the University of Nigeria must face is that of establishing in the market a reputation for the quality or excellence of its programs.

We can only agree on how excellent a product is if we can first agree on what are the qualities of the teachers we wish to produce. At one level we can all agree on this: we can point to the ultimate ideal: The Socrates, the Jesus, possibly the Pestalozzi. To the extent that we are really agreed on the ideal teacher, we are presented with no greater problem than that of measuring quality- a problem difficult enough in itself. But we move to another level of consideration of our goal - not the ideal teacher but the teacher we might reasonably be expected to produce. I am, on the basis of my discussions with school people in Nigeria, not convinced that we are really agreed even upon the goal- much less upon how to measure it. The differences which we tend to gloss over are a subtle variety of difference- but a variety which makes all the difference in practice - namely, difference

> in relative priorities when one is faced with limitations of finite time and scarce resources.
>
> The second major problem which I see confronting the College of Education during the next few years is not external but internal: namely that of the College finding its own identity or developing its own philosophy of professional education. The College of Education will begin its career inheriting both the advantages and disadvantages of a young faculty, relatively inexperienced in university teaching, possessing the varying perspectives of Nigerian, British and American education. The question of whether the intellectual and professional resources these people present can be welded together to produce an internally consistent program in education remains to be seen.

As I was at the time acting Head of the College of Education, and as these statements had a prima facie consistency with broader University doctrine as publicly stated, it can be taken they represent reasonably accurately the doctrine to which we were then committed.

To initiate doctrine is certainly not to assure continuity in doctrine, even when that doctrine has been interpreted and given substantive shape in the form of program. It is thus equally important to consider (1) whether the doctrine then expounded has been carried on by those Nigerians who have subsequently become spokesmen for the College of Education, and (2) whether doctrinal innovations since that time been "consistent" with the doctrine then espoused. The chief spokesman for Doctrine in Education since 1962 has been Dr. Fafunwa, in his capacity as Dean of the Faculty of Education.

In an article written for the West African Pilot immediately prior to the public announcement of his appointment as Head of the then College of Education, Dr. Fafunwa addressed himself to the topic "The University in a New Nigeria," and the theme of his description, largely social-historical,

probably reveals continuity of doctrine as clearly as any of his subsequent statements:

> The universities in (the Middle Ages) were dealing with intellectual and social problems of that time and they held an important place as leaders in the social scheme of things.
>
> But with passage of time many universities lagged behind the society because they failed to change with the times, "satisfied with contemplation of the 'pure' knowledge of the past and opposed to 'practical' knowledge of the present.
>
> Any attempt to introduce the educational system of one country to another has never been a success because it sprang from and was adapted to a different cultural environment. . . While educational systems cannot and should not be transferred from one cultural environment to another, hook, line and sinkers, ideas and principles can be carefully studied and sensibly modified and adapted to suit new conditions and changes. . .. .
>
> Nigerian higher education, like all colonial institutions, was geared to the training of a microscopic minority which constituted itself into a privileged ruling class. . . This university itself was largely city-oriented with its back turned on the rural areas from where most of its students came. Consequently, the graduates--most of them, at least--refused to go back to the village, but preferred rathr to seek employment in the cities.
>
> The university in the New Nigeria, as I see it, should have its roots firmly entrenched in its native soil, without neglecting the political, economic and cultural organization, background and needs of Nigeria. . . Is it not almost a tragedy that little or no study has been made on the Nigerian child, the Adolescent or the Adult?-- that an African Studies Programme is just now under consideration?-- that Nigeria has not approached English as a second language?-- that West African civilization or history is not yet an "approved subject" in school, Higher School and GCE Ordinary and Advanced examinations?
>
> Yet formal education is at least 100 years old in Nigeria. . . .
>
> The (Ashby) Report pointed out the inadequacy of our educational system with regard to our present and future needs. . . the cost of meeting these needs was . . . staggering, but as the Report was appropriately entitled it is an <u>investment</u> in education which will bear dividends.

By the end of this year, five universities will be operating within the country. I have no fear that they will all continue to perform the normal functions of all good universities, old and new. They will even carry African studies, African history, geography and the like.

But I ask, will they carry these new courses from the standpoint of "knowledge for its own sake" or knowledge with a view to performing useful service to the community? Freedom, whether academic or political, carries with it corresponding duties and responsibilities. The universities of our time must climb down drom their ivory towers and share the common lot of the common people; they should not provide asylum for lecturers and students who want to escape the lot of the common man.

Our students will continue to play the role of the parasite with the common man as host as long as the university administration and faculty continue to condone this attitude.

The Ashby Report has made an elequent case for manpower needs. We must, however, add to these other needs that are of non-materialistic nature. For Nigeria to sustain her stability and freedom, her citizens must be honest, hard-working, broad in outlook, able to think effectively, able to appreciate the dignity of labour and be cooperating members of the society.

Should these be included in the university courses or left to the secondary schools to handle? If included in the university course, will this not be time consuming and expensive? I do not intend to discuss this aspect in this short paper; I will only say that the need is obvious and it should be met. <u>If a country's social and economic problems could be solved by training university graduates to make ice-cream, then I say, let us create a faculty of ice-cream making, unabashed and unashamed</u>. Do not say that because this is not a conventional course at London, Oxford, Harvard or Chicago we should not do it. If England and America face a similar problem many universities would offer the course! Drastic or unconventional malady calls for drastic or unconventional treatment. . . . we cannot use yesterday's tools for today's job and expect to be in business tomorrow!

Nigeria's next problem in higher eduction is how to provide university education for those students in our society who are bright but poor. . . . This inequality of opportunity in our higher education set-up needs immediate attention.

As an advocate of immediate functionalism in Education, Dr. Fafunwa makes John Hannah, the American mentor of the University of Nigeria, appear an academic traditionalist.

In his subsequent addresses Dr. Fafunwa has both reiterated themes in the doctrine originally expounded and further extended these. Addressing the first graduates of the College of Education he reemphasized two earlier doctrinal points of the college, namely the need for emphasis upon elementary education and the desirability of involving a wide range of persons in educational decisions:

> I do not share the view of those who believe we must direct our attention almost exclusively toward secondary and university education. I believe that we should give as much attention as possible to universal primary education and young adult education for those beyond the normal school age. . ..
>
> The first realistic step that should be taken towards the solution of many of our educational problems is to define clearly what the objectives of education should be. Who are the experts to tell us? I would suggest the following: the parents, the teachers, employers, social workers, the clergy, the imams, the education officers and all those who come in contact with the child at the various stages of his development and growth.
>
> In planning educational projects, and in exploring new uses and new methods, we should bear in mind the fact thatover eighty per cent of our schools,vis-a-vis, millions of our children, are in these rural areas, many of these schools are several miles from the tarred road. More than sixty per cent of our teachers are scores of miles from the urban areas. We should use their situation and circumstances as the yardstick in planning educational projects, be it library facilities,distribution of materials, in-service training, workshops or the like. . . . .

In an address to the All-Nigerian Secondary Principals Conference in 1965 he reemphasized the need to develop the "educational statesman," the educator who saw his job in terms of a total social situation:

> The Nigerian teacher's role should be that of an educational engineers, not that of a trades-, or technicians. A building technician, for instance, specialized in one narrow area of his trade, viz. bricklaying, or carpentry, or plumbing but a building engineer is familiar with the entire structure and knows the relationship between masonry and carpentry, plumbing and plastering and or painting. A good teacher sees the whole

> child in terms of the child's environmental needs. . . The job of the teachers is to help build into the personality of the young selected aspects of the culture. This is an assignment for a professional educator not a task-master or tradesman. (Educator 6th issue)

In other addresses, Dr. Fafunwa extended essential elements of doctrine particularly by placing emphasis on functional adult literacy programs, programs for young adults, and non-school types of educational experiences. For example, in addressing the United Nations Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of Less Developed Areas, he closed with a plea for a National Service program with an educational bias, a plea he was to reiterate in other contexts.

National Service

> In many advanced countries, every citizen who has attained the age of 18 is expected to serve in the army from 6 to 18 months. Even in a neutral country such as Switzerland, every yound adult is compelled by law to enter the national service. All the new and old nations of Africa stand to gain immensely from such a scheme. The entire population of Africa from 18 to 50 years of age should be involved in such a scheme, but the service programme would be specially designed to suit the nature of Africa's problems. For instance, instead of concentrating on military tactics and the like as is the case in some countries, emphasis would be placed on functional literacy (which will include reading, writing, science and agriculture) and physical preparedness. Those adults who are literate, viz, clerks, businessmen, professionals (lawyers, teachers, clergy, etc.) will serve as evening class tutors in the adult literacy schools after short period of training where necessary. Others with special skills such as engineers and other technicians will organize work gangs for the construction of roads, bridges, schools etc., while those trained in agriculture will run farm institutes or camps. The programme if carefully planned, will achieve two goals; it will offer an opportunity to the non-literates to become functionally literate within a short period of time; it will also prepare them for specific skills which are sorely needed for African development today.

Subsequent addresses continued to stress the external social justification for education, that is the relation of education to the problems and development of Nigeria and Africa. Three themes he stressed deserve mention:

1. <u>The teacher's responsibilities in terms of social, religious and political matters:</u>

   While recognising the fact that these three areas are interrelated and often times inseparable, let us, for convenience sake discuss each briefly:

   SOCIAL BELIEFS AND PRACTICES: What for instance, should be the attitude of a Nigerian teacher to the institution of chieftaincy, bride price, dash, influence peddling, bribery, and corruption, witchcraft and superstition, tribalism and ethrocentricism? Should the Nigerian teacher ignore these problems and turn deaf ears to them even when his students raise the issue?

   RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES: What again should be the attitude of the teacher to religious beliefs with special reference to Protestantism, Chatholicism, Islam, Animism and ancestor worship especially if he is spiritually committed to one of these?

   POLITICAL BELIEFS AND PRACTICES: Nigeria is passing through a difficult political era and the whole issue of the census, the present political stalemate in the country in terms of the current election issue, viz, the boycott, the interpretation of the constitution in terms of the president's powers and the prime minister's prerogative and vice versa.

2. <u>The citizen's need for an appreciation of science:</u>

   The exciting world of science must be brought within the reach of the average African if the gap between her and the rest of the world is to be shortened and if she is to exchange her role of a spectator for that of an actor in this scientific world. I need no major industrial revolution can either take place or be sustained, no new society can be built or maintained in a continent where the massess are still held down largely by magic and superstition. . . . for Africa to make substantial progress in science and technology it is most essential that their peoples develop the necessary scientific attitude without which no substantial improvement can be made in agriculture which is still the occupation of over 80% of the people. In the area of health, superstition and belief in magic perhaps claim as many lives as most curable diseases.

> There are many cases in Africa where the health officer or inspector whose duty is to discourage charms, water-logged and mosquito-infested native medicine posts as remedial medicine, was himself in possession of charms and other concocted devises to enable him to ward off evil spells or to cure his own family's illness. (E/Conf.. 39/K/6).

3. The overriding need to develop a "spirit of scientific inquiry" and "experimentation."

> How many times have we watched in dismay a class in Biology with the teacher setting up the microscope, placing the specimen, adjusting the misroscope in order to focus the object while the passive children stand around to admire the teacher's dexterity. once everything is in order, the proud teacher steps back and calls his students to come around and observe the result. As far as these pupils are concerned, the whole incident is rather bewildering and to their own young and innocent minds, they have just witnessed another example of the whiteman's magic! If I may use this example as a symbol of what is urgently needed in Nigeria, I would say that our most pressing need in Education today is how to construct Good but Inexpensive audio-visual and manipulative aids. The Nigerian child like any other child is a curious being. He too wants to find out how things work. He would like to have a "feel of it," experiment or hunt with a microscope. He does not like to be a passive spectator but an active participant. Until we can help him and the teacher attain this new and challenging status, that microscope will continue to be regarded as a whiteman's magic. (Educator, 5th issue, pp. 12-13)

Some indication of the continuity of doctrine which was maintained as administrative leadership charged hands was revealed when, in response to a question on what was the distinctive doctrine of the college of Education, Dr. Fafunwa first responded: "You ought to know: its unique qualities were started by you." Insofar as Dr. Fafunwa has not found it necessary to alter the philosophy as stated in brochures to students and or rationales for programs, it is no doubt true that the essential doctrinal elements have remained constant. Pushed to define central doctrinal themes, he expressed concepts which had been stated or incipient in the initial doctrinal statements: (1) to prepare educational engineers rather than technicians--

those who see their function in society rather than merely serve as classroom taskmasters; (2) to provide programs which enable students to relate professional education courses and their subject matter fields throughout their university career; (3) to develop programs in light of Nigerian educational conditions and problems and out of Nigerian culture, and to involve the student in real problems unique to Nigeria. In terms of its doctrinal tenets with respect to Nigerian education in general-- what the college stood for in terms of the educational system in Nigeria he listed: (1) making education more functional--developing the specific skills and competencies called for in the Nigerian environment, including those called for in making a living; (2) experimenting with the curriculum until this first goal is achieved; (3) developing a recognition that the curriculum of the school has meaning only as a total environment involving teacher, textbooks, equipment, school atmosphere and the like; (4) eliminating the religious instruction as religious doctrine in the schools, substituting therefore work in civics, ethics, and cooparative religion; and (5) ensuring government control of all schools which are supported by public funds, but providing the right of individuals to operate other schools at their own expense. It is clear to see that the doctrinal elements listed are (1) a restatement of the original doctrinal elements, (2) a commitment to the "American" traditions of pragmatic and secular public education, and (3) an extra-polation, particularly in areas of social controversy, beyond policy statements which had initially been developed.

Other [redacted] within the Faculty who were interviewed in the course of this study expressed no disagreement with central doctrines. They saw the program in Education as geared "practically" to the Nigerian scene,

pointing to such elements of program as "required student field research on educational problems," "work experience in Nigerian industries for vocational education students, " and "extended practice teaching" as illustrations of the "pragmatic" emphasis in doctrine. They recognized the wedding of professional and academic courses as an important feature in the preparation of "professional" teachers who were equipped to be change agents. Furthermore, they identified the introduction of a "social approach" to education (an emphasis upon foundations courses which examined the role of education in the culture) and the attempt to create a new image of the university graduate (one who was not "uppity", but rather willing to get down and do a solid job of work) as significant educational innovations. As one lecturer put it, "the university differs from others in that it tries to change the educational system rather than merely prepare classroom teachers to fit into it," In terms of the Nigerian educational system at large, they uniformly expressed discontent-- a conviction that <u>things much change</u>. As an essential ingredient in this change all were agreed upon the need for greater public control of education (perhaps through the creation of school boards), more comprehensive education. (perhaps through the introduction of vocational streams in the secondary schools), and revitalized school programs in science and mathematics.

The congruence between the doctrine of the University and the doctrine of the college is strongly emphasized in the set of beliefs which graduates in Education identified as characterizing their own college. As one graduate stated it, "The Faculty of Education is the principal section of the University trying to implement its general philosophy." Asked to identify the

doctrine of the Faculty of Education as this related to (1) the preparation of teachers at the University, and (2) the existing educational system in Nigeria, these graduates replied in terms of closely related (albeit at times vague) value clusters. They saw the most significant beliefs of their college falling in the following four clusters, the frequency with which students identified each cluster being indicated in Table c, p. 174.

1. Professionalization of teaching. This category of response included references to creating a profession of teachers, to preparing persons who were simultaneously grounded in professional knowledge and academic fields, to producing persons who possess the qualities of leadership required for educational change, to producing persons concerned with improving the status and respect accorded the teaching profession; "to preparing educational engineers, not technicians," and even to preparing leaders who will be active agents in social reconstruction.

Illustrative responses of graduates suggesting recognition of this doctrine:

The Faculty of Education stands for the professionalisation of teaching. For any nation to have well bred citizens alive to her national aspirations, she must invest handsomely on the production of well trained and educated teaching personnel. Hence the Faculty has encouraged the combination of professional training with academic pursuit.

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It aims at producing high level manpower in education, ie., it aims at producing professional teachers who are different from subject matter teachers. These professional teachers would do their best to improve the teaching profession and the conditions of service of teachers.

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Its philosophy centers around the production of efficient Educational "Engineers" and not just anybody who would like to teach when no other job is immediately available.

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TABLE 4

BELIEFS OF THE FACULTY OF EDUCATION WITH RESPECT TO EDUCATION AND THE PREPARATION OF TEACHERS AS IDENTIFIED BY GRADUATES

	Graduate Responses (out of 84)
1. Professionalization of teaching	63
2. Curriculum reconstruction	60
3. Pragmatic and utilitarian education	24
4. Increased secularism and public control	13*

* All but two of the graduates indicated their acceptance of all major elements of doctrines as they identified doctrine these two rejecting the identified faculty doctrine of secular control of education.

The philosophy is based on the fact that teaching is a profession; and therefore to secure adequate professionalization of teaching in Nigeria, teachers should be trained at the University level, hence the B.A. (Education) programme.

* * * * * * * * * *

The faculty is determined to produce a new breed of teachers. . . .professional in training and outlook. This is perhaps the first time this is tried in Nigeria. Nsukka was the first to follow Ashby with the B.A. (Education)---providing a greater feeling of the profession, professional outlook. The Nsukka graduate can take up the syllabus of any school and criticize it; and we can design a course for students in secondary school or Higher School. At Zaria we learned the techniques for teaching in our area, but we couldn't design a course or criticize a syllabus.

* * * * * * * * * *

It is the philosophy of the Faculty to produce professional teachers who will assume the required leadership in the various aspects of our educational life. It gives a start to the professionalization of teaching in Nigeria. It produces men and women who will stay as professionals in our educational institutions. They will study and remedy the situations. The professional initiation of students in this faculty is gradual and penetrating.

* * * * * * * * * *

To produce professional teachers who will make teaching their lifelong career. To produce men and women who will take pride in their profession as well as maintain the ethics of their profession. To assist, in any way possible, the less privileged teachers--the untrained ones-- by arranging refresher courses for them.

Each teacher is expected to become a competent educational leader after graduation. To achieve this objective each student teacher takes courses in the College of General Studies. In addition, he is expected to be competent in two teaching subjects: major and minor. To crown it all, the student teacher pursues courses in professional education. . .

* * * * * * * * * *

In a society, if change is desired, the school is one of the most effective methods for carrying this out. A teacher relates to students and to society. Therefore a teacher should

be educated to carry out this important social function. This is recognized in Eastern Nigeria. Even Okpara (the then Premier) would expect to learn from a teacher.

* * * * * * * * * *

University trained teachers are to be well informed leaders and organizers of their school communities and active agents in social reconstruction. This is what I think Nsukka is trying to do.

* * * * * * * * * *

2. Curriculum reconstruction. This category of response included references to adapting education to the needs of Nigeria, to helping young persons find themselves in their culture and respect that culture, to removing the vestiges of "colonialism" from the curriculum, in short, to reconstruct or revolutionize education.

Illustrative responses of graduates suggesting recognition of this doctrine:

To produce imaginative and practical teachers who are sensitive to the problems confronting the people of Nigeria, and are ready to "reconstruct" education and tailor it to the needs of Nigeria--now and in the future. To reconstruct the curriculum so that the Nigerian children may learn to appreciate the value of Nigerian culture, ideals, institutions and accomplishments, develop their talents and lead both to a satisfying personal life and a socially productive life as well.

* * * * * * * * * *

There is great need to reexamine the curriculum to make it suit the needs of Nigerian society rather than retain the previous colonial vestiges.

* * * * * * * * * *

At the base is the revolutionization of Education and the professionalization of teaching. . .change is necessary to gear studies to the needs of society and so produce children who won't be foreigners to their own culture and tradition.

* * * * * * * * * *

To produce teachers who can unitify the educational differences in the federation, to correct the anomolaies between the Voluntary and State education; to correct the mistakes already existing in the curriculum in schools; to produce teachers who would relate the education of the youngster to his culture. Education in the past was colonial and devoid of the cultural background of the Arfican.

* * * * * * * * * *

It believes that the present curriculum used in our schools leaves much to be desired because it was based mainly on English system which is not suitable for Nigeria. It was merely introduced into Nigeria without adapting it to Nigeria's needs.

* * * * * * * * * *

It aims also at sending out teachers who can help in reorganizing the education system in Nigeria which had been so much tied to the apron strings of the British system. These teachers can adapt the curriculum to the needs of the community.

* * * * * * * * * *

The Philosophy of the University--"to restore the dignity of Man" is made more apparent in the Faculty of Education. It is the teachers who will inculcate in the children the idea of having confidence in themselves. Teachers should be able to teach the students to adapt themselves to the environment.

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The problem of relating the curriculum to the culture of the people. I feel as a Nigerian when I work in a school I work for the National interest--to see that its products are equipped to face the problems confronting the nation. The Irish Reverend Principal actually owes more allegiance to his religion than to the nation and doesn't worry about special citizenship training and discipline.

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The Faculty of Education aims at producing a new brand of graduate teachers capable of revolutionizing both the education system and the teaching methods in the field--by planning the school curriculum to reflect the aspirations of the people, to shift teaching approaches from formal and imitative to informal, practical and creative to help schools

mark out their definite educational goals. . . .

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The education in Nigerian schools needs a big replanning to serve the need of the communities in which these schools are, within the context of Education and community development. The education at present ignores the primary need of the communities, it is therefore education for estrangement. Education should fit individuals into their communities.

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3. Pragmatic and utilitarian education. This category of response included references to an emphasis on utilitarianism in this process of curriculum reconstruction, to an emphasis on pragmatism, to the belief that functionality is the test of education, and to the need for vocational education.

Illustrative responses of graduates suggesting recognition of this doctrine:

The Faculty of Education right from its inception in 1961 has followed the philosophy of Pragmatism, and the training of teachers at universities will help them to follow this philosophy and will eventually help to evolve the progressive type of education for the people. Education will have to be functional. . .it will have to include the addition of courses hitherto excluded from the curriculum, such as agriculture, the intensification of science teaching of all levels, art, music, and technical education. . .These found no place in the curriculum before.

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It believes in pragmatic education. . .that education should be for use. These should be its guiding principles. This would help the country solve her practical problems.

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Nsukka propounds a theory of "education for use". What I mean by this is that it wants the Nigerian educational programme to include in its syllabus those subjects that will be useful to a child after his school life. Education for "white collor" jobs is discouraged and it encourages those aspects of education that will help the child after school life so as to rid the society of jobless youngsters.

The educational system in Nigeria must be geared to the needs of people. It must be principally for agricultural and industrial revolution. The old non-functional system that trained the brains and atrophied the limbs must be replaced by a system that inculcates the dignity of labor.

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Education should be functional. It is useless if it does not satisfy or solve the societal problems and needs. Teachers should be able to know these needs and plan ways of helping people to meet these needs. The College emphasizes technical education. People should be proud of what their hands are able to produce--visual aids can be produced by teachers to a large measure instead of buying every bit from the market.

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Pragmatism in education--education should be Pragmatic and Utilitarian.

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To see if a new system of Nigerian Education can be evolved which will make all products of the primary schools, Secondary schools and universities employed in occupations that will raise the living standards of Nigerians.

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I agree with the Faculty's idea that the education practiced in Nigeria is not the right type as seen from so many people with paper qualification yet unable to find jobs. Therefore they are really not educated. I have compared a primary school leaver with a counterpart who never for one day entered school but worked with a farmer-father. The latter is more educated because he can after seven years support himself and can be an asset to his community while the former is not.

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4. Secularization and public control of education. This category of response included references to the need for public control of education, for the planning and consolidation this control would lead to, and to the elimination of religious and profit motives in operating education.

Illustrative responses of graduates identifying this doctrine:

The Faculty advocates government controlled schools--Regional or Provincial education Boards instead of the Dual system. This will make for better and more economic planning.

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The Faculty believes in uniformity in school organization, state take-over of all schools, introduction of school districts. . .abolition of religious instruction as a school subject.

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The Faculty also feels there is much wastage in administration of education and favors consolidation--to save money and use specialist knowledge better--that is, allow employment of specialist teachers. It stands for viable schools, even combining denominational schools.

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The state control of schools through its teachers--it tends to lay much emphasis on , . . state control of schools, no religious teaching in schools, the management of school by lay citizens as opposed to the clergy.

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Establishing the school on a mercantile basis is frowned upon by the University. The University would also like, if possible, to make the schools as secular as possible, the government to assume responsibility in primary school education, following this by assuming control in secondary school.

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The faculty believes in a unified Education system for the country as that will enhance unified national development plans: duplication of facilities in the different universities is both uneconomical and unnecessary. Specialization is important for each university. In the secondary and elementary schools, there should be diversity within the unity. The personality of each locality should be reflected in its educational system.

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Throughout the responses ran the persistent theme that the educated teacher should be aware of the society in which he works--its problems, needs, and cultural content. Throughout them also ran the concomitant theme that such an awareness of society, and the relationship of school to society, suggested the need for a thorough reconstruction of the curriculum of the Nigerian school, a reconstruction which would aim at both "cultural independence through education" and a functional education which would prepare youngsters to make a "useful" contribution to a developing Nigeria.

Not only did graduates of the Faculty, its most significant diffusion agents, identify these major strands of its doctrine but they expressed almost unanimous agreement with them. Only four graduates out of eighty-five expressed any reservations in accepting the doctrine of the Faculty, and three of these expressed these reservations only in terms of limitations imposed by the environment. The range of responses concerning practical curricula, running from enthusiastic endoresement to three desperate types of reservations is revealing:

> I hold tenaciously to the ideas enumerated. Until we provide a system of education which prepares pupils for life, we will continue to have problems of unemployment and the resultant evils.

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> It seems to me that the existing educational system of Nigeria cannot achieve the goal: employment for all school leavers. But if Education, especially primary and secondary, is geared to the needs of various localities, much will be achieved. For example; improved agriculture, caring, pottery, basket and cane work, fishing, mat-making and black-smithing could form part of the curriculum besides the three R's.

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> I do agree with these ideas, but it is rather not practicable in Nigeria in this decade because the home is an important factor to be reckoned with. The aim of the parents is to get their children educated for immediate financial reward. They will not like their children to return to the land.
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> * * * * * * * * * *
>
> I do accept all these ideas. The root of the problems of Nigerian Education, it seems to me, is the administration of the Educational Headquarters. Emphasis should be laid on the planning of meaningful and useful curricula rather than on the management by state or church. State control can be done through standards of inspections. . . To precipitate the country into religious controversy is not wise.
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It is interesting to note that the last, which was one of only two responses which explicitly repudiated an element of doctrine per se, did so by an appeal to more central elements of the doctrine itself!

This adherence to the doctrine of the University and the doctrine of the College would appear to stand as one of the strongest forces in the institutionalization of the organization. The chief reason for this acceptance of doctrine is clear: main strands in the doctrine were sufficiently vague to permit various private programmatic interpretations and yet sufficiently explicit in appealing to emergent forces in the culture to command allegiance of Nigerian nationalists. Perhaps a clearer indication of the important role of doctrine and program (as compared with human or material resources) in institutionalization is revealed in what the graduates themselves said when asked to distinguish between whether they were "quite" (very)satisfied, "fairly" satisfied, or "somewhat disappointed" with the university. Although graduates who considered themselves only "fairly"

satisfied invariably refered to inadequate administration, facilities, ameneties, or staff as the reason for their disappointment, students who indicated they were "quite" (very) satisfied referred overwhelmingly to doctrine and programmatic interpretations of doctrine as their reason for judging their university so highly (see pp.), some even indicating that other limitations became insignificant beside these strengths. Not unsurprisingly the most significant role that leadership played, insofar as institutionalization with the immediate products of the University is concerned, may indeed have been that of establishing doctrine and giving it "reasonable" interpretation in the design of academic programs. That these students in fact understood and reflected major doctrinal tenets as stated by leadership suggests that they would, in time, serve as effective diffusion agents for that doctrine with wider publics of the University who have thus far had little occasion to distinguish between the doctrine of the college and that of the total University.

Recapitulation and Conclusions: Doctrine as an explanatory variable in Institutionalization.

It is difficult conceptually to consider doctrine as an explanatory variable in the institutionalization of innovation at the University of Nigeria, for ~~the~~ large part it was the doctrine of the University which was viewed as the innovation being sought. In such a case it is like asking an effect to explain itself. If we consider the properties of the doctrine, however, we can say something about the reasons for its institutionalization, for it did possess qualities which made it particularly amenable to acceptance. First of all, most elements in the doctrine being expounded were cast in slogan

form and possessed the qualities of effective educational slogans; that is, they were attractive in the sense that they were congruent with other forces and appeals that were already accepted in the environment ("development", for example); they were vague, thus allowing persons who held to a number of specific beliefs or interpretations to rally round their flags; and they were in practice compatable with one another: it was possible to work out interpretations which easily made such concepts as "needs", "vocational fields", "rapid growth", "Nigerianization," and even "broad education" congenial companions in a program.

It is far easier conceptually to consider doctrine as an explanatory variable in the institutionalization of the innovative organizations (the University and the College) which were propounding it. To the extent that the doctrine was attractive, it might be anticipated that the organization which espoused it and programs which were interpretations of it might attract the support of many of the doctrines' adherents. This only requires that doctrine and organization become closely linked in the public mind, a linkage which Dr. Axikiwe had begun to create in his educational pronouncements as early as 1954. It would therefore be difficult not to conclude that doctrine, and the congruence or prima facie relationship between doctrine and the surrounding social and intellectual environment, were important for the institutionalization of the University. In this regard a number of generalizations appear reasonable:

1. The University was born during a period when the society was increasingly self-conscious, when it was considering its own "identity" and its own "destiny." This had been a developing phenomenon, engendered by nationalist politicians and generating momentum as the nation neared and reached

independence. Unlike the independence movement in other eras and in other parts of the world, the independence movement in West Africa was fought out in the political arena and in the arena of ideas. It was, thus, a highly verbal movement in which individual participation by most of the people was adherence to a plethora of slogans. These slogans, and their popularity even when they lacked interpretation, created a situation in which any physical manifestation of the slogans was readily grasped. The University was clearly viewed as an embodiment of the slogans, even though a few respondents saw it as a still imperfect embodiment.

2. The doctrine which was espoused for the University was couched in terms which (1) had a vagueness or an open texture which allowed them to be fitted to the values of the society or (2) paid direct allegiance to the same values which were being expressed in the society. To be against "meeting needs" in a development-conscious society is a sin comparable to being against God in Salem. Thus the University and the society were both baking in the warmth of such terms of Nigerianization, Nigerian culture, independence (autonomy), development needs, and high-level manpower. Nor should it be overlooked that in the extended process of couching university doctrine in a language compatible with Nigerian independence and Nigerian development, the chief spokesman for university doctrine was the same spokesman who had led the national independence movement.

3. The doctrine of the university was constantly, explicitly, and publicly related to other statements of doctrine and direction in the society. The notable examples of this (but not the only possible examples) were the relation of University doctrine to the Ashby Report (Investment in Education) and later to the Eastern Nigeria Development Plan, 1962-1968.

At the same time, there were points which made the doctrine of the University and its College of Education less than palatable to many of the publics with which the university was inevitably related. Vincent Ike's cogent analysis, Academic Standards at the University of Nigeria, which has already been quoted [redacted] ([illegible]), and which was based both upon a comprehensive series of visits to schools throughout Southern Nigeria carried out by university faculty members in 1963 and upon the inevitable contacts of the Registrar's office with various publics, indicates clearly which features of the Nsukka experiment caused greatest concern. The role of these features as friction points between the environment and the university needs noting.

The first of these was that Nsukka began as an autonomous institution granting its own degrees. While other universities in British colonial Africa had followed the Asquith pattern and started as university colleges of the University of London, the University of Nigeria definitely broke the mold. Considered singly, it appears doubtful that this "independence" stood as a serious impediment to institutionalization. Looking back five years later, N.O. Ejiogu, who had been Chief Inspector of Education, wrote:

> Among British university graduates and the patrons of the British educational system, the knowledge that the University of Nigeria would break with tradition and award its own degrees did not inspire confidence. But it is also true to say that there were many others who had nothing but admiration for the broadly based degree programme at Nsukka, which they believed would better serve the educational needs of Nigeria. To this group the decision to award its own degree was an indication of willingness to accept the challenge and responsibilities of Independence."

Further legitimization for such a policy of autonomy was provided by the Ashby Report which specifically questioned whether the Asquith Doctrine

and "special relationship" with the University of London was the most appropriate formula for universities in the context of an Africa moving into independence. National independence implied pyschologically the need for university independence; and once the mold was broken by the University of Nigeria, the next three universities created in Nigeria followed the same pattern, starting out as autonomous institutions, and University College, Ibadan quickly requested its "independence" from the University of London. It appears clear that autonomy per se did not stand as a serious barrier to institutionality; and as an innovative element itself it has now been paid the compliment of consistent imitation within Nigeria.

The second ground for criticism was the decision of the University to admit students at the level of the West African School Certificate, a "lower level" than the Higher School Certificate which followed the sixth form. Although Ibadan had previously admitted such students it had always referred to them as "concessional" students, indicating thereby deference to respected tradition and implying a "temporary expedient" involving less threat. The fact that the University of Nigeria argued that such an admissions policy was logical, and that with such a policy, as good or even a better university graduate could be produced, was a very different order of threat. As an element of innovation, this practice ran counter to (1) the vested financial interests which were involved in the educational status quo; (2) the respect which had been built up for both the content and form of British education, as the education "of quality"; and (3) the inertia or resistence of change characterizing all established procedures and institutions. The relation of this specific policy to doctrine is less clear; although it is clear that by means of it both (1) a larger, a better balanced, and a younger cohort of students

could be recruited to the University (through bypassing the acknowledged "bottleneck" resulting from a limited number of existing Sixth Forms), and (2) operating in accordance with this policy, and the four years of residence it implied, the University would find it easier to provide a full General Studies program OR a degree Program in Education. With the rapid expansion of the University's programs in agriculture, science, and engineering, and with the inability of University applicants for admission to bypass this bottleneck by studying science courses successfully by correspondence, accepting students without Sixth Form preparation became a necessity in a University which placed such great emphasis upon the practical fields that within five years of its founding it was to count three-quarters of its students in the applied fields. Despite the illogic of their position, it is clear that the expressed goal of many Nigerians in position of authority to achieve rapid increases in the stock of high level manpower in applied fields was likely to continue to clash for some time to come with their respect for inherited traditions and patterns.

The third ground for citicism was the "American orientation" of the University, "American education" often being considered as synonymous with "education without standards." Stated in this way, "American-type education" was scarcely an element in the acknowledged or stated doctrine of the University. Attributed to American education were two other characteristics which were often confused with the nation of "low quality" or, at the very least, seen as intertwined with it. The first of these was the American emphasis on <u>breadth</u> in education--on what Nigerians who had been education in America had often referred to as "horizontal education". Interpreted in the form of the General Studies program, this did become a key

ingredient in both doctrine and program of the University. The second of these was the American conviction that a wide variety of vocational programs could benefit from being offered at University level, leading to the charge that an American university was "an educational cafeteria". Interpreted at the University of Nigeria in a fantastic array of separate colleges and departments, this was likewise an essential element in both doctrine and program. Both of these provided serious points of disagreement with those educated in other traditions. The former ran into the charge that it precluded the high degree of specialized competence to which a university degree should atest. Furthermore, it could not benefit from any precedent in the Nigerian educational tradition, either in expressed doctrine or institutionalized program, which might provide a basis for its legitimization. The extent to which it was possible within five years to "institutionalize" this ingredient is treated in Capter 7. Briefly, success in institutionalizing "broad education" <u>within the University</u> must be attributed largely to American leadership and success in institutionalizing it with school publics <u>outside the University</u> must be attributed both to the unanticipated but well-publicized success of University graduates in competion with graduates of other universities on Public Service Commission examinations and to the advantages to school principals of "flexible" graduates who could teach several fields. The proliferation of courses of a vocational nature was more easily justified to the Eastern Nigerian who was sensitive to the need for skilled manpower if Nigeria was to have the economic development he looked forward to.

The final ground for criticism noted by Mr. Ike, that of <u>rapid expansion</u>, was one which took little account of either the rapid expansion occuring elsewhere in the educational system and the pressures this was generating or of

the change of pace which came with independence and which led most Nigerians to refer to their country as "a nation in a hurry." The bottleneck imposed by "Ibadan gradualism" was felt keenly both by students hoping to enter university and by such prospective employers as school principals and proprietors. These factors of demand tended, for the time at least, to create a counterbalancing force which probably outweighed conceptions built upon past practice and reverence for deliverate development.

Consideration of the "non-essential" or "non-doctrinal" nature of the criticisms leveled, especially when viewed alongside the general acceptance of the University doctrine reported by respondents in this study (see Chapter 7), clearly suggests the strength of a slogan system which is related to emergent forces in an environment. In an ethos marked by recent independence and incipient economic development, the relative appeal of competing university slogan systems must be considered. It is difficult to see how a system clothed in such terminology as "the needs of Nigeria," "practicality," "Nigerianization," and "Restoring the Dignity of Man" could fail to have greater psychological appeal than a system verbalized largely in terms of "standards", "specialization," "special relationships," and "gradual development." One can get saddle sore from riding the same slogans too long or over terrain for which they are too short-gaited. There seems little doubt that the new slogan system possessed both a prima facie validity and an attractiveness in the terrain of beliefs which we have earlier called the "environment", and that this "validity" and this "attractiveness" were sufficiently strong to counteract the force of competing appeals to tradition or competing concern for standards as the latter were conventionally interpreted.

As previously indicated, innovative elements in the doctrine of the College of Education were less clearly recognized by both students and school personnel than were elements in total University doctrine. Although the concept of a degree in education, encompassing two teaching fields and professional education, was in a sense innovative, it entered an environment where the idea had already received some legitimization with the better informed schoolmen through the Ashby Report. It also entered an environment in which there was considerable need for persons trained for and committed to teaching, for persons who would be unable to use their credentials as a stepping stone to other types of jobs. There was further a receptivity in the environment for the type of "flexible" product which was being turned out. Similarly, the commitment to prepare vocational education teachers was in keeping with announced plans of the Government, was an obvious first response to a situation in which grammar school graduates were not finding the jobs they wished, and was a potential input into the "educattion industry" as various secondary schools sought to add vocational wings and as proprietors turned to opening new "technical schools."

If these elements of doctrine were likely to be accepted as rational responses to the educational environment, other elements of the doctrine which were couched in such slogans as "the reconstruction of Nigerian education" were a potential threat to many vested interests, especially when coupled with doctrinal statements calling for public control of education. Any educational doctrine which went beyond slogans such as "adapting education" or "meeting needs" ran this risk. The long-term acceptance of doctrine would inevitably depend in part upon the ability of leadership to gain viability and

to secure support from other forces influential in the Nigerian environment. In an environment where there was strong commitment to such concepts as the need to respect African culture, the desirability of rapid economic development, and the relation of education to such development, there was a built-in potential for adaptation and reconstruction of education. The fact that the graduates and students of the Faculty readily identified, and identified themselves with, the general notion of change in education would suggest that there was a potential receptiveness to the doctrine of "educational reconstruction" in the environment. It is nonetheless difficult to gauge how deep or how widespread this receptivity was. The strong commitment of the College to greater public control of education, which was generally agreed upon by dominant members of the faculty, is one facet of doctrine which so endangered the vested interests and commitments of powerful groups in the society that it demands separate treatment (see below, pp.382-392)

If Coleman is correct in pointing to expansion, secularization, and curriculum change in the directions of adaptation to the local culture and increased emphasis upon vocational or practical education as almost universal phenomena in the newly independent nations, then the forces appear to be on the side of the University of Nigeria and the College of Education, for these are precisely the elements which are salient in its doctrine. The doctrinal element having the least claim upon these forces, although it is in part justified in terms of a program emphasizing African cultural and social content, is that of General Education; yet this is one of the two elements most frequently identified as a "distinctive characteristic" of the University by most categories of respondents and one about which there seemed to be relatively little residual disagreement by 1965-1966.

Two points concerning doctrine need underscoring. The first point is that the doctrinal elements which were "introduced" were elements of educational faith to the Nigerians who took over as leaders in the College of Education. During the years when the University was being conceived, two leading members of the Faculty had publicly argued for the doctrine upon which the University was founded. As members of the College of Education, they helped shape, defend and further extend the doctrine. (Other members, most of whom were educated in America, appeared to accept the same doctrine and were frequently equally vocal in expressing it). The second point is that these individuals were not eccentric within their culture. There were powerful social, economic and intellectual forces which were available in the environment for mobilization on behalf of the University and the College of Education. The central question was, how effectively would this mobilization be carried out? This was largely a matter of:

a. Leadership: How viable would it be in the environment?
How articulate would it be in expressing the doctrine?
How capable would it be in translating doctrine into program?
Could collective leadership sustain itself even as individual leaders changed?

b. Program: How possible would it be to translate doctrine into visible programs which were seen as meeting "needs"?

In so far as doctrine was expressed in terms of social rather than personal needs, would it be possible to reconcile discrepencies between these in such a way as to retain support even when they clashed?

Beyond this, a long-range problem of continuing institutionality must be asked. Any consideration of developmental needs is necessarily a prediction or anticipation of needs in the proximate future. Long-term support for doctrine depends not only upon its fulfilling expectations in the present but

upon the accuracy of its assessment of the future. It is interesting to speculate whether a doctrine built about "developmental needs" will withstand the pressures which may arise if, as seems at least possible, economic development falls far behind schedule or moves in unanticipated directions, thus producing a body of university graduates who are unemployable at the levels they feel they merit. This is the danger of a university doctrine whose interpretation must rest upon certain trend projections, where no clear-cut trends have had time to develop. What can happen when uncertainty about future job opportunities begin to develop was suggested by an unexpected difference between the response of graduates in education and seniors in education (the latter presumably often still without definite employment) to a question as to whether they would be willing to have a younger brother follow their footsteps into the field of Education. Although only 23 out of 83 graduates expressed no such willingness, an equal number (23) of the much smaller group of final year students (63) indicated their displeasure at the thought.

CHAPTER 4

LEADERSHIP AS EXPLANATORY VARIABLE

The term leadership is used in this study to refer to that group of persons who have been actively engaged in the formulation of the doctrine and program of the University of Nigeria and its College of Education, who directed their operations, and who have been by virtue of office responsible for establishing their relationship the environment. Although one can easily distinguish the leadership group in Professional Education from the leadership group responsible for the University in toto in terms of membership, analysis of institutionalization requires considering leadership of the macro-organization as well as the micro-organization for several reasons: (1) It is clear from interviews that for certain of the publics (even within the educational establishment) it is the image of the total University rather than the image of the program in professional education which is salient. (2) The doctrine embedded in the program in professional education was largely that of the University at large, and major decisions relative to program and major distinguishing characteristics of program (that is elements distinguishing it from programs in other Nigerian universities) were the product of all-university leadership. (3) The processes of establishing linkages between the College of Education and its environment were sharply influenced by the character of all-university leadership and by perceptions of that leadership held by those outside the University. (4) The political viability of the leadership in professional education, both within the University and within the community at large, can be understood only against the background of

educational characteristics which came to be associated with the wider university. Furthermore, institutionalization or threats to the institutionalization of innovative elements introduced from America can only be comprehended in terms of patterns of relationship which existed between Technical Assistance Personnel and Direct Hire Personnel both within the College and within the University.

As the University had a pattern of organization which varied from both British and American models, some sketch of that organization is in order. The governing body of the University was the University Council, presided over by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, founder and (until January, 1966) life-time Chancellor of the University and President of Nigeria. (The position of President corresponded to the position of Governor General in the Dominions or President in the Third French Republic. Government was headed by the Prime Minister). In the 1966 reshuffle following the first Nigerian military coup, the position of Chairman of the Council was separated from that of Chancellor of the University. Unlike British and other Nigerian universities, the Council had until then possessed its own Secretary, distinct from the University Registrar. This Secretary shared with the Vice-Chancellor of the University (University President) the responsibilities for carrying out Council policy with a nebulous line dividing spheres of responsibility between the two. The Office of the Registrar was responsible for junior (non-academic) staff, for the administration of admissions, and for academic bookkeeping. The Office of Dean of Student Affairs was charged with responsibility for student accomodations, student government, non-academic counselling and alumni relations. The Office of Provost or Pro-Vice Chancellor appeared

on the books (having been recommended by the Joint University Advisory Committee) but was not filled during the period under study.

The Michigan State University Advisory program was operated through a Chief of Party and Deputy Chief of Party in Nigeria, a Director of the Program in East Lansing, and a staff of advisors at the University of Nigeria which numbered over thirty at the time of this study. These persons were officially known as "advisors", but in point of fact frequently spent most of their time serving in administrative and teaching capacities, more often being responsible for the actual formulation or administration of policy or program than for "advice." Increasingly Michigan State University Advisory personnel were selected to fill actual teaching posts when it was found impossible to fill these posts by direct hire; for example, the "Advisor" in Vocational Education was at one point during the study conducting twenty-two hours of classroom teaching in addition to providing the only "advisory" function available in the College of Education. Such British advisors as were provided by the Inter-University Council in Britain likewise served as teachers and, in one case, as an administrator. In addition Michigan State personnel and University of London personnel served with representatives of the University of Nigeria on a Joint University Advisory Committee, and President Hannah of Michigan State University made a number of trips to the Nsukka campus, during which he advised both the Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor of the University. The simultaneous execution of advisory and administrative or teaching functions by most "advisors" makes it impossible

to distinguish discretely Michigan State University personnel from personnel in University administrative or policy formation positions.

Although this overlap confuses distinctions it is proposed to deal here seriatim with the characteristics of (1) the all-University leadership group, (2) the leadership group within the College of Education, and (3) the Michigan State Leadership group, as each of these related to or affected the institutionalization of doctrine and program in Professional Education. In terms of each, an attempt is made to assess the group for political viability, commitment to innovative doctrine and program, recruitment and professional status, competency or capacity, continuity, and image; but as these characteristics interact, no attempt is made to consider them discretely. The analysis, dealing as it does with matters which are somewhat less quantifiable than certain other measures in the study, relies heavily upon judgement and the evidence of a smaller number of informants, including prominent Nigerian members of the University staff, those in administrative positions, and present and former Michigan State University advisors. Judgments of informants have been supplemented by my own judgments made during two years of service at the University and subsequent visits to the University, prior to a and during this study. (1960-1962; 1963; 1964; 1965-1966).

ALL-UNIVERSITY LEADERSHIP

The dominant members of the all-university leadership group during the time under investigation included Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Chairman of the Council and Chancellor of the University; Dr. George Johnson and Dr. Glen Taggart, Vice-Chancellor of the University (1960-1964 and 1964-1966 respectively); Mr. B.N. Chukwudebe, Secretary to the Council; Mr. Vincent Ike, Registrar; and tangentially, the Deputy Chiefs of the Michigan State University

Party. Dr. Eni Njoku was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University and Sir Francis Ibiam was appointed Chairman of the University Council at the conclusion of the field work involved in the study. Insofar as possible an attempt will be made to view University leadership as total competence or image, but some differentiation in terms of individual roles and images within the group is imperative.

Political viability of the leadership group

Three elements in the previously described environment of Nigeria at the time of the creation of the University largely conditioned the effectiveness, limitations and political viability of leadership at Nsukka: (1) The University was associated most clearly and explicitly in the public mind with Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, and acceptance of university doctrine, program and organization was in large part initially contidioned by the extent to which his charisma could be extended to cover the University. (2) The University was associated in the public mind (and in the minds of many of its faculty and students) with American education and with the American educated Nigerians. The ambivalence with which this education and the products of this education were viewed inevitably influenced the viability of the University, where effective control was visibly in the hands of Americans or American-educated Nigerians. (3) The University was viewed as the creation of the Eastern Nigerians and was designed to reveal to the world that Eastern Nigerians, and specifically Ibos, could do anything anyone else could do. The strictly "Regional" bias was partially blurred by the extension of the N.C.N.C. (Dr. Azikiwe's political party(base) throughout Southern Nigeria and particularly within the Federal District (Lagos).

The relation of these factors to political viability requires brief explication and some reservation. Nearly all of the respondents of all classifications who were asked whether there were any particular individuals with whom they associated the development of the university, named Dr. Azikiwe. If one might hazard a guess, the omission by other respondents was merely because "it went without saying." Other all-University leaders appear, in the early days, to have been almost completely subservient to the wishes of Dr.Azikiwe. Among professional persons, such as those in the Ministries of Education and the schools with which the Faculty of Education had to be associated, there was the ability and the inclination to distinguish between recognition or respect for Azikewe's leadership role in the drive for independence and his role in professional matters such as education. Professional persons in the Ministries had learned from the British to resist strongly political interference in academic matters and had inherited effective civil service mechanisms for doing so. Many Nigerians on the University faculty held strongly to vague concepts of "academic freedom" and "academic autonomy", conceived mainly in terms of academic prerogatives but clearly excluding the right of intervention by non-academicians in academic matters. Because of their allegiance to Azikiwe, or because of their need for Council support in jockeying for better positions, many of them placed the chief blame for matters which they considered "unwarranted interference" or travesties of academic procedures or integrity upon other persons in the administrative hierarchy--usually Mr. Chukwudebe and/or the Vice Chancellor.

From the standpoint of the institutionalization of the University, it was not only important that the University was clearly identified at the point

of its inception with the single most viable political leader in Eastern Nigeria (and one who could not be confronted openly with impunity by any in the political structure of that region) but that during the six years following independence it was identified with a figure who was beginning to lose political contact and whose political power and whose influence was waning among the elite as a new generation of leaders was taking over and building its own power base and organization. The shift was far from sudden, but the erosion of power occurred after Dr. Azikiwe stepped out as Party President and Premier of Eastern Nigeria to take the position of Governor-General (nominal Head of State) and as it was clearly demonstrated that this position entailed little effective power when Southerners and Ibos felt their just interests were crushed by corruption and "robbery" in the Federal Census, the Federal Election, and the West Region election. During this period Dr. Okpara moved slowly but none-the-less effectively to challenge Azikiwe's position of eminence in Eastern Nigeria, to grasp "Power" as his slogan, and finally to risk semi-open confrontation after the Federal Election. With the Military Coup of January, 1966, Azikiwe was stripped of all offices associated with government or the University and the initial addresses of the military governor clearly included Azikiwe's period of leadership in a sweeping denunciation of "ten years of drift and corruption." Under the mantle of the earlier charisma, however, the University had weathered the crucial years during which any new university would be suspect. Before his relative eclipse both the West and North had likewise established independent universities (that is, universities without formal ties to London), the University of Lagos had been created, and the battle for rapid expansion of university

education and establishing "independent" universities had been won.

A second environmental factor which affected the political viability of Nsukka was its clear identification with American education. A number of respondents, inside and outside the university, referred to either its American-orientation or to the blending of various traditions. The early organization and program of the University was clearly either a blending or an eclectic combination of elements of British and American education. In this situation, where British education was familiar, especially by reason of the generally respected University College, Ibadan, it was the new elements, largely derived from America which were remarked. The first Vice Chacellor has argued elsewhere that the University was not American oriented:

> From this predominantly American casting, it would be easy to assume that the university became American-oriented. Nothing could be further from the truth, and for several reasons: (1) a number of Nigerians with British academic backgrounds serve on the Council, which exercises immediate authority over the university policy; (2) many scholars on the staff who have internationally educated assist in fashioning the educational policy; (3) the University has deliberately brought several groups of eminent scholars to Nsukka for a series of Forward-planning seminars, each time involving academicians from both the United Kingdom and the United States, as well as Nigerians, and these groups have studied the local situation and developed plans for teaching, research, and off-campus programmes in such fields as agriculture, education, social sciences, and natural sciences; (4) the University is trying to 'sift out the most appropriate aspects of traditional universties, and by blending them into the Nigerian scene, evolve a programme specifically sutited to the needs and interests of the people of Nigeria, as they take their rightful place in the world community of nations.'
>
> Evidence that there is a blending of American and British University patterns can be seen in the fact that there are four-year-degree programmes available to students who have been accepted directly from Secondary school and three-year programmes for those with sixth-form or G.C.E. Advanced-level credentials.

> This development has resulted mainly from academic staff discussions, and considerable pressure from students.*

In point of fact, however, it is difficult to see how leadership and future prospects can be viewed as other than American-oriented. By 1963-1964, of forty-nine Nigerian academic staff accorded the rank of lecturer or above in the University of Nigeria catalogue, twenty-nine had received their highest degree in the United States or Canada, fourteen in Britain or the University College, Ibadan, and six elsewhere (almost all Germany). At least nine of those then listed at lower ranks are now studying in the United States under A.I.D. counterpart or similar grants. Aside from a group of Dutch advisors, working exclusively in engineering, almost all advisory personnel still at Nsukka are Americans-- thirty-three in all. Since that time, lecturers of the university have returned after receiving their higher degrees in the United States and at present a total of Nigerians from the University are in America on counterpart grants. At the same time it must be recognized that several of the early influence wielders (Mr.Chunkwudebe, Mr. Ike, and Dr. Ezera) had received their highest degrees in Britain or British overseas institutions. The new Vice-Chancellor, furthermore, is a graduate of Cambridge.

Several factors undoubtedly account by this bias in faculty composition. (1) The American orientation of Dr. Azikiwe tended to attract American-educated Nigerians who had been smarting under the low evaluation placed upon

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* Johnson, George M. "The University of Nigeria" in Mivocay G. Ross (ed.) New Universities in the Modern World, p. 90.

their degrees elsewhere in Nigeria. (2) The applied fields to which the University was giving attention were university degree fields in America but often not in Britain. (3) Those who understood, believed in, and were trained for this type of university appeared the more attractive candidates, by and large, to those doing the hiring and promoting.

The predominance of the American-education "views" in academic circles is likely to increase roughly proportionately to the number of "counterparts" sent to America, particularly as this number far exceeds any scholarship help Britain can afford. Further, as it is now an unstated policy that as many of these counterparts as possible shall attend Michigan State University, increased "uniformity" of orientation will probably result. The shifts noted elsewhere in the quality of education provided the American-educated Africans since their attendance pattern has changed from Southern negro colleges to American Universities of some standing, will presumably further increase the acceptability of "pragmatic" doctrines in higher education. Further, the fact that the new Vice-Chancellor, a highly reputed Nigerian scholar educated at Cambridge and the Registrar, a respected Nigerian with a University of London degree from Ibadan, now hold the two most prestigious and potentially influential posts in the University may abort arguments and allay emotional concerns about an American "take over". What the impact of these appointments will be on long-term institutionalization of innovations as distinct from the organization remains to be seen.

The third factor, the image of the University as a Nigerian creation and as a demonstration of Eastern Nigeria's ability to do anything as well or better than anyone else, appears certain in the long-run to be increased by the policy of Nigerianization of faculty, especially in administrative and

policy formulation posts. The University of Lagos crisis (in which Dr. Eni Njoku was not reappointed Vice Chancellor) was clearly a tribal maneuver and, as a result, almost all Ibo lecturers at Lagos resigned. Dr. Njoku, who thus became a hero of Ibo nationalism (quite in addition to his obvious scholarly qualifications) was appointed the new Vice Chancellor of the University. A large portion of the Ibo lecturers who resigned at Lagos were likewise appointed at Nsukka with special ~~subversion~~ subvention from the Eastern Nigerian Government, and many of the University of Lagos students were accepted at the University of Nigeria, thus further identifying the University with the "cause" of Iboism. Following the January 1966, military coup, university informants indicated that it came just in time since "Nsukka was viewed as a first target of the Hausas" (who, it was presumed, wished to eliminate all Ibo intellectuals). The subsequent Hause coup in July, 1966 which promised to further isolate Eastern Nigeria from the rest of Nigeria at least emotionally and possibly politically, seemed certain to solidify Ibo sentiment around "their" university even further.

With the gradual eclipse of Dr. Azikiwe, the Nigerians in the all-University leadership group who were most viable with the relevant public were by and large among those likely to be least strongly committed to the innovations of the institution. Mr. Vincent Ike, the Registrar, moved to that position from Ibadan University where he had received a "very good" degree, was an Ibo of unimpeachable personal integrity, and had served previously as an assistant registrar at the "respectable" University College, Ibadan. Mr. Ike did, in fact make a strong case for the fact that in such matters as entry qualifications, the University of Nigeria was only doing openly what Ibadan had "really been doing for a long time"; and there was

a strong tenor in his remarks which suggested that as soon as the secondary education system had caught up and allowed it, Nsukka entry qualifications would change to those formally stated by Ibadan. Mr. Ike was further the chief spokesman for the British external examiner system (to assure comparable standards in universities) and he believes that too much emphasis has been placed on the ways in which Nsukka was innovative, too little on its commonalty with other universities. Dr. Kalu Ezera, educated at Harvard and later Oxford, was quickly alienated from the administration of the University and became one of the most vocal critics not only of administrative policy and structure under the Americans but of other aspects of the University associated with the American system. As a close personal and political friend of the Premier, often being called upon by Dr. Okpara to fulfill political engagements for him, Dr. Ezera's estrangement from the administration along with the American support accorded Mr. Chukwudebe in an internal power struggle with Dr. Ezera, served to increase alienation of the University (until 1964) from its ultimate, permanent political base, the Eastern Nigerian Government. Dr. Eni Njoku, third Vice Chancellor of the University, is a person of considerable academic repute, recognized professional integrity, and an academic martyr to "tribalism", but his support of the innovative elements in the Nsukka experiment has remained a matter of some question and debate.

On the other hand, Mr. Chukwudebe, the Nigerian with whom the American administrators chose to identify themselves consistently and most visibly, was a person lacking in political viability within the academic community other than through his identification with Dr. Azikiwe. It was believed by some that but for the intervention of an American Vice-Chancellor on several

occassions he would have been dismissed even by Dr. Azikiwe. Mr. Chukwudebe had earlier served in the Minis try of Education, where he was referred to as a failure both as an education officer and as an administrative officer; he was personal anathema to the Chief Secretary of the Premier, Mr. Udoji, whom he in turn treated with deliberate scorn. (At the ceremony when Princess Alexandra, representing the Queen, lay the foundation stone of the University, for "some reason" no seat was reserved for Mr. Udoji. At the first graduation of the University, again no seat was reserved. It does not require an institutional analyst to recognize the seriousness of these affronts, in a society distinctly conscious of protocol and sensitive to real or imagined "slights". On one occasion, when Dr. Udoji was visiting the campus on a Sunday, Mr. Chukwudebe forced him to the side of the road and ordered him off the campus as a "spy".) With the eclipse of the "politicians" after the military coup of January, 1966 Mr. Udoji, as head of the civil service became in effect first chief advisor to the new Military Government.

Despite his obvious political liabilities in all except one sphere, the American leadership group of the university and in Michigan chose to identify itself with Mr. Chukwudebe. The first Vice-Chancellor had Mr. Chukwudebe's only rival in status, Dr. Ezera removed from office in the central administration, and came to rely upon Mr. Chukwudebe as his "interpreter of the Nigerian scene". The second Vice Chancellor, upon assuming office, reduced Mr. Chukwudebe's influence but likewise proved unwilling or unable to remove him from office until that office was abolished by the Military Government. Mr. Chukwudebe was instead given the usual "cake with frosting treatment", being taken to the United States where, before Nigerian counterparts at

Michigan State University (who undoubtedly fed the information back to campus) was provided foreign dignitary treatment, being wined, dined, and displayed to local civic organizations for several weeks. If the American leadership failed to disassociate itself from him, and for long failed to limit his influence and often effective control over academic appointments, promotions, and policy, the new Military Government was not so constrained. In sweeping series of changes at the University, it abolished his office, although not before the kind of operation for which he had become symbolic had led the Government to publish in its first public policy statement an indictment decrying the influence of non-academic over the academic policies of the University. Fortunately for the American-inspired innovations at Nsukka, this identification between the Americans and Mr. Chukwudebe was more frequently interpreted by Nigerians as lack of understanding then as lack of integrity on the part of Americans themselves.

Recruitment and Professional Status of Leaders

In commenting on the public image of the university, the Nigerian at the University best qualified to judge, remarked that this image of the University had improved immeasurably since its first graduates had entered the job market. Early judgements, he commented, were made on the basis of the persons who were employed. The procedure for employing has fortunately since been greatly improved. The procedure used to employ the first faculty members in Education, and net results of that procedure, are detailed elsewhere. (pp. 244-247) The early procedures used elsewhere in the University were roughly the same. As one prominent educational leader in the public school system of Eastern Nigeria put it, "We knew that many of the people who were employed by the University were among those who were

considered least competent in our secondary schools and training colleges." Furthermore, in the early days, promotions were handled largely by the council. Later Michigan State University received the approval of the University of Nigeria to screen applicants in the United States, and this assured the use of some non-ascriptive criteria. Probably the most serious single shortcoming of leadership in the first few years of the University was its failure to establish or maintain viable procedures for staff recruitment. This increased greatly the external scepticism about the academic integrity of the University; it ensured weak programs which could not sustain doctrine by reason of lack of competence of capacity; it created fantastic internal morale problems as persons were placed in faculty ranks without regard to achievement norms. (In Education, a PhD who had served as an Education Officer in the Ministry came in as Lecturer Grade II, while a person holding a B.A. (who had been released as principal of a secondary school) was appointed senior-lecturer, two ranks higher on the ladder.) This was initially true of both academic and non-academic personnel in the university. Although gradually sound recruitment procedures in academic fields were established, until 1966 the problem persisted in non-academic appointments. In respect to supportive branches of the university, procedures and capacity were generally referred to as being incapable of providing the administrative support which program required.

No attempt to understand the University or any of its Colleges would be complete without some specific assessment of the impact of the first Vice Chancellor on them. M.S.U. slected Dr. George Johnson as Acting Principal (later first Vice Chancellor) and head of the M.S.U. group following the illness of Dr. Troy Stearns before the formal opening of the University.

Dr. Johnson was a lawyer by training, had served as Dean of Law at Howard University and as legal counsel and later member of the United States Civil Rights Commission. At Howard, Dr. Johnson served as a Negro administrator in an essentially Negro university which was dependent upon Congress and particularly visible to Congress and its committees. In this position he also served under Dr. Mordecai Johnson, then President of Howard, an administrator who tended personally to make the major decisions for that university. This combination of serving under a generally authoritarian administrator, and under the eye of a watchful Congress, had acquainted Dr. Johnson with situations which required administration which was both politically sensitive and, perhaps, cautious. Within that university, moreover, as dean of a professional school, he had served in a position vastly different academically from the land-grant type institution which Nsukka was designed to be.

This pattern of experience may in part account for the strategies he elected to employ at the University of Nigeria. The fact that he was a legal expert may account in part for the weight he gave to the legal position of the University Council as the locus of decision-making in all aspects of University life and also for his respect for the specific requirements of the basic law (as, for example, in contrast to the Cook-Hannah-Taggard Report) in guiding early University development. In accordance with this law, and with the wishes of Council, he deferred or appeared to defer to Council on most matters of policy or even matters of University administration. As the minutes of Council meetings were not public, he was able to use the "secrecy" this provided to protect effectively innovations which were started at the University by keeping before the academic community the belief

(often correct) that academic directions were being set and academic decisions taken by the University Council. He appears at the same time to have been effective in persuading the Council of the soundness of many innovations. In any event, it appears clear that by orienting himself primarily to the University Council he was able to protect against serious academic attack the major innovations of the University, such as the General Studies program, the need to give priority to professional or vocational fields (including Education), and the desirability of keeping the door open to students with less than a High/School Certificate. By maintaining Dr. Azikiwe's confidence, which he did to a remarkable degree, he also was able to protect the entire M.S.U. group from serious public attack which might have jeopardized such innovations.

Although this contribution was fundemental to the University, it was not a contribution which failed to exact its price in terms of University development. The failure to involve faculty competence in major decisions, including for example the willingness to defer to Council in selection of faculty members, led to needless and redundant proliferation of programs, to a poor use of resources in acquiring staff who were either poorly qualified or maldistributed in terms of University needs, and a general belief that he was not willing to stand firm on "academic prerogatives." This unquestionably cost him support among the faculty and threatened to alienate faculty from major innovations of the University, innovations they felt they had little or no voice in deciding upon. As he was distinguished in appearance, persuasive in manner, and an effective speaker who could enunciate the basic philosophy of the University both on its own ceremonial occasions and to external publics, he helped much in promoting a public image of credibility

for the University. Although keenly sensitive to the need to maintain linkages with Dr. Azikiwe as a power base, he was not equally sensitive--perhaps because he relied so heavily upon Mr. Chukwudebe for his interpretations of the Nigerian scene--either to the need to establish comparable linkages with the Eastern Nigerian Government or to alter the perceptions of the faculty about the commitment of the administration to principles of academic involvement and procedure they valued. He attempted to remedy the first of these problems with partial success in 1963-1964, when it was clear the University's financial base in Eastern Nigeria needed to be secured. With Mr. Hawley, he also turned his attention the same year to devising a machinery which would focus faculty competence more directly on University policies, thus making it much easier for his successor to bridge previously existing gaps between faculty and administration.

Dr. Taggart his successor, was the personal choice of Dr. Azikiwe for second Vice Chancellor. He had been educated in land-grant university and had served for a number of years in an administrative position at Michigan State University. He had helped formulate the innovations which were to be attempted at Nsukka, had maintained contact with the University from before its actual birth, was a person who was noted for his informality and "approachability", and one who had the almost unlimited confidence of the American advisory staff from Michigan State University. Continuity between the two administrations was assured not only by Dr. Taggart's frequent early contacts with Nsukka but by the presence during the changeover of William Hawley, who had served as Deputy Chief of the American Party under Dr. Johnson and continued to serve as Chief of the American Party for the first year under Dr. Taggart. As Dr. Taggart arrived to inherit a new and viable administrative

and consultative pattern which had been worked out and approved the preceding year, and as he was by philosophy inclined to place great stress upon academic involvement and correspondingly less upon legal interpretation, he tended to build bridges to the academic community which had hitherto remained largely unbuilt. Almost all respondents in the academic community of the University referred specifically to the fact that regular academic and administrative procedures (as they understood them) stemmed from the arrival of the new Vice Chancellor, although in fact the basis for these had been established the preceding year.

Leadership Continuity

The basic device envisaged for continuity was that each American advisor would have a Nigerian counterpart who could replace him, or do without his assistance, upon that advisor's return to the United States. The Joint Universities Advisory Committee recommended creating the post of Provost or Pro-Vice Chancellor, which could have served a similar function in providing a Nigerian counterpart for the post of Vice Chancellor. This position was never filled. The stated reason is that no person was found who was suitable both to the Chancellor, Dr. Azikiwe, and to the American Vice Chancellor. In certain other positions in the central administration this procedure worked quite effectively. Mr. Ike, who had served as Deputy Registrar under an American advisor, became registrar of the University in 1963. Dr. Ukpaby, who had served as Assistant Dean of Student Affairs, became Dean of Student Affairs in 1964. Nigerians who had served with American or British advisors holding administrative posts were nominated by these advisors and became deans of the Faculty (then College) of Education (1962), the Faculty of Arts (1965) and the Faculty of Agriculture (1966).

A second device used to assure administrative continuity was the position of the Chief of Party of the American Advisory group, a position which was in fact used chiefly to assist the Vice Chancellor in running the University, despite its ostensible description as providing leadership for a growing group of advisors. Mr. Hawley, who had helped handle the University Administrative burden in 1963-1964 and was largely responsible for the new academic organization, continued to serve one year beside the new Vice Chancellor in 1964-1965; Dr. Axinn, who succeeded him, remained as Head of the American Party after the appointment of the third Vice Chancellor, Dr. Njoku. A further attempt at continuity in this latter case was provided by offering Dr. Njoku a position as Visiting Professor at Michigan State University for the 1965-1966 academic year, a position which permitted him to study at first hand the operations of an American "land-grant university" and to familiarize himself with some of the procedures Americans had been instrumental in introducing at Nsukka.

THE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

When the University opened in October, 1960, it possessed a total of three advisors in Education. It had been recruited to give leadership to the total Education program: Dr. Richmond Davis had been recruited as an advisor in Vocational Education; and Dr. Troy Stearns, following recovery from the illness he had suffered in August, elected to continue to help at the University for some time rather than return immediately to the United States. Prior to the meeting of the Finance and General Purposes Committee which had been planned for early November, the Principal requested advice from the MSU advisors as to the advisability of beginning additional curricula, specifically curricula in Education. In a memorandum in reply we

stated "We strongly recommend that no professional course begin in January and that education begin Spring term. We believe, at the present stage in our thinking, that we still know too little about Nigerian education and that the (Carnegie) Seminar should precede offering any course." The advisors further recommended that if any curriculum were offered it would be urgent that it be limited initially to at most twenty-five students, preferably fifteen, and raised a number of cautions, namely:

> It is of utmost importance that no hasty faculty appointments be made to staff new courses as this will freeze the program--possibly at the level of mediocrity. The MSU advisory group is considering the problem of faculty selection and recruitment and will make recommendations concerning procedures in the near future.
>
> It is important that no new students be added until we have a pattern by which they can be absorbed.
>
> It is important that the advisors in education and the Dean of Students be free to develop appropriate selection procedures when it is time to select students in education. Different methods will have to be used in the selection of these students than in the selection of the original group. A small, hand-picked group of students will be a requirement for getting the professional curriculum off the ground.

Contrary to this advice, the Finance and General Purpose Committee determined to offer two programs in Education and advertized for students to begin them in January. Any understanding of the nature of the original leadership group in education and its potential for developing doctrine, translating doctrine to program, securing and organizing resources to implement program, and interpreting and gaining acceptance of innovations in the wider communities requires some understanding of the selection and recruitment processes by which faculty were selected to operate these programs.

Recruitment Procedures and Professional Competence

The launching of programs in January necessitated a hurried selection of staff. In December Dr. George Johnson turned over to me as advisor and acting "head" of the College of Education the letters of application of some twenty-five persons who had applied at one time or another for direct-hire employment in Education at the University. Preferring to rely upon both more adequate data than waht was here presented, and upon a wider basis of judgment, I asked that the full credentials of applicants (who had been solicited through general advertisements in English and Nigerian newspapers) be made available and that a special committee be appointed to make recommendations.

In keeping with the latter suggestion, the Principal appointed a committee composed of Dr. Edward Blyden (Acting Academic Dean), Dr. Kalu Ezera (Assistant to the Principal), Dr. Troy Sterns and myself. The committee requested the remaining data (such as lettersof recommendation on applicants) from the Secretary to the Council, Mr. Chukwudebe. The latter refused to turn them over to the committee on the grounds that they were "confidential". The committee requested the Principal to intervene in its behalf in securing the necessary credentials, only to be told that he was unwilling at that stage to become involved" in a quarrel between the committee and Mr. Cukwudebe." The committee next proposed to interview those candidates who had applied from Onitsha province, these constituting by far the largest number of the Nigerian applicants. Upon requesting University transport, however, the committee was informed that it had not been authorized to interview candidates and was not to do so.

Under these circumstances the committee debated whether it should continue to serve or not, deciding ultimately to serve but also to indicate the inadequacy of this recruitment procedure in its report to the Finance and General Purposes Committee. The report of the committee, consequently, attempted to do three things: (1) to stress again the importance of careful selection of faculty (2) to emphasize that competent professional judgment could only be exercised in the light of all available evidence, and (3) lacking sufficient evidence, to recommend in the present instance that certain specific jobs be filled (job definitions being given) and to suggest which of the candidates be considered, in the light of their own reports on their education and background, for each of these jobs. In addition to the report of the committee, I (as acting Head of Education) submitted two memoranda to the Principal for his consideration in meeting with the Finance and General Purposes Committee. In the first of these I recommended (1) that in light of the failure of one of the two programs to materialize, much of the pressure for additional staff was removed and we should build slowly, (2) that in terms of building the future program of the University it would be important to secure an individual of the stature of Dr. Ukeje or Dr. Fafunwa before the end of that academic year to assist in planning, and (3) that we should continue to employ the principle of using faculty competence in the selection of new members, but must find effective ways to provide faculty with the relevant data upon which to make judgements. In the second memorandum I made recommendations concerning specific applicants who I had already learned were unacceptable to Nigerian educators in the professional community, and suggested alternative procedures and data needed to locate and process graduates of American universities.

Shorty after the meeting of the Committee, the advisors in education were apprized of its actions by the Principal. The memorandum submitted to us informed us that;

> the recommendations submitted by the informal committee appointed by the Acting Principal were considered helpful. The Finance and General Purposes Committee decided, however, that academic staff appointments will continue to be made by the Council. For appointments to existing departments, members of the Faculty will be invited to sit with Council and give their expert opinion."

Substantively, the committee rejected the recommendations that persons should be selected in terms of job descriptions, expressing their concern that the university not hire "specialists" but people who could teach a number of fields. In place of the five positions we had recommended be filled, the Committee offered employment to thirteen persons, indicating that certain of them should later be sent to the United States for counterpart training. An additional person was notified that if he wished to retire from politics (in the opposition party), he would be offered appointment. Dr. Ukeje was offered appointment, but at a rank lower than that offered to the least effective member of his own high school staff, a former N.C.N.C. politician who had received only a few weeksofprofessional training in Education in one short course in the teaching of English. Dr. Ukpaby, an employee of the Ministry of Education, was offered immediate employment without going through the established procedure of requesting release from the government department already employing him, this further jeopardizing our tenuous relationships with the Ministry of Education. Dr. Fafunwa, who had been most strongly recommended, was not offered appointment when Mr. Chukwudebe, a strong Onitsha Ibo tribalist, offered the false information that Dr. Fafunwa

was "better paid where he was and obviously was not interested", and "was currently in the United States in any event." Neither assertion was checked for accuracy by Mr. Chukwudebe, and the Committee acted upon his assertions. (Dr. Fafunwas was able to meet the Acting Principal the following month at the Carnegie Seminar and assure him personally of his continuing interest, and he was subsequently employed.)

Most appointments the first two years were made by the same or similar procedures. The Finance and General Purpose Committee (or the University Council) continued to reject job descriptions as being contrary to their policy of not employing "specialists". It did not, moreover, abide by its own stipulation that relevant faculty would be involved in subsequent employment of persons within departments.

In February, 1962, the College submitted its proposed budget for the academic year and recommended employing three persons in light of the proposed ten-year plan which had been drawn up. Shortly thereafter I recommended that Dr. Fafunwa be appointed to succeed me as Head of the College of Education, a recommendation which was acted upon favorably and immediately by the University Council. As new Head, Dr. Fafunwa met with Mr. Chukwudebe to explain the rationale for new faculty positions, only to be informed that the latter could not understand why certain positions (in philosophy and psychology of education) were required.

The unwillingness or inability of the Administration and governing Council of the University to operate in terms of plans made, to employ personnel in terms of planned objectives, or to involve expert judgement in the selection of faculty was both documented and commented upon by Dr. Fafunwa

when a month later three new appointments in Education were suddenly announced. In a letter that indicated the element of forcefulness which has characterized his administration of the College (and later Faculty) he wrote the Secretary of Council as follows:

> It has just come to my attention that one lecturer and two assistant lecturers have been appointed for the College of Education.
>
> On February 19, 1962 my department submitted its proposed budget for the 1962-63 academic year to the Burser for the consideration and approval of the University Council during its March or May Budger Session. Among other things, we requested three additional lecturers as follows:
>
> (1) One lecturer in Educational Psychology and Tests and Measurement.
>
> (2) One lecturer in Elementary Education
>
> (3) One lecturer in Philosophy of Education
>
> In our projected ten-year plan which had been carefully drawn up, we proposed these three positions for 1962-63 with a view to employing experienced persons in the areas mentioned, vis-a-vis, an experienced and well trained educational psychologist who will help us set up a reading clinic and a center for tests and measurements; another lecturer in Philosophy of Education, whose main area of concentration is in this field and who has taught this course consistently for a number of years at the University level; he in fact is to be earmarked as one of the specialists who will eventually plan an important role when we commence graduate programme leading to M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in Education and allied fields; the third person we require is again an experienced and especially trained individual in Elementary education whose major training is in this field; he is expected to have had experience in the organizing, planning and administering of a Demonstration cum Model School which we have already proposed to the Council in our five year plan.
>
> Since submitting our 1962-63 Budget we have not up to the time of writing been notified officially or verbally wither by the Vice-Chancellor or the Secretary as to whether our requests have been granted by the Council. However, just before the Council met in May I had a chat with you and you told me that you could not understand why we needed Educational Psychology

and Philosophy lecturers and went on to opine that my department was very unlikely to win the Council's sympathy on this proposal. I took pains to explain the rationale for our position, but this was to no avail.

On May 23, I received on behalf of the Acting Dean of the Faculty of Social Studies three copies of letters of ~~appoints~~ appointment already offered by the Secretary to the Council to one lecturer and two assistant lecturers in Education. The lecturer is a holder of an M.A. in English and a one year diploma in Education; one assistant lecturer has B.A. (Honours) in History and one year diploma in Education; the second assistant lecturer holds a B.Sc. in Chemistry and a M.A. in Education.

First, it is unfair to any department in the University not to have been informed first that its request to the Council has been granted, rejected or amended.

Second, it is an ~~initiation~~ invitation to academic chaos, a travesty of academic freedom and flagrant disrespect to any department or its head not to be consulted at any stage when new appointments are to be made for that particular department.

Third, it is indeed uneconomical to appoint new lecturers, good as they may be in their respective fields, who are unable to fill the posts which the department has recommended. This is not in keeping with the University's 25% austerity measure. Moreover, no department or college can successfully plan ahead or implement a five or ten year plan if it has not role to plan in the execution of the scheme.

By these appointments my department has three surplus lecturers who are neither competent to handle the subjects enumerated above nor needed for any other professional course in Education during the 1962-63 academic year. The History, Chemistry and English departments may have need for the services of these persons in their respective fields for 1962-63 but the Harden College of Education can only keep them on its pay-roll with little or no assignment.

This would not be the first time in the short life of the College when this College has been used as a dumping ground. I felt that the first incident was a genuine mistake but I am unable to draw such a conclusion on the second.

It is my assumption that whoever is responsible for making these appointments must have some private notions not known to the Head as to what the College of Education needed (though contrary to the Head's recommendation). I therefore request that the said person now instruct this department how the services of these three

> lecturers are to be utilized in the College of Education. Barring this, I suggest these three persons be transferred to other departments where they can make better contribution in terms of their fields of specialization.
>
> May I advise for whatever it is worth that one year diploma course in education and a few years of teaching experience are not enough qualifications for a position at the Harden College of Education.
>
> If we are to build a strong and highly competent college which would hold its own among other ranking institutions of its type anywhere in the world, we owe it to ourselves, our colleagues and our students that we plan carefully, appoint judiciously and respect, not insult, those whom we have charged with the responsibility of organizing and administering the various colleges and departments. It is the responsibility of every department or college within the University system to concentrate its entire resources on giving courses that are educationally sound and academically respectable. Each department owes it to its students that both the staff and courses offered are carefully selected and that they make for a wholesome and well balanced programme so that when these students leave the portals of this institution they will be able to demonstrate to the world that they too are proud and dignified products of a proud and highly respected university. The University of Nigeria cannot afford the luxury of expensive but careless experimentation which cannot be justified educationally or upheld administratively.

Persistance by Dr. Fafunwa in his policy to accept new faculty only in terms of job descriptions cost the department new personnel at times but did largely avoid overloading the college with unusable people as had occured earlier in the history of the College and elsewhere in the University. In course of time, too, it led to a reversal of the University position; and by 1966 the College of Education was advertizing positions entirely in terms of jobs to be filled. When, early in that year the Secretary to the Council failed to notify a Yoruba in the teaching of science to whom Dr. Fafunwa had offered employment, and refused to see him when he arrived on campus, Dr. Fafunwa was able to carry the matter directly to the Vice-Chancellor and complete the employment procedure through that

office. One of the first acts of the new Military Government was to eliminate the office of Secretary to the Council, an office which had persistantly been used as a major "check point" in applying ascriptive tribal and "class" standards in the employment of personnel. It is probably the case that such standards bore particularly hard upon the College of Education, for the Secretary of the Council considered himself to have been a successful secondary school chemistry teacher, possessed no professional qualification or earned post-bachelors degree, and had been educated in Britain (whereas the College of Education was, of the university faculties, perhaps the most strongly oriented toward American education, both by virtue of members training in America and by virtue of the fact that the subject matter of Education had led to their formulating explicit philosophies of Education, largely in the American idiom to which they were deeply committed.)

As it was not until 1966 that this situation was fully remedied, the College during its crucial formative years had to offer not only a program on campus which did not meet the standards it could have met, but had to curtail service activities in emerging fields and provide consultative services to Ministries, Examination Boards, and Schools with persons who were too often neither competent nor respected. The lack of specialized competencies within leadership meant elements of the education development plan remained in limbo.

At no point in the first three years of the history of the University of Nigeria, did Michigan State University prove less successful than it did in rectifying policy and practice with respect to academic appointment.

The Cook-Hannah-Taggart report had given no indication that its authors viewed protecting the role of academic competence in running a university as a problem likely to call for particular concern in a new, nationalist-oriented state, emphasizing as the report did various types of lay groups in the planning of the University while giving no attention whatsoever to means of assuring the role of academic competence in the determination of academic matters. More importantly, however, Michigan State University accepted the responsibility of appointing the administrative head of the University, either not defining that position clearly so that authority went with responsibility, or else using its name as a representative of American universities to legitimize practices which ran contrary to promises of academic integrity. As a sound tradition of academic employment had been developed in the Universities of British West Africa, and at Ibadan specifically, the University of Nigeria first opened a pandora's box soon to be followed by others.

Although the employment practices of the University precluded developing a balanced or complete staff in Education, the quality of the staff which was ultimately developed--as much by pruning as by recruitment-- was reasonable. In the Spring of 1962 I met with the Finance and General Purposes Committee of the University Council and was able to secure the transfer of three members from the overly-large and (in some cases) dubiously qualified initial staff to other departments. Dr. Fafunwa remained insistant on the position that he would rather do without new staff than accept persons who were either not qualified at all or not qualified in terms of jobs he had for them to do. In applying for a graduate program in Education in 1966 he was able to list six members of the Faculty whom he judged capable of supervising graduate

work and all of whom held degrees from respected North American universities (Columbia, Ottawa (cum laude), Chicago, New York University (cum laude) and Michigan State University). Two other well-qualified lecturers had left the Faculty to assume administrative posts elsewhere in the University, Dr. Ukpaby to become Dean of Student Affairs and Mr. Anowi to become Head of the Department of Psychology. De. Fafunwa himself had already a distinguished career for a young man, having served with Ralph Bunche in the United Nations, having published a number of articles, a chapter in a recent volume on education, and two conferences papers which were reviewed internationally. He had also served as chairman or co-chairman of various Nigerian educational deputations and two international conferences. Dr. Ukeje has likewise published a number of articles in professional journals and has a volume on Nigerian Education currently in the press, he is serving as co-author of the Entebbe Primary and Secondary Education' Mathematics Series (the "New Mathematics" of Africa), as author of the New Era Mathematics series for primary schools, and as chosen author for the New Arithmetic Series for Midwestern Nigeria. Thus, according to the usual academic criteria applied in America, there seemed little reason to question the professional competence of at least a small core of the faculty of Nsukka. At the same time it must be recognized that in one or two instances professional degrees had not been followed by further productive work and seemed belied by personal qualities or limitations. Thus the core faculty had to be spread extremely thin over the large enrollment, the extensive consultative burden and, in the case of Dr. Ukeje, publishing commitments to produce the instructional materials essential to "Nigerianizing" the curriculum.

The cost which the University and the College were to pay for the inadequate procedures it employed in staff selections, as perceived by its graduates (probably the principal diffusion group for "information" concerning the University), was revealed in many ways during the interviews and questionnaire studies conducted.

Asked to indicate the principles upon which they believed staff selection should take place, and whether or not they felt these had in fact been applied at Nsukka, education graduates indicated mixed reactions: twenty-six respondents indicating they had, thirty-two indicating some had or they had intermittently, and twenty-one indicating they had not. As their criteria frequently included a judgment that "professional preparation" as well as "academic preparation" should be expected, this is not a full judgment on the basis of customarily accepted criteria for selection to university faculties. Typical of the negative responses of graduates are the following:

> The university has not considered all these principles, probably because the university is in a hurry and total number of admissions each year is fantastic--she bites more than she can chew and so not enough planning.
>
> * * * * *
>
> There are many mediocre lecturers there whose right place should be in the secondary schools. The UNN cannot be exonerated from the blame of political considerations in appointing lecturers.
>
> * * * * *
>
> Some of the teachers are not well qualified academically; they have no teaching experience and are morally low.
>
> * * * * *
>
> I came across lecturers with good paper qualifications, but their stuff was short of that of a first degree holder.
>
> * * * * *

There have been some instances of nepotism in the appointment of teaching staff. Certain people were appointed because they knew or went through influential persons in the University. Student protests have been little heeded.

* * * * *

The reason for the exceptions (to established principle) can be better explained by the personnel department.

* * * * *

Where this principle has not been applied it has been because of placing authority where it does not belong. A departmental head should have an overrriding say in who comes in to teach. This was not the case in the past.

* * * * *

There are however many who are today working and teaching at University because of their special relationship with the Chancellor or other highly placed African members of faculty.

* * * * *

There were examples of persons whose depth of knowledge was poor. These occurred owing to undue influence on the part of some authorities to find jobs for their kith and kin.

* * * * *

Selections must be free from the Nigerian political bias. Lecturers should be selected on their own merits with reagard to their qualifications in the required field of study and previous experience. All nepotic recommendations should be disregarded. Tribalistic appointments are fast increasing in the UNN now in several faculties. A sound principle should be the ability to hold a post effectively, and not to represent an area or group or clan.

* * * * *

Tribalism, nepotism and politics greatly affected the selection of most of the present lecturers, especially the ppor ones. Students know every one of them in each department.

* * * * *

A further suggestion of the role of the professional competence of leadership in institutionalization with one of the major publics of the University is revealed in the responses of those graduates who indicated they were "fairly" satisfied with the university. Asked to indicate the reasons for this judgment, some indicated the things they were pleased with, some indicated the features they found unacceptable. Among 48 Education graduates who replied by indicating unfavourable features, the chief reasons listed for failing to give their university a higher grade were:

Inadequate administration:	12 mention*.
Inadequate facilities	8 mentions.
Inadequate staff	6 mentions.

It is quite clear that overall administrative leadership, organization and staffing were not perceived in themselves as strengths of the organization. On the other hand, the preparation graduates felt they had receeived, the academic program they had gone through, and doctrinal elements were often mentioned to indicate why they had not given lower rating than they had to their alma mater.

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* The relatively low evaluation of administration as compared with academic program is seen in such comments as the following: "As far as academic disciplines and courses are concerned, the University of Nigeria stands on equal terms with any other university at least in Nigeria, but much is still desired of the administrative machinery."

" The University has inducted me into a new way of though about life and its setting; to seeing "education" from a different perspective, but its administrational set up leaves much to be desired. The degree programmes are good, but not the administration."

" Administration seems nearly always middled up in every facet of the university life. I am still not disappointed because such is usual with young institutions."

The role of professional competency in institutionalization is not subsumed, of course, by direct statements of relationship. It is strongly suggested, however, that the high degree of institutionality must be accounted for more by academic doctrine and program than by acceptance of the competence of the teaching staff, although a number of students indicated the "international character" of the faculty was one significant advantage in taking work at the University of Nigeria. Among the forty-eight students who indicated themselves to be "fairly" satisfied with the University, at least thirty-three specifically indicated they had been subjected to at least some poor instruction, eleven indicated nepotism, eight indicated political considerations, and eleven pointed to tribalism as entering into the selection of faculty. Among those who indicated themselves "quite" (very) satisfied with their university, thirteen still pointed to poor instruction, and six indicated nepotism, eight political consideration, and five tribalism as factors influencing detrimentally the quality of instructional staff. There did appear a higher correlation between judgments of those who reported themselves quite satisfied with the College of Education, only one of these suggesting that the quality of instruction in that College was lower than that he encountered elsewhere in the University; while at least seven of those who reported themselves only fairly satisfied with their College indicated that they found the quality of instruction to be poorer there.

Political Viability of Leadership

If prior to January, 1966, one asked almost any literate Eastern Nigerian on the streets what Nigeria's greatest problems were, one could count on stock responses, "Unemployment", "Tribalism", and "Corruption". "Tribalism"

was clearly of importance in institutionalization. As indicated elsewhere, Ibo tribalism was not a simple phenomenon: it was compounded by other divisions as, for example, the division between "Onitsha Ibos" (the people Mr. Chukwudebe considered "the ruling class") and "Non-Onitsha Ibos," (those ascendent in the Okpara Government.). Religious affiliations and rivalries also served to divide the Ibos. Approximately two-thirds of Eastern Nigerian Christians were Catholic, and the Catholic church was well organized, politically powerful, and actively promoting Nigerians in the hierarchy. The extent of the influence of the Church upon politics was often emphasized by Ibos, and yet it must be pointed out that none of the Eastern Nigerian Heads of Government before the coup had been Catholic. During the period under consideration in this study, the first Minister of Education had been an Onitsah Catholic, but his successor had been a Non-Onitsha Protestant, as had both the chief inspector of education and the permanent secretary. The religious import of the rise to power of Colonel Ojukwu, an adult convert to Catholicism and of his first chief secretary, Chief Uduji, likewise an ardent Catholic, upon the shape of educational policy was uncertain. The first administrative shuffle following the January coup transferred the former Permanent Secretary of Education, who had been largely responsible for the School Board Policy designed to regulate church schools, (see below), to another Ministry; but as this move was part of a general shift of permanent secretaries, its significance was unclear. Further, although probably more Ibos than members of any other Nigerian ethnic group had studied in the United States, the majority of those in administrative positions in the Ministry of Education had gone either to

Britain or to one of the British-related colonial universities.

In light of these features of the environment, how viable was the leadership of the College of Education at Nsukka? If one considers the Department of Education as the core of the College*, some estimate can be made. Of those actually in Nigeria and not away for advanced study overseas all but one member of the Department of Education, at the time of this study, were Nigerian. Of these, one was Yoruba, one was an Onitsha Ibo, and four were non-Onitsha Ibos. Dr. Udoh, Head of the affiliated Department of Vocational Education, was a member of the Ibibio people of Eastern Nigeria, a tribe closely related to the Ibos but often resentful of their dominance. Of students abroad and intending to return to campus, two were Ibo. Bearing quite differently upon institutionalization, however, was the fact that in a region in which religious feelings ran high, and in which many of the major policy issues in education hinged upon religion, only one member of the faculty was Catholic and he was likewise the only member educated in Britain. (As he had transferred to the Department at the time of the Lagos University cricis, in which almost all Ibos resigned _en masse_, and was not chosen by the Department in the normal manner, his position was still that of the marginal "newcomer".) Although Dean Fafunwa was Nigerian, he faced most major ascriptive handicaps. He was a Yoruba, a non-Easterner, a Muslim in a Christian Region, and American educated.

In light of these ascriptive considerations, it is remarkable to note the apparent use of achievement or professional competence norms by educators in judging Dr. Fafunwa. In response to the open-ended question, "Whom do you consider the major thinkers or leaders in Nigerian education?" Dr. Fafunwa

was among those most frequently mentioned by all categories of respondents (See Table E ,p261).. These results are the more astounding as, for example among the Nigerian Principals used as respondents, only one was of his own tribal group and only one was a Muslim, while among the graduates interviewed very few would have been Yorubas.

In a society which was only gradually moving from ascriptive to achievement norms in rating people, these three "non-functional" characteristics of Dr. Fafunwa (Tribe, Region and Religion) raised questions concerning long-term political viability. Although rational achievement norms were ordinarily applied in replying to interviews and questionnaires used in this study, tribal feelings did occasionally surface. Moreoever, during the course of the study Dr. Fafunwa's own long-standing liberal-democratic political convictions opened him to serious attack and political strain. The reputation for independent criticism he had established is perhaps best described by one of the students at the University of Nigeria in a "faculty profile:"

> Dr. Fafunwa is one of those builders who still speak but are not the pet of the press. One of the founders of the N.C.N.C., he was a local executive committee member in Lagos. Dis-illusioned on return from abroad about party set-ups and allignments, he took a practical approach in 1956 and was a member of the Nigerian Citizenship Committee for Independence. The aim of this committee was "to persuade or coerce where necessary leaders of political parties to come together". This committee of which he was the secretary spoke through pamphlets, one of which was "Proposed Federal Constitution for Nigeria," one of the papers read as the 1957 London Conference on Nigerian Constitution. Some of its proposals were adopted. The committee disbanded with the achievement of Independence, its self-appointed task performed. Its twenty-four state proposal not accepted, it left with a prophecy on its lips. "the problems of more states will continue to plague Nigeria for the next ten to twenty years". A plague indeed!
>
> The great Nigerian educator is still vocal about his political convictions on National issues' "irrespective of what party may be annoyed". "Instances of this are during the Western Nigeria crises when he made his views known by telegram to the Prime Minister,

TABLE E

LEADERS AND THINKERS IN NIGERIAN EDUCATION AS IDENTIFIED BY RESPONDENTS

NAME	TRIBE	UNN GRADUATES IN EDUCATION (86)	UNN GRADUATES NON-EDUCATION (27)	NON-GRADUATE TEACHERS (51)	NIGERIAN PRINCIPALS (65)	FOREIGN PRINCIPALS (21)	STATUS* LEADERS (15)
Dr. Fafunwa (Dean, Ed. UNN)	Yoruba**	60	11	15	39	3	5
Dr. Kenneth Dike (Vice Chancellor, Ibadan)	Ibo	25	10	27	16	3	5
Mr. Ikoku (Pres. Nig.Un.Tchrs)	"	13	4	10	16	1	8
Tai Solarin (Columnist)	Yoruha	55	7	6	13	2	1
Dr. Eni Njoku (V.C.,UNN)	Ibo	12	6	16	12	1	1
Dr. Azikiwe (Former President)	"	13	8	26	6	2	2
Mr. Awokoya (chf.Fed. Adviser)	Yoruba	10	-	-	-	-	2
Dr. Ukeji (Lecturer, UNN)	Ibo	15	2	-	-	-	-
Dr. Hanson (Former Advs.UNN)		19	-	-	-	-	-

* Status leaders were here defined as Zonal Inspectors (Ministry of Education), Education Secretaries (Voluntary Agencies), Presidents of Professional Organizations in Education.

** The Ibo tribe in dominant in Eastern Nigeria. The Yoruba tribeis not an Eastern Nigerian tribe and there is considerable animosity between two groups, although each has readily accepted modernization. Only a handful of the respondents were Yoruba.

> Sir Abubakar and President Azikiwe, then Governor General. The two leaders also know that he condemned government action in controlling all public and private foreign scholarship. In his widely publicized article of 1961 "Nigeria: Divided we stand, " he stated what he thought were our priority problems! "the cancerous problem of bribery and corruption, nepotism, tribalism and excessive materialism." He stated "Nigerian Society having moved from a period of trading by barter into cash economy, we are now in a traditional period where money means everything, including buying men's soults and principles! This is a gross tendency that can wreck a nation. All lovers of our nation should be concerned and wipe out these and other maladies which plague the nation. Eventually we will come to realize that a man's belief and a man's soul are more valuable than ordinary cooper, and that our nation will be built on and sustained by selfless service, honesty and dedicated approach to our problems. I do hope that our young graduates will take this kind of challange with them into the world as they go to serve the nation."

In the period during which this institutionalization study was being conducted the resurgance of Regional feelings made such political integrity dangerous. The specific occasion for an attack on Dr. Fafunwa arose in connection with the banning of unpopular newspapers by certain urban councils in Eastern Nigeria, obviously with the approval of the Eastern Nigeria Government. Dr. Fafunwa assumed leadership in ~~called~~ calling for aprotest of University faculty against such a limitation on freedom of thought. Further, speaking from the same platform as the Premier of Eastern Nigeria to the students at one of the great secondary schools of that Region, he argued that if young Nigerians really wanted a better Nigeria for tomorrow, they would need to dedicate themselves to basic principles, pointing specifically to the unwise and undemocratic nature of limitarions on free circulation of the press:

> I am sure that many of our young people of today are hoping and praying for a better Nigeria of tomorrow. Hope and prayers are helpful only if these are reinforced by hard

work and careful preparation for the future. But how do you do this?

First you must equip yourselves intellectually and morally as educated citizens of Nigeria. This is to say:

(1) understand and appreciate the fact that Nigeria is made up of several ethnic groups and that each group has a unique contribution to make in nation building; a study of the cultures and languages of other ethnic groups in our schools is more mandatory today in Nigeria than ever before.

(2) Be prepared to correct unsatisfactory conditions in our society; declare war on bribery and corruption- do not give and do not take; do not act unconcerned when you see others give or take. As I said earlier it is not good enough to be law-abiding; we must be law enforcing and we should start to cultivate this habit right from the school compound, in our own villages and communities.

(3) Be prepared to defend the truth and fight against falsehood. Democracy is a two-way traffic. Many Nigerians tend to fight injustices only when they or their friends and relatives are affected and condone or close their eyes when they are not involved; more especially if they are to be benefited by the injustice. We see this not only on national issues but even at the school or village levels. You young people must start in earnest to fight these evil forces right now- charity begins at home. If democracy is to survive in Nigeria, the future generation must have as its motto: "Eternal Vigilance is the price of Liberty."

The banning of some national newspapers by Onitsha and Enugu Urban Councils for instance is as unwise as it is undemocratic even though most of us share the views of these two Councils with regard to the role some of these papers played during the last Western election. But two wrongs do not make a right. The act is definitely a denial of freedom of speech. A government that is democratically constituted has no right to dictate what the people shall or shall not read. We should not wait until the Citizen or the Outlook is banned elsewhere before we act. The same principles hold in each case.

Such an outspoken and critical position, coupled with tribal considerations, made Dr. Fafunwa "fair game" for the chief Ibo UPGA* propagandist, Ojuluchukwu, leader of the UPGA * Vanguard (militant leagues) who attacked

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* United Progressive Grant Alliance, a political party consisting of an alliance of the N.C.N.C. and the Action Group. This party controlled the Government of Eastern Nigeria.

him publicly. On October 30, 1965 the Eastern Nigeria Broadcasting Network announced to the Region the support of the Vanguard for Ojuluchukwu's position:

> The UPGA National Vanguard has called on the authorities of the University of Nigeria, Nsukka to discipline Professor of Education Fafunwa in an unanimous resolution at its meeting in Engug last night Fafunwa was accused of organizing a protest against the banning of seven newspapers in the West. He called it undemocratic and impolitic. The UPGA Vanguard asked the East Region Government to take steps to see that the University of Nigeria, Nsukka did not harbour subversives. The organization accused Fafunwa of failing to sign the statement of objections to the way on which Dr. Eni Njoku was dismissed as Vice Chancellor of Lagos.

Although Dr. Fafunwa had been an active member of UPGA himself, the equally militant University branch of UPGA supported the Vanguard in this position; and the Chief of Party of the Michigan State University party in applying conservative American administrative standards wrote Dr. Fafunwa reprimanding him for writing his University colleagues to organize a protest against freedom of the press "on University letterhead paper."

There were those within the Education structure who though that freedom of speech did have much to do with Educational leadership. Edo Okoye, an Eastern Nigerian Ibo who edited in Onitsha the only Nigeria teachers newspaper, the Educationalist, devoted a front page editorial, to commending Dr. Fafunwa, labeling his editorial BRAVO BABS FAFUNWA!

> Professor Babs-Fafunwa has said the mind of the men of worth when he condemned the ban of some newspapers in some parts of Eastern Nigeria. He has done the right thing at the right time and in the right place. Babs-Fafunwa, a famous Educationist, dean of the Faculty of Education in the University of Nigeria and one of the best friends of Nigerian teachers by this act is championing "freedom of thought" which is the cornerstone of democracy, without which democracy becomes tyranny. To attack Babs Fafunwa for this is to attack ourselves which is to attack reason,

> for we attacked the suppression of the freedom of thought in Ife and Lagos Universities. *

Within other spheres Dr. Fafunwa was equally outspoken. Professionally convinced that genuine orientation of Nigerian education to the development needs of the Nation required both public control of schools and deliberate instruction in religious tolerance and understanding, he made no effort to keep his [redacted] under cover even in a Region in which the churches served as principal proprietors of grant-supported schools. In this he was not alone, this being a position closely paralleling that of the Ministry of Education in Eastern Nigeria. His was none-the-less a view which at least threatened estrangement with a politicaly powerful segment of the public. When the civilian government was replaced by a military government following a coup in January, 1966, he further announced in a University newspaper interview that his chief recommendation to the Military Government was that education should become a public responsibility:

> Primary schools should be administered by the province while secondary and university education should be handled by the central government. Missionaries should be counted out in the running of schools.

Such a position was little likely to win friends among the politically influential clergy.

As the centrifugal forces increased in Nigeria, particularly after the July, 1966, coup in which Hausa Moslem soldiers in the North and West slaughtered Ibo officers, it remained to be seen how Ibos would react to individuals of a tribe the role of which appeared to many to be largely that of "neutral" bystanders during the "[redacted]" directed at Ibos.

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* Educationist, Vol. 1, No. 3., November '65, p.1

Prior to the July coup, however, it was apparent that within the University, Dr. Fafunwa was highly respected. At the same time, it was apparent that the Associate Professor of Education, although an Ibo, was not considered by most to possess the personal qualities necessary for top leadership. Furthermore, the latter's bitter anti-Catholicism and vituperative anticlericalism could seriously jeopardize institutionality were he to assume administrative leadership. In the early flush of independence when "one Nigeria" was the slogan, the period with which this study was largely concerned, there was no question but that the Nigerian composition of the College of Education, and even its orientation toward that "practical education" associated with economic development, struck sympathetic chords with most Nigerians in the educational establishment.

Commitment to Innovations in Doctrine and Program

It is not surprising that there was a high degree of consensus between those of us who advised in Education and the Nigerians who soon assumed leadership in the Faculty of Education. As indicated elsewhere, the leading members of the Faculty had been educated in America and, by and large during a period when concern for the social role of education was a dominant theme in professional education graduate programs. It was this strain of educational theory, including both American pragmatism in the vocational sense and the role of education in social reconstruction, which appealed to Nigerian educators. (Of the Nigerian doctoral dissertations completed in America and included in Parker's bibliography,* all but one dealt with the historical, social, or anthropological role of education in Nigeria) only one was concerned with

* Franklin Parker, African Education; A Partial Bibliography of U.S.A. Doctoral Dissertations, Washington, WCOTP CMOPE

teaching a specific field.) Responses by the ranking members of the Faculty indicated they agree they all stand for (1) the general revision of the Nigerian educational system, (2) an increased emphasis on practical education, (3) deriving education from the culture and "needs" of nation, and (4) developing programs which would produce "educational engineers" who, in the words of one of the Nigerians, "could become innovators. That is, people who have the capacity and ability to change things." Although faculty were not sure they always agreed on what should be, they were convinced that what was should not be and that the University had a crucial role to playing in changing that which did exist. As one of the early members of the faculty put it,

> We have a conviction that the system as it is now should not be that something different is required. We all are dissatisfied with the present system--particularly in elementary education. Furthermore, the Faculty is doing something about it. Dr. Ukeje in mathematics and Babs on reading and elementary science. The Faculty has a conviction that they must work with the Ministries--this isn't a common thing in Nigeria, trying to identify self with the relevant Ministry and work with the officials. Also the Faculty has been concerned with those already in the present system--" "Lets help them improve", and has tried to do this with courses ranging all the way from the Nigerian Union of Teachers vacation program for undertified teachers to the Post Graduate Certificate of Education.

In describing the philosophy of the College, the notion of innovation comes out even more strongly in Dean Fafunwa's comments in answer to what he considered to be the distinctive elements in its philosophy and program:

> 1. As expressed in the introduction to our brochures, our task is to prepare educational engineers rather than technicians, to train teachers who see the whole, who are more than mere task masters.
>
> 2. We see it as important to draw more example from the Nigerian situation. For example, we have a thesis requirement which gets the student involved in real and unique problems of

Nigerian education. We had hoped that psychology would be more related to the Nigerian environment, but this has yet to be developed. Our course in the History of Nigerian Education also has much potential in this respect.

3. Education should be more functional--we can't enjoy the luxury of education for its own sake. We need an immediate or direct emphasis in education on specifici skills and competencies. . . meeting the needs of society and the child in his environment, helping him earn a living.

4. The major task in Education is to continue to experiment with the curriculum in the Nigerian schools and make it flexible until this latter is achieved. We see this as the task before us for the remainder of the twentieth century. In this respect curriculum is not a subject matter to be taught--developing the curriculum involves the level of the teachers, equipment, the school atmosphere, textbooks, and the like. We see the curriculum as the totality of experiences, inside and outside the school.

5. We believe the government should control all schools and that individuals may open their own private schools at their own expenses. Religious instruction should not be part of the regular curriculum, rather civics and ethics should be taught. (We might welcome comparative religion.)

It was amazing that on this final point, (The "School Board issue, see below Chapt.5) the major leaders in the department were in full agreement. Three newer members of the faculty were working on this research project and were not treated as respondents; but it is unlikely this would have been disagreement in more than one case of these. Similarly in expressing agreement with the major directions of All-University policy, these leaders responded with unstinted enthusiasm--" could make Nigeria a greater country", "very, very much agreed. But I feel we have been compromising too much." "No reservations". Although the faculty members in Education tended to be highly critical of the way the early American and Nigerian leaders had operated the university, and in particular the inability of the Vice-Chancellor's office to make the important decisions in the early days, their commitment to the underlying doctrine

was unshaken.

Continuity in Leadership

Continuity in leadership was maintained in the Faculty of Education through overlapping periods in office and through doctrine and programs which had been jointly worked out, accepted, and committed to writing. Thus, before Dr. Fafunwa took over as Head he had worked in the College for one year with me and with the staff in Education. The same continuity was not possible between me and my successor as "advisor" in Education, and his short stay and failure to develop or implement programs may in part have been accounted for by this. Basic documentation on plans and program, including the newsletter series of the College had informed him of past developments, problems and projected plans. His job description, and his place with respect to Dr. Fafunwas was apparently not clear to him, however; and this contributed to his personal disappointment on other matters and decision not to complete his term. Discontinuity in advisory role (the position was transfered to another field) resulted in inadequate support for Dr. Fafunwa in developing mechanisms for enlisting the resources and support of the entire University beyond College programs and lack of experienced support in instituting extension and institute programs. The transition in Vocational Education between the first and second advisors likewise involved no overlap in periods of service. In this case, a single sheet of comments from the first advisor constituted the "handing over". At this point an entirely new program was worked out. Such lacunae in continuity were not essential features of the two year advisory assignments but disjunctions of this type were sufficiently noticeable to be singled out by Dr. Oyolu in his public attack on the MSU advisory

program as one in which:

> Since each advisor formulates policy and program and normally comes out for two years, departmental programs and policies change almost every two years. Each new Head virtually spends one year discarding his predecessors programmes and formulating his own and the remaining year putting his programmes into operation.

(Emphasis in the original quotation.) A similar disjunction existed between the first and second advisors in Physical Education. Nigerianization of Department Heads which has since occured appears to assure a degree of continuity in both departments in the future. As most major faculty members in the College expressed their intention of staying on, there seems little reason to expect further disjunctions unless they occur in Vocational Education, which still lacks sufficient Nigerian staff below the level of Department Head to provide administrative leadership or continuity.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY ADVISORY PERSONNEL

If one were to examine the role of MSU personnel in effecting the institutionalization of innovations in Professional Education, both all University leadership and leadership assigned specifically to Education must be considered. The specific leadership strategies which were used or attempted by both MSU personnel in Education and by Nigerian successors or colleagues are considered in the next two chapters; but some generalizations about the leadership in Education merit mention in light of certain more general considerations about the viability of MSU advisory personnel.

First, in the case of Education, as in a number of other fields, initial MSU practice included placing advisors in the administrative positions. Without attempting to analyze my own effectiveness as an "over-all advisor"

in Education, it can be mentioned that (1) I accepted assignment in Nigeria immediately after completing a seven-month assignment at MSU as a member of an All-University committee which was provided released time to re-examine MSU in terms of the implications of the Land-Grant Philosophy for new times. (2) I had had considerable previous experience in developing undergraduate curricula in Education during twelve years on the faculty of land-grant institutions, having received professional training in curriculum theory and design, and having been assigned responsibilities for this function at MSU. (3) I was further educated in social theory of education and commited to that strain of Deweyan pragmatism which was accepted by the American educated Nigerians who were my colleagues. This provided an initial base of common values which seldom was called into question and which made resolution of other differences easy. In general, it might be said that I possessed much relevant experience; but not educational experience in administration or in a different culture. My successor in the past lacked both university experience and hence "professional status" (which leads to viability) and which was judged in Nigeria by such considerations as seniority, publications, and the like.

Second, within six months I was joined by a nucleus of highly trained Nigerian professionals who were either already at the University or were commited to join the University the following academic year. At least two of these persons possessed considerable experience, including recent administrative experience in the educational system of Eastern Nigeria (one as a secondary school Principal and the other as a field officer of the Ministry.) Another member had recent successful executive experience in industry. Other members of staff possessed less experience or less recent experience in

education. The chief personnel strategy used was to involve all Nigerian faculty members as directly as possible in the projection of program through joint planning sessions and through developing a background of common experiences such as group visits to community schools and three month survey of the Eastern Nigerian school system. Furthermore, publications during the early days were limited to but encouraged for Nigerian staff.

Third, it was possible to select leadership by direct observation and to transfer leadership to Nigerian hands in a relatively short period of time for implementation and consolidation of projectred or initiated innovations. In general, administrative leadership with the competence and professional skills needed for giving life to programs was available. If there was any lack of relevant experience it was in terms of newer patterns of mobilizing the resources of the total University behind programs in teacher training and in organizing workshops to achieve maximum efficiency and effectiveness. The establishment of the Continuing Education Service provided additional resources and competence in the latter area.

Fourth, MSU provided otherwise unavailable leadership for initiating innovations in Vocational Education, the most startling single departure in University education within the College. This leadership was initially saltatory and ineffective because faculty and facilities were lacking and because leadership nominally assigned to the program reassigned itself or was reassigned to other responsibilities in the University. Subsequently a team approach (including the second MSU Vocational Education Adviser, the Nigerian Head of Department, and top Ministry of Education officials) resulted in designing a curriculum for prevocational schools and a program for the training of teachers for these schools. An industrial and technical

education degree program was also developed. Cooperative arrangements were established with the department of Secretarial Studies and/with Agriculture to develop curricula, and a program was developed with Nigerian industries to provide teachers in training industrial work experience during long school holidays. Further, a proposal for the training of vocational teachers and for developing vocational education programs in schools was submitted to Ford Foundation and a grant of £ 80,000 received.

There appears no doubt that if the programs in vocational education do in time become fully institutionalized with the relevant publics, this will be largely due to the professional and organizational competence of Dr. George Fern, second advisor in Vocational Education. Dr. Ferns was chosen after having served as head of the Industrial Education curricular area at Michigan State University at a time when the latter was under critical adminitrative review and had required careful rebuilding and effective design. In Nigeria, he recognized the importance of, and effectively used, linkages with the Ministry of Education in developing a training program in industrial education; he secured the cooperation of industrial enterprises in providing long vacation experiences for those involved in the program. In the field of agricultural education, he worked out in conjuction with a member of the Faculty of Agriculture a program that went through the Faculty of Agriculture Curriculum Committee without reservation and was characterized by the Dean of that Faculty as a "neat, workmanlike job". It would appear that care in curriculum development and program construction based on Nigerian development plans and Ministry aspirations paid off in terms of program viability, for when the new University Council (1966) announced it was looking

into certain "non-academic" programs in terms of their meriting degree status or inclusion in the University, concern about "vocational education" programs appears to have been quickly dispelled.

But as previously suggested, analysis of the role of American leadership in institutionalizing change in the professional education cannot be limited to the leadership provided exclusively within professional Education. Recruitment of personnel who could translate doctrine into program, provision of suitable facilities, and regulations, decisions, and logistic support for programs were often determined or influenced by characteristics of American leadership outside Education. Furthermore, inasmuch as perception of the professional status, political viability, and competence of advisors in the specific program were affected by their membership in a "class" (the "class" characteristic of which, at times, overshadowed individual characteristics) requires such consideration.

Recruitment, competence, professional status and viability.

Any consideration of the political viability of the American advisory group must take account of the various people whose confidence it was necessary to secure and maintain. Actually, if Americans were to be effective in projecting or supporting innovation or in Promoting program they needed acceptance by (1) the University Council (which effectively meant Dr. Azikiwe), (2) the academicians who would ultimately implement, retain or reject innovative doctrine, (3) the Government of Eastern Nigeria, and (4) the clients of the University. Attention is here limited largely to leadership characteristics, as these affected all University personnel (faculty) and Government. Matters of viability with clients and the general public are considered, albeit not fully, in connection with the "American Image" described in Chapter 2

and in respect to i nstitutionalized status in Chapter 7.

A number of factors influenced the ability of MSU to recruit a team of persons competent to develop a university, particularly a university that was intended to be not only relevant to a culture vastly different from which America culture but was, furthermore, to be innovative in that culture in the sense of finding and employing new departures which used elements of that culture as "content" and which would meet "needs" in that culture. Among limiting factors were the following: First, Michigan State University, despite its heavy involvement in overseas programs had had no provious project experience in Africa. Second, this project developed before the popular American messianic mission to rescue Africa from "the ills perpetrated by the colonialists" had gained much momentum and when it was not immediately easy to recruit personnel for Africa. Third, the University had not prior to the project made any significant effort to accumulate professional competence with respect to Africa; the African Studies Center was a subsequent creation. Fourth, the project was one of great extent: in all a total of seventy-seven long term advisors have been used to date involving as many as thirty-three simultaneously at one point. Fifth, those fields which were apt to be hardest hit in terms of staff demands for the new "land-grant" university were the same fields which had been heavily used in other overseas projects (eg., agriculture, education). Furthermore, University projects tended to in effect compete with each other for staff resources in some instances. Sixth, although it is easy to locate persons in land-grant institutions who are specialists in their own right, this in no way implies that they have given serious thought to the overall philosophy or functioning of the University of which they are a part. Seventh, and perhaps most important,

the speed with which the project developed (when the date of opening the University was moved up to coincide with independence) required exceptional haste in recruiting initial advisors.

The first, (and essential if not sufficient) qualification for securing and maintaining the viability of the American group with any of its publics was that it maintain the support of Dr. Azikiwe. The position of Dr. Azikiwe in legitimizing the university goes without saying; this was his "field" and the fence he put around it clearly bore its non-tresspass sign . Dr. Azikiwe was fully commited to a conception of education which he considered to be American: his educational arguments had consistently proposed American "pragmatic" education as the alternative to patterns of British education which he viewed as inadequate for Nigeria. American education, as he understood it, stood for mass higher education, the elevation of practical or vocational fields to university status in the interests of economic development, and content drawn from the national culture. Furthermore, he saw the new University of Nigeria as quite uniquely his own creation and as the most appropriate monument to what his vision and leadership had brought Nigeria. Finally, in 1960 he was at the apogée of his political power and popularity- "unchallengable" among the Ibos. It was thus a necessity that the MSU advisory team maintain his confidence and support if it were to play a role in institutionalizing innovations. He could serve both to endorse and thus legitimize innovations <u>within</u> the University, and he could protect the University or the American leadership group from outside public attack, at least such attack from within <u>Eastern</u> Nigeria. It was then urgent that his support be maintained until sloganized doctrine was instated in the form of program, or until some alternative support could afford as

great protection.

Michigan State University must have appeared to Dr. Azikiwe an appealing institution which with to work. He was a student of the land-grant movement in higher education, and Michigan State University was a "pioneer" land-grant school. It represented par excellence the vocational and practical orientation of American education, was the typical land grant university A to Z, with courses running from advertising to ~~bookkeeping~~ zookeeping. It was a "mass" university and growing rapidly. It was considered a "dynamic" university. It gave prominance to athletics, a deep interest of Dr. Azikiwe. It was a university, which as much as any university can do so, appeared the creation of one man and seemed to stand, as Azikiwe wished Nsukka to stand, as a testimonial to that man's vision. If there were other dimensions to the enterprise, such as respect for academic determination of academic policy or an increasing emphasis on central "academic" disciplines, these were not as immediately apparent to the outside. Finally, Michigan State University was deeply committed to, and already experienced in, applying the "service" concept not only throughout Michigan, but overseas. There is no doubt that Dr.Azikiwe's respect for Dr. Hannah and Dr. Taggart was enormously high, and this gave Michigan State an initial viability with Azikiwe even before the first American advisor arrived on the scene.

The one indispensible accomplishment of the all-University leadership at Nsukka was that it did manage to maintain viability with Dr. Azikiwe intact for six crucial years in the history of the University, until Dr. Azikiwe's central position as legitimizer and shield of the University vanished in the military coup of January, 1966. Credit for this achievement rests, as far as Michigan State University is concerned, with Dr. George Johnson, Dr.Glen Taggart,

and Dr. John Hannah. As Dr. Azikiwe's interest in the University in its early days was not only great but likewise "detailed" and immediate, contact between Nsukka and Dr. Azikiwe was frequent. Liaison between Michigan State University and Dr. Azikiwe had to be maintained largely by Dr. Johnson, who appears to have retained the support and confidence f Dr. Azikiwe not only for himself but for the Michigan State University operation as a whole during this period of constant contract. It is to him that much of the credit for maintaining this viability must go.

It is hard to say to what extent this was intrinsically a difficult task. Dr. Azikiwe was largely committed to American education and the land-grant philosophy as he understood it, and he appears to have been open to new ideas and suggestions. Certainly, programs in Education which were presented to him were acted upon with alacrity and enthusiasm, even when they did not originate from his office. In the early years of the university, it was practice to establish the agenda of the University Council with problems for the Council to resolve; and this appears to have been acceptable to Dr. Azikiwe. After 1964, under Dr. Taggart, agendas were made up to specific recommendations with detailed rationales; and Dr. Azikiwe at this time readily accepted this redefinition of his role. It is notable that the first and only criticism of MSU which Dr. Azikiwe voiced publicly came after he was dismissed from his University positions by the new Military Government, and then came in terms of MSU's ostensible failure to give solid enough support to the Azikiwe Foundation, a private venture which provided relatively inexpensive housing for University students off-campus, when the Military Government ruled this practice out.

Determination of the extent to which the Michigan State Advisory group was characterized by political viability, competence in respect to tasks at hand, and an image of professional status within the academic community of the University is a far more complex matter. Although no attempt was made in this study to get at a list of "personal traits" which defined in Nigerian eyes the successful advisor, it is possible to judge from interviews (and informal discussions which took place over six years) many of the considerations which affected the Nigerians perceptions in matters such as these. At the very conclusion of the period under consideration, Dr. Oyolu of the Faculty of Agriculture launched a serious attack in the public press on the MSU advisory operation (see pp.300-4). It is interesting to note that in defending the institution against this attack, the Nigerian who replied through the public press did so not in terms of defending the American advisors from allegations made against them but in terms of (1) the appropriateness of using the public press as a medium for airing complaints, (2) Dr. Oyolu's personal reasons for launching the attack, and (3) the question of the propriety of some of the latter's own past activities while at the University. There is no doubt that many Nigerians felt that American advisory services had been of inestimable benefit to the University, but they likewise had serious reservations about many aspects of American leadership. Concerns of the Nigerians which appear to have reduced the acceptability or viability or the advisory group fall in the following areas.

First, MSU accepted a decision that advisors should fill administrative as well as advisory roles(Actually, this was not the initial intention but came about as administrative positions were not filled otherwise or at Dr. Azikiwe's request.) within the College of Education, I served as Acting

Head of the College, the first Advisor in Vocational Education served as Head of that Department (although the second advisor did not), and the first two advisors in Physical Education served as Heads of the College of Physical Education. (For much of the first six years of the University most Deans and Department Heads were MSU advisors.) If one is to judge how effective it was for me as advisor to serve also as first administrative head, one can consider performance against the Plan for Development which was then developed and has indirectly continued to guide College activities. In noting that innovations were in fact accepted and have continued to be acted upon, however, it should be noted (1) that innovations were jointly developed by Head and faculty, (2) the period of my administrative leadership with Nigerian academic personnel under me was extremely short (1 year) and (3) my Nigerian successor was recommended by me and succeeded me as administrative head before I left. On the other hand, the first advisor in Vocational Education was unable to use an administrative leadership position as Head of the Department to get a program moving, for reasons quite unrelated to whether or not he held the two positions (advisor and head) simultaneously. The second advisor in Vocational Education has managed to develop a highly innovative program working as Advisor along side a Nigerian Department Head who was appointed simultaneously with him. The only available evidence indicates that neither pattern necessarily precluded effective innovation. The other application of this practice of serving in double roles which directly affected the program in Education was the decision that the Vice Chancellor of the University should be an American advisor.

The judgment of the Nigerian faculty members as to whether or not this djouble role for advisors was acceptable is only one dimension to be considered

in examining the effect of this pattern on the process of institutionalization, but their acceptance of the innovations and their commitment to carry them on could well be colored by their perception of the desirability of the dual role, played by those what instituted innovations. One of the most universally respected of the Nigerian leaders, and one who himself possessed an American degree, talked about the double role exercised by American in this wise:

> Without the MSU team the UNN couldn't have gotten this far; but at the same time, I must say we do feel that a much better job could have been done. In terms of actual results of the MSU advisory program, Education and Agriculture stand out as having been particularly effective. Probably the MSU role has been more noticeable in Agriculture because of the slower Nigerianization in this field, which means that the image here has shown up outside the University.
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> As far as administration is concerned, with due deference to individuals who on their own were good, frankly if I had not been to the USA and seen American administrative efficiency, I would have been left with a feeling of complete wonder. The problem was one of knowing that there are certain principles that must be used and problems that must be faced. There was a sort of compromise--the "Professor Diplomat". Obviously the Americans couldn't help it where the Council had jurisdiction, but the same thing showed up even in day-to-day administration.
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> I would have suggested that the set-up be modified. I would not have suggested that MSU supply the Vice Chancellor. I would have insisted that Nigerian counterparts have a significant role to play in selecting advisors. Furthermore, care should have been taken to see that the advisory program operated in respect to the principles of the structure on campus; housing should from the first have been standardized for advisors and direct-hire persons, a situation which has now been largely rectified. Care should have been taken in bringing in persons so that they were brought in capacities which were not out of line with our own--they should have come in as Visiting Professors,Visiting Lectueres, etc., depending upon qualifications. Finally, it should be remembered that the quality of personnel provided reflects not only on the new University but on the sponsoring University.

Another highly respected respondent who commented at length on this problem pointed out that the major change he would have recommended would have been to:

> divorce administration from the technical assistance grop for obvious reasons: first, because where administrative interests and academic interests conflicted, the advisor served as advocate and jury at the same time, and second because for fear of offending Nigerians, and for fear of adversely affecting relations between the USA and Nigeria, administrators might shy away from taking unpleasant decisions.

A third respected Nigerian leader commented:

> In certain departments, the advisory program was helpful. The advisors were not "Professor Diplomats" in these cases. Those who came and wanted to please didn't do a good job of advising. If knowing our culture means merely finding out what we want, this is not help. "X" is a case in point. . . he decided to cooperate with evil, he knew something was wrong but chose to do nothing about it.

In general, there was strongest acceptance of American administrative leadership in those cases in which (1) programs were in the stage of being initiated, (2) the program involved was genuinely novel to Nigeria (e.g., General Studies and Continuing Education), or (3) where well-qualified indigeneus personnel (as judged by Nigerians, not Americans) was unavailable.

A particular facet of the "American Diplomat" allegation applies not to individuals but to a perceived policy which raised the spectre of politics and not academics as the governing standard in MSU activities. This was the frequently stated belief among those who had been at Nsukka since 1961 that MSU relied upon racial rather than professional considerations in selecting early advisors. It would be difficult not to gain this impression: of the first A.I.D. advisors at Nsukka five out of seven were American Negroes. By the fall of 1963 three additional Negroes, the latter all from American

Negro institutions, had been appointed. Above all, Nigerians did not wish to be thought of as politically unsophisticated, and the practices he "perceived" operating suggested he was so viewed. The comments on this policy were strongly negative among those University respondents who singled it out. They put their concerns in such words as the following:

> In the early years MSU tended to bring out Negroes-- this has proven to be wrong--we felt a scholar is a scholar whether red, brown, green or yellow. It was strictly wrong policy to employ Negroes as such."
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> The decision that advisors should be Negro was not a wise decision. At first Africans were happy Negroes were included, but then began to have second thoughts . . . X was the one who hurt most here . . . trying to identify with us, then moralizing with Africans and telling them to behave themselves.
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> It was definitely a wrong decision to select the advisors on the bais of race--either will be accepted depending on ability. This was one of the main mistakes MSU made here.
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> I would suggest to the USA that decision-makers should not be American Negroes-- perhaps they could assume non-decision making posts. The American Negro comes here looking for status. Z gave in on what needed to be done to gain that status. The general pattern of Negro behavior in American is one in which he doesn't have equal status with the [redacted] American and lacks experience in decision-making. He tends to emphasize the social side of his new position and forget responsibility.
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It was easy to make such sweeping generalizations about "social status motivations" as four out of five of the first Negro advisors moved into the prestigious "professors houses" and "administrators houses" by reason of their position, family size, or other considerations, whereas none of the

other British or American advisors were at first placed in them and the only other advisor who requested such a house was pointedly turned down. The generalization was reinforced when two of the three Negro advisors who arrived in the next wave likewise received prestige residences. In a "small community," and one in which size of residence was considered a mark of status as well as a matter of convenience, these residences were eagerly sought by Nigerians who found themselves thus excluded from them in "Nigeri's own university." This was a source of concern. In fairness to the MSU operation, however, it appears much of the responsibility for housing allocation actually rested in the early days in the Office of the University Council; but it was perception of fact, not fact, that swayed emotions.

These comments do little more than point to a general suspicion on the part of a number of faculty (all the faculty quoted here had received degrees in the United States) that MSU had other motives than the development of the strongest possible university for Nigeria in carrying out its operations. Whether this same judgement would have been true had Nigerians not singled out several of the early Negro advisors as having been among the least effective is difficult to judge. It is also difficult to judge to what extent MSU was operating on the belief that race should be an important criterior in the selection of advisors: certainly there was belief that American Negroes should be represented in the party; and as late as 1962 was felt by some in authority that race was an important criterion with Dr. Azikiwe in considering selections. A more important factor in determining the racial composition of the original advisory group, however, may have been that for a variety of reasons American Negroes took greater interest in an African

project in 1960 and 1961 than did other Americans.

The pattern of duality of role underscores the difficult position filled by the Vice Chancellors of the University. When Dr. Troy Stearns fell ill and it was necessary to replace him, MSU selected a distinguished American who had served not only as Dean of Law at Howard University but with President Hannah first as Counsel, and later Member, of the United States Civil Rights Commission. There seems little doubt that Dr. Johnson presented a very favorable image of the University to the Nigerian public and was a polished speaker who advocated persuasively the cause of the University on ceremonial occasions and to groups outside the University. As previously pointed out, it is also clear that during a difficult period he managed to establish and maintain close liaison with Dr. Azikiwe, the Chancellor and the initial political power base of the University. Yet within the University, the judgments of most respondents, American and Nigerian alike, tended to be often negative toward his leadership; the negative comments on administration often being mentioned alongside changes which were perceived to have begun in 1964.

It is clear that as far as many within the University were concerned, the first administration was seen as a period characterized by indecisiveness and a willingness to defer decisions to the Chancellor or to the University Council. This was the period during which academic competence was not brought to bear effectively on the problems of the University through consultation or through establishing and using a viable administrative structure.

Nigerians holding the belief that American leadership was indecisive commented that considerations and orientations other than academic too often guided the selection of American personnel and the actions of those American

personnel in decision-making positions. This raised in the minds of many the question of whether Americans should have filled administrative positions which necessitated making decisions. One of the more generous assessments came from one of the most highly respected Nigerian scholars, one who is rising rapidly in the ranks of the University. When asked what change in approach, emphasis or course of development he would, in retrospect, propose, he singled this factor out:

> I would recommend one major change--a top Nigerian should have been appointed Vice Chancellor from the beginning. This would have avoided discontinuity, and we require a long-term plan. There were many pressures from the Council and the Government which a foreign Vice Chancellor couldn't resist but a Nigerian could have. Of course, this is all changed now and it isn't necessary to be diplomatic. (The military coup had removed the University Council and Chancellor.) In fairness to the first Vice Chancellor, there was too much pressure from outside which he couldn't resist. Many feel this way.

The issue of whether the use of MSU personnel in administrative positions enhanced the possibility of initiating innovations is, as indicated above, not a clear cut case when one confines one's review to the College of Education, where two contrasting patterns appeared to work. The picture changes somewhat if one considers the wider pattern in the University. The major innovations of the University were seen to be the Continuing Education Service, the General Studies Program, the Bachelors Degree in Education, and the programs in Vocational Education. It should be noted that in each of these cases, except Vocational Education, the program as it was developed started under an American advisor who also served as administrator. Even in Vocational Education the first programs, although largely on paper, were developed under an American advisor who also served as administrator. By the time of this study none of these programs appeared to be any longer suspect by the faculty members interviewed. On the surface it would appear that placing MSU personnel in

administrative positions, rather than merely advisory positions, during those periods when original innovation was undertaken probably facilitated intiating major departures. As the "innovative leaders" who actually got programs under way in these situations were on no occasion mentioned negatively even by Nigerian respondents who were critical of this arrangement in general, but were on the contrary frequently mentioned as among the more successful of American advisors, it is clear that a distinction was being drawn between viability of the pattern and viability of individuals operating within the pattern.

In some ways specific administrative practices and procedures also gave increased visibility to the dominant role of Americans in administration. The use made of the role of Chief of Party or Deputy Chief of Party of the MSU advisors reveals this most clearly. Failure or inability to fill the post of Provost (or Pro-Vice Chancellor) which had been recommended by J.U.A.C. led to the use of the MSU Deputy Chief of Party or Chief of Party after 1964 (a position which some Nigerian faculty looked upon as being essentially a non-University position) as surrogate for the Vice Chancellor or for other University officials in their absence. When the Chief of Party was, for instance, appointed Acting Registrar upon the departure of the Registrar for six months of study, a letter to the Nigerian Outlook quickly pointed out that with five assistant registrars in a university supposedly indigenously Nigerian, it was strange that an American need be appointed to act in this spot; and the University governing body reversed this decision. The fact that the position of Deputy Chief of Party had been largely redefined as one which would provide an extra strong hand to assist the Vice Chancellor instead of as one devoted exclusively to providing leadership, coordination, or Academic facilitation for the MSU advisory group, was either not understood or not

accepted by many Nigerians. Furthermore, the fact that the Vice Chancellor tended (in all but perhaps one year) to have extreme confidence in those holding this position and came to lean heavily upon them was no doubt clearly suggested to Nigerians by the number of occasions in which persons in this particular role were involved in conferences with the Vice Chancellors, in the number of tasks they performed which had no relation to the advisors qua advisors, and by office assignments, by which the Vice Chancellor's office was physically separated from other University administrators by a wing of the building devoted (apart from his office) entirely to central MSU advisory program personnel. The Office of Deputy Chief of Party did much to increase the managerial capacity of each Vice Chancellor and was in fact filled by persons who did much to develop a viable academic organization, but it was also used in ways which were understandably difficult for many Nigerians to accept.

If this allocation of function served to increase the capacity of the Vice Chancellor's office, it did not necessarily perform the same function for the advisory program as a whole. The first group of advisors accepted their positions with the understanding that they would not only serve as advisors in specific areas, but would work as a team in developing an integrated and coordinated program for the entire University. The day-to-day demands of the Vice Chancellor's office were such as to preclude his giving any leadership to this kind of a function on the part of the advisors, and consequently it became impossible for him to serve effectively as both Chief of the MSU party (as advisors envisioned what was called for) and Vice Chancellor. As the Deputy Chiefs of Party likewise tended to be diverted into serving all-University functions much of the time, the sense of common endeavor and "team spirit" of the group often suffered, particularly during

the early, most difficult days of the University, leaving advisors perforce concerned almost exclusively with their own particular oases. With the appointment in 1963 of William Hawley as Deputy Chief of Party (and later Chief of Party), this pattern changed markedly. Professor Hawley came to the University with the particular charge to help the advisory group begin to function as a team, and in considerable measure he appears to have accomplished this function during his stay. Upon his arrival during the long vacation in 1963, he immediately established monthly meetings of the advisory group (which came to number about 30 advisors), meetings which served to promote assessment of advisory operations and to assure the adequate communication which was necessary if functions were to be directed toward compatible goals. As these monthsly meetings were supplemented by regular conferences with individual members of the advisory group, morale and the effectiveness which stems from morale began to improve. The result of the failure to develop such a team approach at the very inception of the University continued to set problems, however; for the original University program had developed in too many respects as a series of overlapping puzzle pieces which would not fit together into a coherent whole, necessitating subsequent reorganizations and retrenchments with all the dislocations, insecurity, and individual resentments which such reorganizations regularly entail.

One other consideration in terms of the viability or acceptability of the American advisory group with the Nigerian academic community was raised. In replying to a question asking him to name the purposes and functions of the University to which the advisory group had made the greatest contribution, one MSU advisor strategically involved in shaping the course of action replied "ethics and honesty." In one sense of the words, this was undoubtedly correct:

in a situation where bribery and corruption were rife, no suggestion was made in response to interviews or questionnaires, of any American taking part in such activities.* It was certainly true, and acknowledged by most Nigerians to be true, that achievement-norm standards were more apt to be applied in terms of hiring, promotion or firing by Americans than by Nigerians who were under family, town, and tribal pressures (for a possibly contrary view, note the remarks on p. 286). In the wider sense, however, this was questionable, chiefly but not exclusively in the early days of the University. Several factors in the situation accounted for this. First, the American administration closely identified itself with the individual who was most reputed fro "influence peddling" and unethical practices in terms of University personnel policy, even choosing this individual as their "interpreter of things Nigerian". Second, the American administration was believed by some to have rejected the findings of an "ethics committee" which reported on corrupt practices among a number of non-academic staff, supposedly explaining these away on "sociological" grounds. This , in Nigerian eyes, was not unassociated with the dominance of Mr. Chukwudebe. Third, the Americans hired and retained as their chief secretary a technically competent individual who was reported to have had a jail record, but "who came from Onitsha." It was not until the new broom of the Military regime began to sweep that the charge was called to the attention of the second Vice Chancellor who did initiate an investifation on the basis of which the individual was removed. Such factors as these, plus the feeling that Americans had not been able to stand up on matters of "academic rights ", meant that, in the larger sense, the viability

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* In the light of many other "allegations," this ommission was probably not one of reticence.

of the group with many in the academic community was doubtful. Nigerians by and large expected if anything a higher standard of behavior in such matters from foreigners than they demanded from themselves, subject as they knew they often were to traditional "tribal and family" pressures. Many of those who were most sympathetic to America felt, particularly in the early days of the University, that on the most important matters they did not get a higher standard. In questions of the morality of promotions, there seems every reason to believe that, with few exceptions, Americans were influential in developing, applying and (on occasion)insisting upon the use of reasonably objective standards; but as promotions are points at which personal feelings and ambitions made "objective" judgement by Nigerians difficult, such "objectivity" did not necessarily contribute to political viability at least until such time as agreed upon and academic machinery was set up to consider such matters.

If, for a number of reasons, the viability of the American advisory group with the Nigerian faculty was low at times during the early history, even as it appears to have remained high with Dr. Azikiwe and the first Nigerian University Council (which has since been replaced), the issue arises as to whether those traits which cluster closer to the notion of competence of the advisory group account for acceptance of innovations. One of the Americans most closely associated with the University over this early period of development stated baldly in response to a question of the functions of the University in which outside assistance and advisors had been of most help, "Take away the MSU group, and there would have been no University." Another stated somewhat more modestly, "The University would have gotten lost without the MSU personnel and the land-grant philosophy."

Without external assistance, from some established institution or institutions it is doubtful if a university, respected or accepted as a university, would now exist at Nsukka. Without permissive and even encouraging leadership at the all-University level, and without advice and guidance at the level of constituent units, it seems highly unlikely that the planned innovations would have been implemented on a basis which would lead to their ultimate acceptance. (Depending on which available Nigerian had been selected for administrative leadership in Education, this might or might not be true in this case; but even the selection of top leadership here was made upon the advice of the advisor and contrary to more frequent tribal considerations.) Two simple illustrations might suffice to indicate the initial lack of comprehension of what was involved in operating a University.(1) Until several weeks before the opening of the institution, Dr. Azikiwe persisted in the notion that the University ought to open with several thousand students, despite the fact that the staff assembled at that time number under twenty, despite the fact that the University was opening in an underdeveloped area without housing, and espite the fact that there existed a bare minimum of classroom facilities (and no library) for the two hundred who were admitted. (2) When the University opened, the classes were to begin, the function of planning a program was placed in the hands of an Onitsha lawyer who held the office of Assistant Registrar but had no previous university experience. When the students tried to enroll it was found that no plans had been made as to what classes would be offered, when they would be offered, or who might enroll in them. Basically, the Nigerians initially connected with the University administration possessed no "know-how" on how to get the University off the ground. MSU did provide administrative leadership which set up an organization in which classes were

decided upon, programs were worked out, faculty did meet classes, accommodation facilities were allocated, and the minimum operations of feeding, housing, and controlling the student body were provided. With the fantastic annual expansion which occurred, each of these problems kept exploding in size, and yet with one or two exceptions (such as the student strike in 1963) the administration did manage to provide a pattern of academic operations which kept overt conflict under control and programs functioning.

At the level beyond that of mere survival, however, the leadership exercised by external advisers can also be illustrated. One possible illustration lies in developing organizational patterns which would reconcile the practical dilemma which developed when the legal organization of the University (coupled with anomalies in employment) threatened to prevent implementation of elements of doctrine. In keeping with British tradition, the law of the University placed effective control over academic matters in the hands of the University Senate. The composition of the Senate was also such by law that this would have placed effective power in determining academic matters in the hands of non-Nigerians, effectively excluding academically qualified but junior Nigerians from any exercise of power during what were likely to be the most innovative years of the organization. Furthermore, the fundamental law reflectred a definite "order" of respectability among disciplines, according to many of the applied fields (to which overall "doctrine" gave priority) an inferior status by restricting the power of academic units in these fields to grant degrees or to develop programs using the total teaching resources of the University. In this situation, by exercise of administrative competence, an organization was devised which (1) provided at least equal representation to Nigerians in the Senate (the "legal" decision-making body on

academic matters), (2) provided a smaller working body (Academic Council) which could set Senate agendas and recommend to the Senate, and (3) brought a vart array of disparate colleges, institutes, departments, and faculties into a meaningful organization which made many of the "applied" and "need-related" fields equal partners in the University. Fortunately this change was completed during the 1964-65 academic year, sufficiently before the new Military Regime and its University Council removed the umbrella of protection which Azikiwe had provided the MSU operations, to suggest that the academic community had come to consider the University and its academic innovations as "their own" with correspondingly less likelihood it would readily jettison them.

Increasingly, and particularly through the services of William Hawley and Dr. Taggart, a high level of organizational experience and competence in operating in broad land-grant type institutions was added to the organization. Out of this, in the period between 1963 and 1966 a planning approach and a reasonable organization to implement this approach came into being. The early University pattern of organization, which had relied heavily upon the University law and University statues, was completely overhauled, the University statutes being amended to support the revised organization. During the first two years of the University there had been no effective communication between the separate faculties and departments of the University. The plan of organization which went into effect the second year and divided the departments and colleges up into four large categories, did not lead to effective vertical communication or horizontal planning. Within individual faculties, and even more between faculties, overlapping courses were developed,

individual departments made little use of offerings and competencies existing elsewhere in the University except for those provided through the required General Studies program. Although the Deans of the faculties began to meet together regularly during the third academic year for the first time, the Vice Chancellor did not regularly meet with them; and no consistent, overall plan for curriculum development, planning, or faculty recruitment in terms of assessed needs appears to have been worked out.

In the period between 1963 and 1966, leadership competence provided by MSU was brought to bear on these problems. The new administrative and decision-making organizations and the reorganization of the University into logical academic units have been described elsewhere, as has the progressive improvement of faculty-recruitment procedures. Beyond this, it was possible to begin solid work on many of the "planning"systems needed for long-term projections and development of the University: a system of budget planning in light of realistic resource expectations was established; a system of faculty load and faculty need analysis was created; a new research emphasis related to Nigeria, and implemented in part by Joint Ministry-University research committees in some of the Faculties, was given structure. In other words, there seems little doubt that the MSU advisory team began to provide the <u>competence in central administrative and planning functions</u> which would allow for solid program building within such constituant units as Education.

It is not the purpose of this study to examine total competence or viability of the MSU advisory personnel except as the impact of the viability and competence of the group or its administrative leadership bore upon education. In addition to considerations which have been previously mentioned, several factors operated here. The first of these is that the general policies

for establishing priority fields of programs were not determined on the basis of a sufficient attempt to sound out professional advice of the relevant advisors in the field, on the basis of any overall or continuing research study or plan, or (at least until 1964) in consultation with relevant Ministries. This is to say that positions to be filled had been too often selected on a basis of priority areas which were chosen without the involvement of those most knowledgeable about the scene and without the adequate study implied by a "needs" doctrine. This can be illustrated within the broad field of professional education where four years of advisory time during the crucial foundation years were expended on physical education in a Nigerian situation where such training was already available and in which there was far greater need for continuity of leadership support into the implementation phase in the overall field of professional education plus simultaneous assistance in industrial (technical), agricultural, science, and primary education, three of the latter being completely unhandled in institutions of higher learning in Nigeria and the fourth being a position which could not be filled by direct-hire employment.

Second, the question of professional experience was waived at crucial points in the development process. For example, as second advisor to the Faculty of Education, an individual was selected who had (1) never served as a member of a university faculty (and yet he was expected to help build a faculty program during difficut trial period), had just received his doctoral degree (long after most Nigerian members of the Faculty he was expected to advise--a significant "lack of seniority" factor in terms of acceptability to Nigerians in a seniority-status academic milieu); and (3) did not compensate for these by such observable criteria of scholarship as "publications."

When he terminated his appointment in a few months, it was decided continuity in developing a program was of low priority and the innovative thrust which support for the new College could have assisted in providing was blunted before program implications of doctrine and plans were in effect and in a situation in which Nigerian leadership was already overburdened with an enormous instructional program. The appointment of one with little University experience had been objected to strongly by both the advisor currently in the field and the Deputy Chief of Party but they were consulted after the fact (a practice which was still occurring on occasion as late as 1965).

The close relation between professional status and viability with the elite in a nation which was steeped in the British academic tradition, which was keenly aware that it had its own "share" of persons with "Higher Degrees." and in which the image of American higher education was suspect on scholarly grounds, was apparently recognized by MSU but at first not made an important consideration in appointments. In general, there appeared little attention given to the unfortunate aspects of the American university image and the legitimizing base "scholarship" might play for innovations considered "American" when defining positions or selecting personnel. Although no generalizations can be drawn from such nebulous evidence, the first two Americans appointed who held status as highly reputed "scholars" on the Michigan State campus were probably the two most successful advisors in the American operation; and the scholarly "orientation" of two American heads of the General Studies program probably accounts in no small measure the respect which this program has acquired despite tremendous odds. One indication of the failure to give priority to the "scholarly image" is that when the office of International Programs at Michigan State University compiled a

list of publications after six years and seventy-seven advisors in Nigeria, almost none of the advisors had published anything on Nigeria which was not a personal reminiscent account of their work or their impressions. As programs were ostensibly to have been built on a research base concerned with Nigerian "needs", this is the more suprising.

It is possible that differential titles for Michigan State University personnel, as suggested by the Nigerian respondent above, might have altered Nigerian expectations and criteria of assessment; but when the title advisor was partially abandoned it was in favor of "Visiting Professor," a title which in Nigerian eyes still placed Americans with less than distinguished "academic qualifications" in the most elevated titular spot in an inherited university vocabulary. It is possible that explicit differentiation of roles, and a visible indication of this in terms of designation, might have served to allay Nigerian concerns that they were being advised by those who, in their eyes, "were not academically qualified to advise us." It is , however, not clear that such devices could have aborted the severe criticism of those not otherwise favorably inclined toward American education, as revealed in the Oyolu attack below.

It is clear that no university can staff its overseas positions with the proportion of "eminent scholars" which those receiving aid anticipate. In general, those in a good position to judge indicated that the level of professional competence and professional status provided depended in part upon the enthusiasm or lack of enthusiasm with which individual colleges at MSU viewed the University's "international dimension." Because of criticism and concern about overseas appointments two policies were developed which applied to the

University of Nigeria project. The first of these was that no personnel from outside MSU would be appointed who would not be acceptable for subsequent employment in the relevant department at MSU. The second, which came later, was that MSU personnel (who would thus retain their position in the University pay and recognition system) would be, insofar as possible, appointed.

In order to operate the Nigeria program and select advisors, MSU chose personnel who were more closely associated with the land-grant philosophy than the image of the pure "scholar", selecting individuals not from the central academic departments of the University but from the extension service. Although the official structure of the International Programs Office of the University was one in which "knowledge centers," including an African Studies Center, were established, there was no consultative or official relationship established between the new Nigeria Program Office and the latter. This is the more surprising as in theory the new University was being establised to fit into a Nigerian ethos and to meet African developmental needs. On the other hand, knowlege and judgment was sought by consultation with those who had been on the scene, through frequent trips of the East Lansing Director and President Hannah to Nigeria and through building a library of "end of tour reports."

The ability to translate doctrine into program in such a field as Education depended as do all programs upon competence or capacity throughout the central University structure. In general, MSU appears to have lost sight somewhere along the way of the importance of providing technical competence on financial matters as one of its supporting functions to the University. The Cook Hannah-Taggart Report had stressed Finance as a priority academic field, but in doing so had argued:

> "An important aspect of the analysis and planning for the University will involve the initial and recurrent costs. As the functions of the University are defined, there needs to be a concurrent analysis of costs. . . the result might require the establishment of a set of priorities spelling out which areas of the institution should be developed first and to what extent. This will permit more intelligent planning of overall development of the institution."

This was inadequately implemented in the Plan of Work for the Development of the University of Nigeria (Official Document No.1) in which such academic competence was not to be provided by the MSU group (or by Nigeria) and in which MSU advisory assistance at the all-University level was limited to the Vice Chancellor and the Dean of Student Affairs.

The Oyolu Incident.

In 1965, Dr. Chike Obi, leader of the Dynamic Party and an opposition member in the Eastern House of Assembly attacked the Michigan State University advisory personnel, charging that they were primarily interested in leading a country-club type of existence and enjoying a standard of living and a status they could not aspire to at home. The Nigerian Outlook noted this attack only to comment upon it editorially, rebuking Dr. Obi and praising the M.S.U. personnel both for the great help they were rendering Nigeria and for, undoubtedly, foregoing many of the advantages which went with living in America.

In January, 1966, less than two weeks after the miliary coup the same Outlook printed an open letter from Dr. Oyolu, Senior Lecturer in Agriculture, to the Military Governor calling upon the new government to investigate the Michigan State University Operation at the University of Nigeria for irregularities, and using as a particular case in point the previously mentioned appointment of the MSU Chief of Party to the post of Acting Registrar. Two months later the same paper devoted on three separate days nearly full-page spreads

on its editorial page to a vehement attack by Dr. Oyolu on the Michigan State University operation.

Although interviews conducted in this study on the University campus had earlier revealed considerable dissatisfaction on the part of both Nigerian and American advisors with the role MSU had played in developing the University, particularly during its earlier days, and although such terms as "professor-diplomat" were used in these desceiptions, these comments had come largely from Nigerian educated in America who were committed to the basic philosophy of the University, who viewed the ills as being already largely remedied, and who were in no wise inclined to take remedial actions outside the University. It was not until after the military coup and the temporary opening of the press to criticisms of the "ills of the last regime" that Nigerian academic criticism entered the public arena. There is probably no more convincing indication of the way in which the MSU operation had been sheltered or legitimized by the political power of Dr. Azikiwe, and perhaps to a lesser extent by that of the Okpara Government, than the willingness of the press to parade an unpleasant image of these operations once the protective umbrealla had been collapsed.

Fortunately, from the standpoint of mobilizing internal dissent within the University, the person who launched the attack was known to have been long disaffected due both to disciplinary measures which had been taken against him and, more importatly, to having another Nigerian (American educated) promoted to Dean of Agriculture over him. The first full page of Dr. Oyolu's attack was almost entirely a reprint of an article by Milton Taylor and Adrian Jaffe, entitled "The Professor-Diplomat," in which the main thesis was that American technical assistance programs were guided by considerations

which perverted the true nature of scholarship and attracted persons who were motivated by mercenary and status considerations. Entitling his own article Restoring the Dignity of Man (a title taken directly from the motto of the University of Nigeria), the author underscored the following by headlining: Overseas Proceeds, in which the article pointed out the profit which accrues to American universities from overseas operations; Morally Bankrupt, in which it pointed out that the prupose of assistance is "frequently limited to dispensing American aid; the symbol is the dollar rather than the book," and which placed in exceptional type the assertion: "Such work naturally attracts dependable and unimaginative administrative personnel, interested primarily in the perpetuation of their contracts, and second-rate professors singled out for dumping by the University"; Starved Mediocres, in which it is pointed out that the persons sent were "mediocrities. They were not the kind of people we needed most, "that they were more interested in amenities than in providing genuine help, and that the professor on foreign assignment "rarely engages in teaching or research but gets deeply exercised over "a private chaffeur, extra air conditioners, and refrigerators." In the second article he examined specifically the relationship between MSU and the University of Nigeria under the headings of Doubtful Competence, Avoidable Wastes, and Foreign Influence.*

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* A similar argument, advanced by a University Department Head and one of the most influential members of the University Senate, charged in another context on the editorial page in the Nigerian Outlook that "A more potent danger than that posed by the voluntary agencies (the churches). . . . is the external aid to education in Nigeria, with the political strings attached by the assisting governments. I asserted that all our universities are under foreign siege, borne out of foreign financial assistance." (Aluko, S.A. Nigerian Outlook, 25 April, 1966. p. 3)

On the third day, the article pointed out that of the Academic Heads "sixteen were from Michigan State University, five were other Americans, eleven were Nigerians and a number were of other nationalities. It further pointed out that seven out of thirteen in the Council of Deans were from MSU, decried the transfer of power in the University from the Senate to the Council of Deans (a frequent complaint among Nigerians), and pointed out the failure to fill the post of Provost (recommended by the Joint University Advisory Committee) "because the Michigan State University group failed to manipulate a member of the group or one of its loyalists into the post . . . ."

The article brought rebuttals from University lecturers, albeit University lecturers educated in America, and a letter of confidence in MSU from the new chairman of the Council, Sir Francis Ibiam. These replies alluded to a number of dubious practices of Dr. Oyolu and laid forth the reasons he was engaging in this vandetta. Similarly, the University of Nigeria Alumni Association, or in actuality its President and National Secretary, urged in a style typical of its president that:

> The Association calls on all academic staff to devote more time to academics for which they were employed and to desist from playing politics with the name of our Alma Mater. Nevertheless, we call on the Vice Chancellor and the University authorities to note seriously the allegations so far made by members of the staff with respect to the running of the University. The Association would not like the allegations to go uninvestigated and appropriate remedial actions taken.

Although it is probably that the majority of staff "considered the source" in reacting to the charges, it was the charges and not the answers which appeared to the public. In welcoming Dr. Eni Njoku as the first Nigerian Vice Chancellor, the editorialist of the Nigerian Outlook lumped these accusations with the protests of students on catering services in commenting:

> Perhaps the toughest condition which the new Vice Chancellor will have to tackle is the crisis of condifence in the institution itself, manifestations of which we have seen lately. Undergradues' recent protests which led to some form of reorganization of the catering services as well as accusations and counter-accusations from members of the institution-- all show that there is a dire need for reforms and especially for the restoration of confidence.

As these accusations came after the sampling of the publics considered in this study, it is uncertain what their impact was in terms of the institutionality of innovations at Nsukka.

Fortunately from the standpoint of i nstitutionality the new Military Governor of the East expressed his confidence in the University upon the occasion of his first address to the student body. It is, moreover, noteworthy that it was not the doctrine or basi innovations which were overtly under attack: the attack came rather on how effective the policies, procedures, and personnel associated with Michigan State University had been in operating the organization.

Summary : The Role of Leadership in Institutionalizing Change

The most significant leadership factor in institutionalizing innovations at the University of Nigeria was the presence of a significant Nigerian leader (Azikiwe) who was firmly committed to innovations and was willing to accept innovations he did not personally recognize as important initially when he came to perceive them as falling under the umbrella of an accepted macro-doctrine-- "the land-grant philosophy." As a leader he was at the time of the creation of the University at his apogée in popular esteem,

independence being viewed particularly in Eastern Nigeria as his achievement. The University was born under the umbrella of the enormous political power and prestige he wielded. This political power created an acceptance of the organization, at least a sense of ambivalence toward the doctrine and program which were to be innovative (when otherwise hostility would have prevailed), and the initial financial base with which to begin. Before the political and popular mantle had fallen from him in 1966, the University had managed to broaden its base of support by establishing linkages with the public of Eastern Nigeria and with the Government of that Region. Thus while the new Military Governor replaced the old Chancellor and Council and abolished the position of Secretary to the Council, he likewise made clear his confidence in the University qua University.

Early leadership by Americans for the program in Education had not been especially viable in the educational establishment due to (1) a general suspicion of American education in the Ministries of Education; and (2) the fact that the University (including Dr. Azikiwe and especially the Secretary of the Council) were not viable in terms of educational thought in the professional sides of the Ministries throughout Nigeria. By a series of broad strategies which used the respected processes of legitimization, by establishing formal linkages with Ministry and professional organizations, and by effective use of capacity in Nigerian faculty members it was possible to secure increasing acceptance from the Ministry and the Nigerian professional education organizations. These processes are described in detail in the next chapter. Acceptance was facilitated when Ministry leadership changed and came into the hands of a Minister, A chief Inspector, and a Permanent Secretary all of whom came to see the University as a resource in furthering

the program they themselves projected. American leadership was successful in mobilizing faculty opinion within Education to project and start on a series of programs which embodied innovative elements. Extremely effective Nigerian leadership was available not only to support innovations but also to translate doctrine into programs which were put into operation. Dr. Fafunwa, although a member of a non-Eastern tribe which was suspect by Easterners in general, and although a Lagos man, was able to identify himself and his program distinctively with the East. Leaders, Colleagues, staff outside the Faculty, and the American advisory group (with one or two exceptions) indicated high regard for him. His strong identification with science education, his position as perhaps the first African professional Educator in a status University position, his willingness and ability to support with conviction such Eastern Nigerian Ministry of Education projects as the ATTC and secular regulation of education made him highly acceptable to the Ministry. This leadership, plus the ability of the second advisor in Vocational Education to work with the Ministry in planning curricula for their new proposed prevocational schools, planning a program for training teachers for these schools, and putting these into operation, established strong links with both the proffessional and administrative branches of the Ministry of Education.

Over a period of six years American leadership in the total University further managed to move from a position where it was distrusted by a large portion of the Nigerian faculty, to a position where most felt it had restored academic integrity to the University. At the same time, this leadership had developed too slowly to allow the College of Education to develop satisfactorily some programs that it wished to develop or to establish some linkages it

had wished to establish. Chief limitations had arisen from early inability to select competent staff for teaching, research, and service programs in crucial priority fields.

The College of Education also benefited or suffered from any image of the total University which was projected to the general public. Within the total University it had also been possible to locate and advance competent Nigerian leadership which generally appeared committed to the overall doctrine and the major innovations of the University and to transfer the Vice Chancelorship in 1966 into Nigerian hands. How effective the latter transfer would be in preserving innovations or promoting further innovative thrust could not be determined at the time of study. It was highly viable leadership both within the University and within Eastern Nigeria.

CHAPTER 5

LEADERSHIP STRATEGIES: BUILDING SUPPORTIVE LINKAGES

Although both the potentialities of doctrine for eliciting external support for innovations and the commitment of Nigerian leadership to innovative doctrine appear to have been necessary conditions for realizing the potentialities for institutionalization present in the environment, the actual tests of leadership were the extent to which it was able (1) to translate doctrine into program and (2) to devise and employ strategies which would legitimize both organization and program. Of these two requirements, the former might logically be presumed to be the more demanding, inasmuch as new programs came near the heart of changes sought. In actual fact, however, for the College of Education it was the establishment of supportive and legitimizing linkages which proved the more severe test. A series of timing factors in part account for this.

When the long period of saltatory negotiations between Michigan State University, A.I.D., and Nigeria was followed by precipitous involvement of Michigan State University in the Nigeria project, any systematic establishment of contacts and supportive relations such

as would have ideally preceded the launching of programs was precluded. The original intent of Michigan State University had been to provide considerable "lead time" before programs were launched in the field of Education. When Dr. Azikiwe decided to make the opening of the University coincident with national independence, this lead time vanished. It was hoped this loss could in part be compensated for by a Planning Seminar in Education, which was to have been held in August-September, 1960, and to have involved members of the Nigerian Ministries of Education, the Ashby Commission which had just completed its comprehensive study of post-secondary education (and teacher training) in Nigeria, and a selected International "experts" on African education. Unfortunately a series of unforeseen circumstances and the pressures of launching the University precluded holding the seminar at that time, and many of the same circumstances delayed any other systematic planning activities for Education.

When the University Council decided upon and announced a certificate and a diploma program for teachers in November, 1960, scarcely a month after the opening of the University, I had been unable to make more than

courtesy calls at the Eastern Nigerian Ministry of Education and my discussions at the Federal Ministry had been limited to one visit. School visitations had likewise perforce been limited to those schools in the vicinity of the University. The reaction of the Ministries and school proprietors, which is reported below as recalled by N. O. Ejiogu (see pp. 432-433) was no doubt compounded of a general suspicion of the University, the rapidity with which it was promising to develop, and the American administration of its programs. We became aware of how strong these feelings were when we attempted, for a long time unsuccessfully, to negotiate accreditation of the programs which the University Council had announced. Faced already with unaccredited programs and Ministerial suspicion or hostility as faits accomplis, the advisers in Education decided to use the Planning Seminar (which Michigan State University was anxious to reschedule as soon as possible in order to set a precedent for program planning) as the means of establishing the first informal linkages with crucial bodies and individuals in Nigeria. In terms of establishing normative and diffuse linkages the Seminar, which is discussed below, did serve as an initial step. The Seminar urged, however, that its deliberations be viewed only as the beginning in establishing such linkages:

> The members of the Seminar appeared to accept the idea that the effective performance of the service function, as the affective construction of teaching programmes, would rest upon the quality of relationships developed between the College and the educational agencies of the country. Patterns of establishing relationships will be a matter of working effectively with the constituent elements in the existing structure of governmental agencies, voluntary agencies, local schools and communities. An initial conference, briniging together representative members of such groups, in order to explore ways of effective interaction, was suggested as one point for a possible start.*

Although the precise form of consultative machinery suggested was not tried out, we did attempt to establish other types of administrative arrangements which would provide the consultative service suggested. Beyond our need for consultation and advice, however, we needed other types of linkages if the College was to be accepted, if its programs were to be legitimized, and if it was to be successful in promoting change in the wider environment. As the College stood in some respects as the middle man between the total University and the school publics, it had inevitably a crucial role to perform in these respects not only for itself but for the University at large.

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*Preliminary Content Report of the Carnegie Seminar on Education, February 1-4, 1960, p. 3.

Esman and Blaise have defined enabling linkages as those linkages with organizations and social groups which control the allocation of authority and resources needed by the institution to function. In the more restricted sense, and with respect to resources in particular, the creation of enabling linkages was a function of University leadership rather than College of Education leadership. [redacted] Itwas the leadership of the total universith which negotiated with the governments and the National Universities Commission to secure the resources needed and which then allocated those resources as between various units within the University. The function of College leadership was largely one of justifying its own programs for a share of those funds. Lack of adequate planning procedures and failure to establish all-University budgets within realistic estimates of funds to be received made this a very chancy business; and fully established procedures relating budgets to College program plans were not established. The problem of establishing linkages which would assure the College the authority to operate programs fell upon the shoulders of the College leaders. Although the academic environment within Nigeria was one which included a tradition of considerable autonomy for universities, their de jure freedom to establish program faced a de facto limitation exercised

through the external accredition of programs which were offered. Thus although resource procurement was initially almost entirely a function of all-University leadership, rather than that of the College of Education, and although the all-University leadership had the power to "establish" programs such as the diploma programs such as the diploma program for teachers, it lacked the authority to do so, if authority also implies the right of legitimization or accreditation which was required if programs were to be valued in the society. Specifically, then, College leadership needed to secure from the University authority to begin programs we judged desirable (or eliminate those we judged undesirable) and from the relevant bodies in the educational establishment, notably the Ministries of Education and the joint consultative machinery which they used as their common legitimizing agency, the equally important legitimization or accreditation of our programs. This required establishing enabling linkages upon which we could count.

Similarly we needed to establish supportive functional relationships within the environment, that is linkages with organizations which might either provide inputs or use the outputs of the College. This is to say that if the College was to be successful it needed to secure students for the programs it judged desirable, support

for these students, and some assurance that graduates would be employed at appropriate levels in the educational establishment. A disjunction at any transaction point between College and educational establishment could handicap or kill a program. Thus failure to secure unequivocal external accreditation was a main factor in temporarily discontinuing a program for upgrading uncertified teachers in 1964. In practice, enabling and functional linkages tended to merge. Without accreditation (a most important form of authority enablement) effective programs could not have developed in an educational environment regulated by salary structures tied to accredited qualifications. The demands which would have to be sustained by functional linkages went further than mere accreditation, however. Programs established needed human inputs as well as markets for human and intellectual outputs. They also needed support for students _in cursu_. In an environment in which there were competing university level institutions, and in which other post-secondary higher teacher training institutions were coming into being, College leadership found it necessary to engage in a variety of strategies designed to establish linkages which would assure the flow of good students into its programs, which would

gain support for as many of these students as possible, which would avoid destructive competition for good students between units which should be complementary, which would establish flow patterns between the College and other units in the educational establishment, and which would encourage the participation of publics other than students in its programs.

Finally, the College faced the problem of creating the types of linkages which would ensure it support from those in the environment sharing its values or which would enable it to influence the norms of others at points where the College hoped to act as a change agent. Specifically, this meant gaining support from the professional branches of Ministries, from voluntary agencies, and from an emerging group of indigenous Nigerian principals and school proprietors. It further meant projecting an image which would command support from government and the public at large, not only for itself but for the programs it sought to introduce.

In this chapter a series of major decisions which were taken to establish linkages with other units in the educational environment are considered and an attempt is made to assess the extent to which they proved to facilitate institutionalization. These decisions were the following:

The decision to employ the Carnegie Seminar as a means of establishing normative linkages with a number of influence-wielders in the existent and emergent power structure in Nigerian Education.

The decision to create an Institute of Education, linking the College functionally to other units in the Eastern Nigeria educational system.

The decision to create a functional linkage with the Nigeria Union of Teachers, especially through jointly offering a major inservice training program.

The decision to create a functional linkage with the Ministry of Education and the Advanced Teacher Training College in Eastern Nigeria, especially with a view to assuring complementary rather than competitive roles.

The decision to enhance positive normative linkages with the Ministry of Education by serving a leadership role in resolving conflict between State and Church in Eastern Nigeria and resolving that conflict as wished by the State.

Consideration of these decisions permits some overall assessment of the use of linkages in acquiring institutionality.

Establishing Linkages: The Joint Consultative Committee and the Carnegie Seminar on Education

It has become reiterative to point out that the University was committed to gearing programs to meet the "needs" of Nigeria. This implied either (1) prior knowledge of what these needs were or (2) some process of ascertaining them. This was a charge which those of us in the College of Education took seriously.

However, so rushed was initial Michigan State University involvement in the project that my entire orientation to Nigeria consisted of two books which were placed in my hands prior to leaving Michigan with the probability that I would take assignment in Nigeria. (Approval for my appointment came while I was in Surope, and I proceeded directly from there to Nigeria.) Most others in the initial advisory group received little more orientation. It required no qualities of insightful leadership to recognize that the alternative of assessing "needs" after we arrived was the only one open to us.

The introduction in the Plan for the Development of the College of Education (21 February 1961), justified the proposed Plan in terms of the "knowledge base" we had by that time acquired and indicated the sources from which we were then collating ideas. It read as follows:

> One of the most distinctive features of the land-grant philosophy of education is the important place it accords to the applied fields of learning. It is thus of extreme importance that those branches of the University of Nigeria which relate most immediately to meeting the pressing needs of Nigeria should be given careful attention, and indeed, a degree of priority. It is with the belief that the College of Education is of unusual importance as the first of these applied fields will be influenced in their development by the particular directions which this first applied college takes.

Those of us charged with developing a plan for the College of Education have been unusually fortunate in having a number of sources upon which we might draw in structuring a plan for its development. That further study will undoubtedly shed greater insights on the problems of education in Nigeria and West African goes without saying. Thus any plan presented at this time must be viewed as a tentative plan, subject to revision in the light of subsequent study and experience. The plan here presented rests, however, upon principles and ideas gathered from at least the following sources:

1. The general philosophy of the University, which lays its stress upon meeting the pressing problems of the society the University would serve rather than upon making invidious distinctions between the "academically respectable" and the "immediately serviceable." Thus this report is unabashedly based upon what appears to those of us who have had a chance to study Nigeria, and to consult with others whose knowledge is much deeper than our own, to rest upon those needs which are genuinely most pressing although they may not always be the needs which are most immediately apparent, or "academically respectable."

2. The possibility of consultations and investigations, made possible by the provision of consultant status in the plan of development of the University. While the exigencies of getting the University underway have precluded as thorough a study of the educational system and its cultural background as would ideally be desired, considerable investigation has been possible for those of us who were brought here to make studies and to recommend to the University.

3. The Carnegie Seminar on Education, which brought together outstanding school people of Nigeria, leaders of thought in related fields, and educational experts from the United States and the United Kingdom which was specifically oriented towards advancing suggestions for the College of Education of this University. Much of this report is based upon ideas gathered from or endorsed by the educational leaders brought together for the seminar.

4. The appointment of the initial members of the College of Education faculty which has made it possible to check the ideas presented against the thinking of persons familiar with the Nigerian educational system and persons who will have the ultimate responsibility for placing a program into operation and modifying it in the light of ever-changing conditions. The very recent acquisition of faculty in education has, unfortunately, made full involvement of this faculty in the development of this plan infeasible, although ths new faculty has served as sounding board and revision panel for an initial draft to this paper.

5. The College of Education is further fortunate in being able to chart its course at a time when the Ashby Commission on Education in Nigeria has presented its findings and has recommended many startling innovations in the educational system of the land. It will be noted that many of the recommendations of the Commission have been reviewed and incorporated into the plan here presented.

This rationale implies a much firmer basis of fact and judgment than retrospect would say we in fact possessed at the time, either with respect to ascertaining actual "needs" or projecting programs appropriate to meeting these "needs." The difficulties which we had already encountered in the launching of premature schemes by the University Council led me even then to underscore the desirability of establishing linkages with rest of the educational establishment in Nigeria. In establishing such linkages we hoped to serve several sets of purposes simultaneously: (1) purposes of planning, (2) purposes of providing machinery to implement program, and (3) purposes of legitimizing organization and

innovations. In the long run we found ourselves both in a position to use pre-existing linkage structures and with the necessity of creating new linkages to supplement these. The network of formal linkages between the Faculty of Education and external educational structures, as it had developed by 1965, is described in Chapter 7 and serves as an index* of the degree of institutionality then existing.

The College of Education was fortunate in that the educational establishment into which it was born already possessed some formal linkage mechanisms between Universities and Ministries. The most relevant to the College of Education was the Joint Consultative Committee (J..C.C.). The idea of creating a consultative committee was mooted at a meeting of the then Nigerian Central Board of Education in 1954, and was ultimately agreed to by the three Regions of Nigeria and the Southern Cameroons. The terms of reference of this committee were three:

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*Although the network of linkages which were ultimately established between the Faculty of Education and the rest of the educational establishment was itself a significant <u>index</u> of the extent of institutionalization by 1965, the steps by which this network was built up are part of the <u>process</u> of instituituionalization; and most specific linkages served not only as an incipient sign of institutionalization but as a means for achieving further institutionalization. Thus linkages served a particularly complex role in institutionalization, being in themselves both <u>process</u> and <u>product</u> in the developing phenomenon.

(1) To give advice on any educational matter referred to it by the Federal or Regional Government.

(2) To guide the Federal Advisory Staff in the performance of its advisory function.

(3) To form or organize professional sub-committees to deal with and make proposals concerning professional matters of common interest.

The committee originally included the four Federal education advisers, three professional educationists nominated by the Minister of Education of each Region, the Professor of Education at the Department of Education of University College, Ibadan, and a representative of the Nigeria Union of Teachers. With the coming of new universities, representation from each new university with a Department of Education was added. Six "Reference Committees" dealing with such fields as Secondary Education, Primary Education, Teacher Training, and Rural Education were also established.* As the University College, Ibadan, and the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology were already formally linked to the Federal Ministry of Education (falling within the portfolio of that Minister), this machinery

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*Note on the History of the Joint Consultative Committee (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Education, 1962), Mimeo.

served less to relate the early higher education institutions to that Ministry than to provide a formal consultative device which could standardixe policy between Regions and legitimize new educational departures. When the University of Nigeria was invited to take a seat on the Committees in 1960, this provided our only formal link with any of the Ministries of Education. (The University of Nigeria, Nsukka was under the Premier's Office in Eastern Nigeria rather than within the portfolio of the Minister of Education.) It was also the only national body on which the three Professors of Education (at Ibadan, Nsukka, and Zaria) served together.

By 1960 a tradition had been built up whereby new departures in teacher training or education were referred to the committees for consultation and agreement before being made public. The fact that I was actually sitting with the Reference Committees at the time that the Council of the University of Nigeria announced through the newspapers, unbeknownst to me, two non-degree programs in teacher training quickly familiarized me both with the legitimization process as it actually operated and with the extreme importance which the Ministries at that time attached to the machinery they had established for this purpose. By 1960 the committees had become

the chief communication link between Ministries of Education in the Federation, and committee agendas included discussion of any professional problem which members requested be considered, consultation or advice on formal proposals or training schemes advanced by any Ministry or institution of higher education, approval of training programs for accredition, and recommendations to the permanent secretaries of the various Ministries on the salary schedules appropriate for new programs. This meant that before launching any non-degree* teacher training proposal the University was expected to have had it approved first by the Reference Committee on Teacher Training (which included a representative of Teacher Training Colleges in each Region as well as Ministry personnel) and by the Joint Consultative Committee itself. There was tacit agreement that until a program had gone through this process no salary recognition would be recommended. The fact that the agendas of these committees were very full by 1960 meant that most of the time of the committees was devoted to discussing, criticizing, and acting upon proposals which had previously been drafted and presented to the

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*The question of whether degree programs needed such legitimization was not clear. In 1961 the committee chairman took the position that these fell within the sphere of university autonomy and should be referred to the committees only for information. In 1964 this position was reversed and the Bachelor's degree programs on education were formally approved.

committees for their consideration. Their advisory functions were thus less initiatory than amendatory and legitimizing. From December 1960, on the College used this machinery conscientiously for these purposes.

Our immediate membership on these committees meant that I was at once able to establish personal connections with those individuals who could be most helpful both in planning programs and subsequently in legitimizing them. Except where political considerations and distinct hostility to American education stood in the way (which was true only in the Western Nigeria Ministry of Education*), these committees proved extremely effective linkages in helping the College of Education accommodate innovations to existing structures.

This advisory structure, crucial as it was in improving and legitimizing proposals, was too unwieldly and too restrained by the "civil service mentality" (which required prior approval from higher authority) to assist in the initial stages of planning innovation--those stages which required making imaginative leaps or projections, many of which would not stand the test of scrutiny without basic alteration. The original

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*Although my successor, Dr. Fafunwa, was himself a Yoruba he had little greater success than I in securing approval of programs from these in the Western Nigeria Ministry of Education which was operated by members of his own ethnic group.

Plan of Work for the Development of the University of Nigeria had proposed for this function a series of "forward planning seminars," through which it was hoped the University could "benefit from the knowledge and experience of scholars and leaders in West Africa, members of the Ashby Commission, and others from the United States and Canada." The charge to these seminars, the first of which was to be in Education and supported by Carnegie, read as follows:

> These seminars will be organized to take place sometime during the period from August to December. Each one will meet for a period of one or two weeks. Their major purpose will be to ensure the establishment and maintenance of high standards and to explore and suggest broader guidelines of educational philosophy and methods for the development of the University in their respective subject matter fields.
>
> Where possible each group should help formulate specific academic programmes, including research areas, teaching curricula and other programmes that will extend the service and knowledge of the University to the people of Nigeria.

The original seminar was to have included a preliminary tour in August to familiarize non-African experts with Nigerian education followed by a week of concentrated planning. Despite the initial postponement we recognized the urgency of establishing the principle of planning seminars and that for Education was set for early February. This meant, because the seminar was taking place during an academic term, that a shorter period of

time would have to suffice. The slowness of communications out of Nsukka, the fact that members of the Ashby Commission were now dispersed, the shortness of time available for planning and our inexperience in seminar planning combined to shape an entirely different seminar from that originally foreseen.

The seminar we designed was intended to serve four purposes which we saw as compatible and urgent:

1. To project, through the types of competence we had represented in the seminar and through the program of the seminar our conception of the overall relationship which should exist between education and the Nigerian scene. This was to be accomplished by devoting the program during the first two days to consideration of the major economic and social imperatives and resources for education in Nigeria. Morning sessions were devoted to addresses by noted leaders selected largely from government and major social institutions in Nigeria. Afternoon sessions consisted of group discussions which were intended to relate these presentations to tasks which should concern the College of Education.

The topics suggested to speakers gives some indication of the direction our concerns were taking:

Mr. Pius Okigbo (Chief Economic Adviser, E. Nigeria) "The Need for Trained Manpower"
Mr. Frank Moore (Ford Foundation): "Economic Literacy for a New Nigeria."
Dr. Olwansanmi (Ibadan) "The Requirements for Using Our Agricultural Potential."
Mrs. Aduke Moore (Mobil Oil) "The Education Nigerian Industry Wants"
Daniel Ibekwe (Soliciter General) "Good Citizenship and the Law in Nigeria."
Mr. J. Falodun (Federal Office of Statistics) "Population Problems and the Future of Nigeria"
Bishop Cecil Paterson (Bishop of the Niger) "Religious Needs and Forces in New Nigeria"
Mr. Kalu Okorie (Librarian, E. Nigeria Library) "Libraries and Books as Educational Resources in the Years Ahead"*

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*Ceremonial addresses were also given by the Minister of Education of Eastern Nigeria and by the Governor of that Region, himself a respected educator.

Following consideration of these "imperatives" the third day of the seminar was devoted to presentations by Nigerian educators of school programs, trends, and problems which they judged of major significance. Only in the final day was any attempt made to collate or weave together into a broad program of priorities the "implications" of what had gone before.

2. To indicate that this University was to be Nigerian in the sense that Nigerians would participate from the outset in shaping its policies. Eighteen Nigerians presented formal statements to the seminar, either in plenary sessions or in dividions devoted to special aspects of education.

3. To establish liaison with the formal educational establishment of schools and Ministries, with which relations had been badly strained by lack of consultation in starting the University and launching the initial teacher training program.

4. To secure a "reservoir of ideas" about programs which could be used if appropriate but yet which would not bind us to traditional programs which might not represent our best judgement as to the way in which to approach educational problems in a situation in which we believed school programs to be dismally inappropriate to the Nigerian environment. The chief weakness of the seminar, as might have been anticipated by anyone with greater competence in seminar planning, was that with the shortness of time available and the complete novelty of the experience of being involved in planning to most Nigerians present, it was impossible for even skilled discussion leaders to bridge what seemed an almost unbridgeable gap between what the schools were currently doing, or were capable of doing, and what had been suggested as the economic, social and cultural imperatives for education in New Nigeria.

Of the purposes we had in mind, it was probably that of projecting our basic doctrine to influential representatives of our publics and that of developing informal personal ties between the University and influential Nigerians in the educational establishment

which were best accomplished. Press coverage was good; many of the major addresses served the Nigerian Outlook as copy on its editorial pages for weeks to come. Tai Solarin, a controversial but highly respected columnist, became one of the University's most effective press agents on the national scene. Twelve Nigerians returned the formal evaluation forms we sent out later, and their responses to two general questions indicate that, to some extent, we had probably "won friends."

	of great value	of small value	of little or no value
How valuable and sound were the ideas given to the College of Education in respect to programme development	9	3	0
How valuable were the sessions of the Seminar in terms of your own thinking about education	10	2	0

Moreover, comments by Nigerians revealed forces in the environment which were working for us:

> "My attendance at this Seminar was a unique and privileged opportunity for me to see promise of fulfillment of ideals I have so long dreamt of and worked for as an educator and an activitist-nationalist. I had reached the brink of despair when, at this encounter, I found from America, Europe, Asia and Britain, thoughts and ideals of education which have been burning in my heart for over a quarter of a century. The central fact in this is the amazing grasp of the essentials and determination of my younger disciples and contemporaries to evolve a system unique and adequate for the Nigerian situation. . . "

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"Many of us seem to be pulling hairs over shades of alternatives. I'd rather see a program with a few flaws brought into operationthan have a gradiose "perfect" one collapse just because it is too grandiose and too good. . . the voice of tradition was heard too often too loud at the conference, and the side of caution seemed to dampen the spirit of bold venture in a Nigeria in a hurry to acquire the tools of living in the age of the hydrogen bomb."

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"To the best of my knowledge this was the first time in Nigeria when a group of educators, professionals, business people, etc. met to discuss very FRANKLY and sincerely what was wrong with our educational system and what could be done to improve it and, above all, it was the first time in the history of higher education in Nigeria that a school of higher learning invited a group of enlightened citizens (a cross section) to advise the institution with special reference to curriculum planning. . . "

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"I think the idea of hearing Nigeria's voice at the very outset on the big issue of teacher education is highly commendable. . . ."

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"Nigerian voice has at last been heard as to the type of education required for teachers in Nigeria. Any college or Institute of Education in Nigeria will be wise to heed the guidelines."

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"I was able to see how the American approach differs from the British in this matter of setting up a curriculum for a university course. The practical application of theory to life which was once misunderstood by many of us in Nigeria with regard to American education became very attractive to me . . . "

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Thus, although the Seminar did not set program, as perhaps the sponsoring Foundation had wished, it did serve as an important factor in locating or establishing normative linkages with individuals at strategic points in the educational environment. Through it we were able to locate persons who initially shared our point of view and on whom we could count in the future. By a process of involvement, and by what we hoped revealed our interest in accommodation to existing structures, it also appears probable we were able to "win friends" among those who had been hitherto ambivalent. To the extent that the participants became our "friends" and came with the passage of time to be our advocates, we had also created a small but not unimportant group of persons interested in diffusing doctrinal tenets which we considered significantly innovative.

By the spring of 1961, after one academic year, we had made some progress toward establishing liaison with the educational establishment. This had been provided in part through pre-existing linkage mechanisms which had been found necessary by professional persons in the Ministries, and of which we became automatically a part. Our willingness to accept the functions of these mechanism, and our frank willingness to acknowledge

the error involved in initially launching programs outside this framework, appears to have been accepted as warrant of our good faith. Certainly we made every effort to use the machinery subsequently both for consultation and legitimization. Beyond this formal linkage, however, we had made our first effort at developing diffuse, normative linkages with respected or influential leaders in the educational establishment. We had also been able to project through the medium of the press, albeit not without implicit hostility, the basic "land-grant" or "pragmatic-reconstructionist" theme in the doctrine of the University and College.

Establishing Linkages: The Advanched Teacher Training College

If one examines Appendix E of the Annual Report, 1960, of the Ministry of Education of Eastern Nigeria, which was published in 1963, he discovers that the program in Education of the University of Nigeria has been built into the inter-institutional framework of Eastern Nigeria, one of the most important linkages points being that with the Advanced Teacher Training College (see Diagram B following). A significant chapter of the story of the full acceptance of the professional teacher training program at the University of Nigeria can be told

Table ( )

	Date	Duration	Participants	Cooperating Organizations
I.	Inservice Training Programs		Uncertified teachers	
	July-August, 1962	6 weeks		Nigeria Union of Teachers
	August-September, 1963	6 weeks	Uncertified teachers	Same
	August- September, 1964	6 weeks	Uncertified teachers	Same
	December 1963-January 1964	2weeks	Science teachers and experts	Educational Services, Inc.. Ford Foundation
	August, 1964	3 weeks	Science teachers and experts	Educational Services, Inc., Ford Foundation
	January, 1964	10 days	Mathematics teachers	Educational Services, Inc., Ministry of Ed., E.N.
	January, 1965	10 days	Mathematics teachers	Educational Services, Inc., Ministry of Ed., E.N.

		Title		
II.	Seminars:			
	May, 1964	Seminar on Comprehensive Sec. Schools	Secondary School Principals	Ministry of Ed., E.N. and U.S./A.I.D.
	April, 1965	Seminar on Organization and Administration of Secondary Schools	Secondary School Principals	None
	April, 1965	Seminar on Organization and Administration of Teacher Training Colleges	Teacher Training College Principals	None
	June, 1965	Seminar on Organization of Primary Schools and Creation of School Boards	Representatives of Ministries, Voluntary Agencies, County Councils	Ministry of Ed., E.N.
III	Conferences:			
	March 1963	Conference on English Language Teaching	Teacher Training College Tutors	British Council
	January-Feb. 1965	" " " " " "	Senior Teachers of English and Secondary School Principals	British Council
	May 1965	Conference on English Language Teaching	Secondary School Teachers of English	None
IV.	Administrative Assistance and Facilities for Conferences of other Organizations:			
	January, 1965	All-Nigeria Secondary School Principals Conference		Nigerian Secondary School Principals Association
	March 1965	Eastern Nigeria Secondary School Principals Conference		Eastern Nigeria Secondary School Principals Association

in terms of this linkage, yet for reasons of the strained relations which prevailed between Ministry and Univerity in 1960-1961 this was one of the most difficult to establish.

One of the major recommendations of the Ashby Commission had been for the establishment of what the Commission termed Grade I training colleges to provide "well-qualified non-graduate teachers" for secondary schools. In its general assessment of teacher training in Nigeria, the Commission commented:

> The weakest link in the chain of programmes for training teachers is at Grade 1. Indeed it might better be called the missing link, for at present almost all preparation for this qualification is done by private study. Thousands of teachers are spending countless hours to prepare for examinations in which only a few succeed. The result is neglect of duty, poor morale and probably an unsatisfactory graps of subjects--themselves not always well chosen--at the end.

The extent ot this gap, based on the judgments of the Commission, was sufficient to recommend the creationofa new type of institution, the Grade I college (which was subsequented rechristened the Advanced Teacher Training College):

> By 1970 we estimate that 18,100 Grade 1 teachers will will be needed for the staffs of the primary and secondary schools. There are no institutions of present devoted to the two-year task of preparing men and

> women for the qualification, though we note with pleasure that two institutions are planned, one in Lagos and one in Western Region, to meet the need of 1970 we estimate that there should be established a sufficient number of Grade I colleges to produce 3,000 Grade I teachers a year, which means 6,000 places and 400 staff. This is an immense task since there is no precedent in Nigerian experience and there are few guides to the type of programme that would be most effective. We recommend so drastic a step only because we are persuaded that the present method of preparation through private study is not only inadequate but dangerously inadequate, since it promises both a quantity and a quality it cannot deliver. Something new has to be invented.

The Commission proposed the establishment of two-year training colleges, in which the program should be very much like the normal sixth-form work, supplemented by pedagogical training and arrangements for practical teaching during the long vacations. The recommendations of the Commission, which were duly submitted to the Reference Committee on Teacher Training and to the Joint Consultative Committee on Education, were amended by these professional bodies which felt that three years, rather than the two proposed, would be necessary to provide the quality of training desired in light of the entry points which seemed feasible. The Federal government subsequently approved the establishment of such colleges and promised to provide grants-in-aid to regional institutions which provided approved courses.

Equally significant, from the standpoint of the University of Nigeria, was the Commission proposal to link the new colleges to the universities. The Commission saw the creation of eight colleges to prepare Grade I teachers, two of which would be located in Eastern Nigeria. The Commission first faced the issue of whether it would be possible to attract top-quality individuals into these institutions, if pursuit of this path automatically shut the door of university study to them. In the words of the Commission,

> To put up a barrier at this point would guarantee that the less able choose the teaching road, and that the best among them are the most disgruntled. From this group excellent candidates could be selected for the new university programme leading to the B.A. (Ed.) which we propose, and the way should be left open.*

In Eastern Nigeria, where the four-year program of the University of Nigeria drew from much the same reservoir as the Advanced Teacher Training College, but had the advantage of providing a university degree, the danger that the A.T.T.C. would not attract able students unless such a door was open was partcularly acute. Further, the Commission recommended that the Institutes of Education of each of the universities should serve to sponsor and aid the new Advanced Colleges, especially those within their respective Regions. Although the dimensions of this "sponsorship" were not detailed in the Report, it

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*Investment in Education, p.

is to be presumed that the same kind of sponsorship it proposed for ten exemplary Grade II colleges might apply, namely some Institute powers of approval over staff selection and instructional program at the Advanced Colleges and participation of university faculty in setting and reading final examinations.

Following consideration of the Ashby Commission recommendations by the Joint Consultative Committee on Education, and with an increasing thaw in relations between the Eastern Nigerian Ministry of Education and the College of Education, the two bodies began informal discussions as to the type of relationship which might most profitably exist between the University of Nigeria and the Advanced College in the East. In a memorandum sent to Mr. Ekere, then Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Education, the College of Education proposed formal links between the University and the new Advanced Teacher Training College, including a University faculty representative on the Board of Governors or Central Advisory Committee, the syllabus committee, the examination committee and, if feasible, the staff selection committee of the proposed new Advanced College. In return the Faculty hoped it would be possible to accord library and other privileges to the faculty of the Advanced

Teacher Training Colleges, a pattern which generally prevails between institutes and colleges in England. We also indicated that we looked forward to admitting the most able students, upon completion of their Advanced College Course, into our degree course with advanced standing. In reply to this proposal, the Ministry expressed interest in such a pattern of affiliation with the single exception of membership on the staff selection committee. The ostensible reason for rejection of the proposed membership on this committee was that Public Service Commission policies would complicate such an arrangement, but it was also clear that the Ministry looked askance at a number of faculty and administrative appointments in the University itself, appointments of persons who lacked reasonable experience, or more frankly, had proved unsuccessful in such experience as they had had.

Relations between the Ministry and the College had improved so substantially by this time that I was able to report to the Principal of the University:

> It would appear to me that we are well on the road toward establishing mutually profitable relationships between the College of Education and the new teacher training colleges which are being established. The relationship envisaged would provide autonomy for the teacher training college and yet would enable the University to provide guidance

> and assistance where appropriate. . . the type of relationship on which we appear to be agreed, serves to graft on to our degree programme and our extra-mural offerings which are essentially American in orientation, one of the most profitable features of the British experience in teacher training. I sincerely hope that this sort of arrangement will be endorsed and approved in principle by the Finance and General Purposes Committee.

A memorandum to the Principal from the Ministry of Education made it even more explicit that the Ministry hoped to see close association with the University, "under those wings the Ministry of Education hopes to conduct its proposed Advanced Teacher Training Colleges." In order to facilitate this arrangement I urged a portion of the facilities of Nigerian College, Enugu, (which had been turned over to the University) be provided the Ministry to house the Advanced College temporarily. This latter recommendation was not accepted by the University Council; and the Ministry of Education which was already behind schedule and lacked any reasonable alternative, was clearly disappointed and further discussions were held in abeyance.

As the Ashby Report served as a basic document upon which external aid decisions were reached, and as the Advanced Teacher Training College recommendation was a major Ashby proposal, both U.S. AID and UNESCO offered assistance to the Eastern Nigeria Ministry of Education in establishing the new training college. In

keeping with a policy decision that it would be best to have close coordination of higher educational operations in Eastern Nigeria, U.S./AID requested Michigan State University to make a survey to consider the feasibility of undertaking a contract for the new Advanced Teacher Training College as well. Before the survey could be conducted, however, the Eastern Nigeria Ministry determined to accept a competitive UNESCO offer, and the proposed survey was never made. As the UNESCO offer was conditioned, however, by the requirements that the Ministry provide suitable physical facilities for the college, additional pressure built up within the Ministry to find a location. (It was impossible to determine the reason for this decision in favor of the UNESCO offer but one element appears clearly to have been the Ministry's concern that teacher training not fall too exclusively in the hands of the University of Nigeria and connection with Michigan State University would suggest this as a likely consequence.)

As it was urgent that any further educational expansion avoid redundance or duplication, particuarly in light of the Six Year Development Plan and the need to reduce the proportion of the Eastern Nigeria budget devoted to education, the matter was not allowed to rest

there. Early in February, 1962, Mr. Duncan of the Premier's Office, at the urging of Mr. Frank Moore, Ford Economic Advisor, requested a meeting to discuss the division of responsibilities in the teacher training field between the University and the Ministry of Education. The particular cause of concern was clearly the proposed Advanced Teachers Training College, the fear being expressed that this might prove an overlapping or redundent institution. As any division of responsibilities would affect all University policy, Mr. Duncan suggested that Mr. Chukwudebe, Secretary to the University Council, accompany me to the meeting. As my tour of duty was rapidly drawing to a close, I also invited Dr. Fafunwa, my probable successor, and Dr. Ukeje, who was designated to serve as our liaison man with the Eastern Nigeria Ministry of Education. Mr. Ekere, Permanent Secretary, and Mr. Ejiogu, Chief Inspector, represented the Ministry.

In retrospect the meeting which occurred on February 8 was the major turning point in relations between the Ministry and the College of Education. The temperature as the meeting began was cold for a number of reasons: (1) the Ministry of Education clearly felt that the Office of the Premier, in placing pressure on them to reconcile their programs with those of the University,was acting in an "unbrotherly" fashion; (2) the

Ministry was already behind schedule in its development plans for the Advanced Teacher Training College, a lapse which was largely due to lack of facilities and the unwillingness of the University to allocate any of the Enugu campus to this purpose; and (3) the fact that Mr. Chukwudebe, formerly an Education Officer in the Ministry, did not enjoy the Ministry's confidence. The meeting almost ended before it began, when Mr. Chukwudebe advanced the position, similar to that previously held by Dr. Azikiwe, that all post-secondary teacher training should be the province of the University. Mr. Ekere, representing the Ministry, indicated that if this was the position of the University, further discussion was pointless and the meeting might as well be adjourned. In this situation I was able to return to our earlier agreements, that any Advanced Teacher Training College should be a joint University-Ministry project along the lines upon which we had earlier agreed. This point was immediately supported by Mr. Moore and provided an avenue for further discussion. We left the meeting agreed that further Ministry-College meetings, aimed at spelling out the kind of joint venture this should become were to be held.

The process of working out the type of joint venture desired was carried out in two working sessions

at the Ministry of Education. The chief work of the first meeting was to locate areas on which decisions would be necessary and to explore the degree of concensus which actually existed between the Ministry and the College of Education. On the basis of these discussions I was asked to draft a joint position paper representing the views of the Ministry and the College, which would serve as the agenda of the second meeting. The draft which was drawn up and submitted to the staff members of the College of Education for comments attempted to establish the principle of genuine joint enterprise between Ministry and College. The document, which was immediately accepted by the Ministry, both established the principle and proposed means of implementing it. As this document established the first formal institutional linkage between Ministry and College, it is worth quoting in some length despite the fact of facilities for the A.T.T.C. continued to delay its establishment:

Position Paper - Preliminary Draft
Advanced Teacher Training Programs

Basic Principles

Recognizing that it is important that a degree of integration be developed in the teacher training programmes within the regions, the Ashby Commission recommended that fromtheir inception the new Advanced Teacher Training Colleges should be formally linked

with the universities developing in each region. Such linkage rests upon the assumption that the universities are ready and willing to be concerned with assisting in the steady improvement of all programmes of teacher training. The members of the Harden College of Education at the University of Nigeria fully accept this function, holding that the purpose of the College is not only to produce graduate teachers, to initiate and carry on research, or to serve in consultative capacities, but to participate actively in the teacher training programmes wherever the points of greatest need arise. We believe that the new programmes leading to advanced qualifications are just such a point, and that it is a responsibility of the University to participate as one of the leaders in shpaing the programmes which will be designed to produce this new cadre of well-qualified non-graduate teachers. We recognize that the Ministry of Education and UNESCO share in this basic concern, and that exclusiveness or lack of integrated effort will ill-serve the progress of teacher training in Eastern Nigeria. We consequently believe that the principle of a genuine joint enterprise, whereby the Ministry of Education, the University of Nigeria, and UNESCO or other international sponsoring agency participate in terms of their unique capacities to contribute is the best principle upon which such a programme should be developed in Eastern Nigeria. Such a principle of joint enterprise shouldbe reflected in the organizational structure, curriculum, and personnel of the institution. Mere statement of the principle without such an implementing structure would be meaningless.

Organizational Structure

The basic means of implementing any educational principle is through the decision-making structure established. Such a . . . . structure must be at one and the same time be able to call upon the widest available body of knowledge and opinion and yet place the ultimate decision making in a small professional body vested with authority. For this reason, we recommend that the new Advanced Teacher Training College in Eastern Nigeria have a general advisory board which should include representatives of the various agencies and professional organizations which are necessarily interested in the products of the institution and a smaller executive committee which shall be empowered to act on matters of professional concern in the institution. This executive

committee should meet under the chairmanship of the Principal of the teacher training college (a UNESCO appointed) and should include a representative of the professional staff of the Ministry of Education, a representative of the College of Education of the University of Nigeria, and an elected representative of the professional staff of the Advanced Teacher Training College itself. This body should have the major responsibility for determining educational policy and practice within the institution, except as limited by financial considerations within the control of the Ministry of Education.

Curriculum

There will inevitably be many determinants to the curriculum of Advanced Teacher Training Colleges. In part these determinants will lie in the curriculum of the schools of Nigeria as it now exists and in the syllabi of the schools and of the Advanced Level certificates. In part these determinants will lie in the direction in which it is foreseen that Nigerian education must move. We must always attempt to educate teachers not only for what has been but for what we anticipate will be - or should be. The surest way to effect curriculum improvement is to prepare teachers to participate in shaping and to operate within the framework of improved curricula. One of the major contributions which a University College of Education should be prepared to make is in helping seek out the directions for curricula improvement in schools and to consider supplements to the teacher training curriculum which would facilitate such improvements. In doing so it shall, undoubtedly, find certain parallels between the curriculum it develops for any full graduate programme in education and curricula in Advanced Teacher Training College; and the experiences to be gained in carrying on degree programmes and pre-degree programs should be used to support and strengthen each other. Only curricula developed in this context would, normally, permit the best qualified of those completing any advanced teacher training college course to proceed into a university degree course in Education with the highest

possible advanced standing. Because of its relative concern and competence in the curricular aspect of the Advanced Teacher Training, the University should be adequately represented on any curriculum committee and should be expected to help set and moderate examinations in the colleges.

Staffing

The staffing of any new institution purporting to educate persons to advanced level with professional qualifications will be a major problem in Nigeria. Faculty for such institutions must obviously be at least graduates. It will, in the early stages, be impossible to staff such institutions exclusively from within Nigeria. UNESCO is an agency well qualified to locate and supply the type of qualified individuals which should be wanted in this early stage. Equally important, in the long run, will be the selection of graduate Nigerian counterparts. In the location and screening of such counterparts, the University, it would appear, has a significant joint. . . . responsibility to carry with the Ministry of Education and with UNESCO. It would consequently be important that the University be adequately represented on any screening or selection committees which were established for local staff recruitment and nomination.

In one other respect, the College of Education should assume a major responsibility in terms of staffing. While the College should not attempt to provide direct instruction in the various teaching fields, except as this is done on an emergency basis, it should be prepared to provide instruction in certain aspects of principles and practices of education,' which, after all, is its primary raison deetre.

Avoiding overlap and duplication of programmes

The greater the simplification and clarification in the number and types of teacher training that can be achieved the better. The major responsibility of the University of Nigeria in terms of teacher training below degree level should be (a) providing leadership and examples of outstanding programmes, and (b) providing

education of teachers in various specialized fields who cannot be as well prepared in other facilities. If the first of these two functions could be handled through joint sponsorship of the Advanced Teacher Training, the generalized diploma programmes at the University should probably be routed into such colleges and new intakes of students avoided. The best of the products of the Advanced Teacher Training Colleges could then be picked up for further work at the University. This would free the faculty of the College of Education to participate more actively in various institute activities designed to upgrade and maintain standards in all teacher training colleges in Eastern Nigeria, to participate in various types of in-service programmes for teachers in the field, and to develop research and graduate programmes which would provide the information and skilled manpower necessary to move Nigerian education into its scientific age.

Dr. A. B. Fafunwa

Dr. O. Ukeje

Dr. J. Hanson

So harmonious had the first of these two meetings been, and since in this venture the University was for the first time able to lend support to the Ministry the College judged that this was the occasion to request Ministry help in establishing our proposed Institute of Education as well as the joint position paper on the Advanced Teacher Training College, a request which was granted. Thus, when the breakthrough finally came in relations with theMinistry, the machinery was set in in operation not for one but for two formal organizational

linkages between College and Ministry. The good faith of the Ministry to this commitment was revealed in April, 1962 at the annual conference of the Afro-Anglo-American Program for Teacher Education in Africa. On this occasion Mr. Ejiogu, Chief Inspector of Education for Eastern Nigeria, replied to a proposal by the Professor of Education at University College, Ibadan that the Ibadan Institute (as one with a longer tradition) coordinate all Advanced Teacher Training Colleges in Nigeria, by announcing that the Eastern Region planned that its Advanced Teacher Training College be a member of the Institute of Education at Nsukka. The UNESCO coordinator for the Advanced Teacher Training Colleges in Nigeria appeared particularly eager to welcome sponsorship by the emerging universities, preferring the relative independence such a position provided to being placed under the "protective wing" of one well-established university with a set pattern of operation.

Unfortunately, University expansion and residual reticence on the part of the University officials above the College level precluded using any portion of the Enugu campus to house temporarily the Advanced Teacher Training College. In 1963, however, the former Shell Oil camp at Owerri was made available to the Ministry in time to meet the stipulated deadline (already once extended) in the UNESCO contract. The fact that effective

links had by this time been forged between the Ministry and the University was attested to at the innaugural meeting of the Advisory Council of the Advanced Teacher Training College in September, 1963, at which time the Minister of Education, Dr. S. E. Imoke [redacted] said *inter alia:*

> I am very glad that a representative of the University of Nigeria is a member of this Council because in many respects I feel that we have too little contact with the University. I therefore hope that his presence will help to forge closer links. I say this because I think the policy of my Ministry and of the University should be complementary. The University depends largely upon our schools and colleges for its students and we shall depend more and more upon it for graduate teachers. We should, therefore, work closely together and coordinate our policies.*

Relations between the University and the Advanced Teacher Training College have developed further and continue to work well. The Principal of the Advanced Teacher Training College, when interviewed, referred to this relationship as "first class," "characterized by large areas of professional agreement,"

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*Ejiogu, *The Development of Education in Eastern Nigeria*, See Appendix 8 (Quoted from Ejiogu, The Development of Education in Eastern Nigeria with particular reference.)

"the best association between a university and an Advanced Teacher Training College anywhere in Nigeria." Moreover, in the eyes of the faculty of the Advanced Teacher Training College, the University has served a useful role in defining relationships between the A.T.T.C. and the Ministry in such a way as to assure academic freedom at the A.T.T.C. The University through its Institute of Education has members on the A.T.T.C. Governing Board, Board of Examiners, the subject matter panels which set and revise syllabuses, and the selection boards for students. Frequent meetings of each of these bodies, occuring either at Owerri or at Nsukka, have characterized the operation of the A.T.T.C. since its inception, culminating ultimately in the award of the Nigerian Certificate of Education to its student by the University.

The significance of establishing this kind of linkage can scarcely be overestimated. If the educational plans of the various Ministries of Education in Nigeria are carried through in accordance with the Ashby recommendations, the holders of the N.C.E. will unquestionably constitute an ever-increasing portion of the staff in early classes of the secondary schools.

They will also serve as the first genuinely well-qualified and well-paid teachers in the primary schools and as a core of supervising teachers. In its optimistic conclusion, the Ashby Commission looked to these teachers as a prerequisite for the future. It foresaw:

> If standards are to rise: there is no other solution we can see. If steady advances are made in this direction, and if a vigorous group of supervising teachers is available, Nigeria can be confident of an adequate supply of well educated primary school leavers.

With faculty members in Education at the University playing a large part, in shaping the content of the curriculum in professional education at the ATTC, and with members of College of Education and other University units playing comparable role in setting syllabuses and vetting examinations in the various teaching fields, this type of relationship adds a fantastic multiplier to the potential impact of the University upon education in Eastern Nigeria. Equally important, however, is the fact that the College of Education was able to support and not threaten a major aspiration of the Ministry in a period when the Ministry badly wished to demonstrate leadership in the development of the Region. The linkages thus provided a basis for a more encompassing partnership.

Establishing Linkages: The Institute of Education

In presenting the Report of the Carnegie Seminar on Education and the Plan for the Development of the College of Education to the University Council, I pointed out that no one-shot advisory conference could meet our need for a continuing advisory relationship and therefore requested that the College be empowered to establish a permanent advisory committee. This request received the oral approval of the Council. Consequently, sometime later I informed the Acting Principal that the College was ready to appoint an advisory committee and since it was not customary to make public University Council actions, I asked him if I could presume we had formal Council approval. In reply Dr. Johnson informed me that while he had no present recollection of this matter, the Provisional Council had accepted my report and that it would be "appropriate to assume that they accepted the proposal for an Advisory Committee in principle. He suggested that I "should take up with the Bursar the propriety of including a budget item to cover two requested meetings of this proposed committee." Upon receiving my requests, the Bursar referred the matter to the Secretary of the Council. Here we encountered a difficulty frequently referred to by American advisors

associated with the University. As a means of exercising personal power, the Secretary had written the minutes so ambiguously that he was able to interpret them at will. In this case he chose to interpret approval in principle as not including the specific request for an advisory committee. By the time this interpretation was received the College was ready to begin a planned summer survey of schools and it was decided to postpone reopening the matter of an advisory committee until the fall term.

In September I again opened the matter with the acting Principal by correspondence, requesting definite action and proposing a committee consisting of a number of outstanding educators in the Ministries, Voluntary Agencies, and Proprietory schools. It was impossible to get any further clarification or authorization on the committee, however, despite sending further memoranda requesting such clarification through November of that year.

Fortunately, the establishment of an "advisory committee" for the College of Education was not the only alternative available to us, if we wished to establish a formal linkage mechanism to secure advice or facilitate letitimization of programs. The Ashby Report had specifically recommended that each of the Regional Universities

establish an "Institute of Education," an organization which would tie other teacher training institutions to the universities in order to strengthen the former. The Carnegie Seminar had also explored this possibility. The informal plans of Ibadan to establish such an institute and to include within its scope selected teacher training colleges from all Regions of Nigeria became known to us in the spring of 1961. Recognizing that this kind of relationship between Ibadan and the top colleges in Eastern Nigeria would effectively cut the University of Nigeria off from its primary service area, the College of Education decided in faculty meeting to make the establishment of such an institute its top priority, now that its degree program had been launched (see pp.). As the establishment of this Institute is an educational decision which proved of the utmost importance, it is described below in some detail.

The Institute provided the College a consultative mechanism for all functions concerned with teacher training except as these related explicitly to technical education or secondary education. Although official membership in the institute itself was limited to the

University and the teacher training colleges, its Governing Board included representatives of the Ministry of Education of Eastern Nigeria, the Federal Ministry of Education, the Advanced Teacher Training College in Eastern Nigeria, the Nigeria Union of Teachers, higher elementary training colleges and the voluntary agencies which ran the latter. In February 1962, one year after the Carnegie seminar, I submitted a draft constitution for an Institute through the Vice-Chancellor to the Finance and General Purposes Committee, requesting permission to use this draft as a working paper for discussions with the Ministry of Education. We carefully phrased our request to leave our hands free if we heard nothing from the Secretary of Council:

> The attached draft for a proposed Institute of Education, centered at Harden College of Education, is designed as a working paper for discussions with the Ministry of Education and the Senate of the University. Unless we hear otherwise from you or from the Finance and General Purpose Committee, we will carry on discussions with the Ministry of Education on the basis of this proposal, all these subject to the understanding that final approval must come from a body higher than ourselves, that is, from the Senate or the Council as you may deem appropriate.

On this occasion the precaution proved unnecessary however, for at the conclusion of the meeting the Chancellor of the University, Dr. Azikiwe, seeing this as a major step forward by the University, announced to the press the creation of the Institute as a fait accompli, and it was given headline coverage. As had been the case with the Plan for the Development of the College of Education, when we did manage to get a clear written recommendation placed before the Committee (which acted for the University Council), we encountered no difficulty in having it approved. Whether this approval came chiefly because our proposal would establish an organization clearly visible to the public and designed to "serve" a large segment of that public in a "practical" way, or whether approval was also motivated by the possibility that Ibadan University would move into the service area of the University of Nigeria (a probability which was made clear in the rationale for the proposal), it is impossible to say.

As an advisor in education, with a remarkably inadequate background in comparative education, I had had no clear-cut conception of the organization, functions or rationale for an Institute of Education when it was first proposed. Neither did I at first properly

assess the importance which Nigerians might attach to the establishment of an "Institute." It soon became clear that my Nigerian colleagues who had been educated in America had little more understanding than I. Some, as a matter of fact, resisted the idea as they resisted many other elements in the British pattern. Other Nigerians generally espoused the idea, but seemed remarkably unable to give the term "institute" any clear meaning. Careful study of the Ashby Report, references to this concept in the Carnegie Seminar, and the enthusiasm which seemed to greet the announcement in the Joint Consultative Committee that the new Professor of Education at Ibadan intended to make the Ibadan Institute "one in fact as will as in name," convinced me this was an administrative structure commanding unusual respect and capable of being used to accomplish many of the goals we had in view. It also seemed probable that if we did not develop "an Institute" many possibilities for service and research might be missed, the prestige attached to the term institute made the other greatly facilitate instating types of services and programs which might otherwise be suspect. An Institute, further, could prove an organization through which we might secure both the consultative help we wished in "identifying needs" and "designing programs to meet needs" and an enabling linkage in securing

endorsement and support of such programs. This seemed an ideal situation in which to take a highly popular "concept," reinterpret it so as to attach to it the program or functions we had in mind, and through internal adaptation of its structure and functioning carry out and legitimize many innovations we hoped to introduce in the years immediately ahead.

The initial difficulties in using this strategy was that it was suspect among some of the American educated Nigerians who comprised the overwhelming majority of the Education faculty. (Later, as it gained momentum and seemed to absorb much of the time of the faculty, the Vice-Chancellor also expressed concern that more distinctly American-type innovations were going to be lost sight of in the attention lavished on this "British" institution.) I initiated serious consideration of launching an "Institute" in the fall of 1961, using as my major "motivating" device with the faculty the fact that University college, Ibadan, which was showing renewed vigor under an able and experienced new professor of Education, was clearly engaged in a program of expansion or "empire-building" which would by plan encroach upon our area of research and service, namely Eastern Nigeria. Finding some receptivity to the idea,

appointed a committee of the [redacted] two British-educated members of the Faculty "to make recommendations in the light of what obtains in Britain and anywhere else known to them regarding the relationship between the University College or Department of Education and the Training Colleges which constitute an Institute of Education." In making its recommendations the committee was "to take into consideration the present structure in the organization of teacher training institutions in Eastern Nigeria and what desirable improvements can be made by the establishment of an Institute of Education." The committee used Dr. J. A. Noonan, a British adviser to the University of Nigeria and a seconded member of the Institute of Education of London University, as its chief consultant.

The report of the committee provided both a background of knowledge about Institutes and specific recommendations concerning the governing body, constitutent membership, functions, and financial control which should characterize <u>this</u> Institute. In light of my own conceptions of the problems our College faced my chief recommendations for changes in the report were (1) that the general recommendation should refer specifically to establishing "linkage between the Ministry of Education

and the University," (2) that rather that suggesting unilateral operation by the Institute in improving training activities the document should "emphasize cooperation with the Ministry in these matters," and (3) that membership in the Institute be opened only to those colleges which met qualifications for membership established by the Institute. The first two suggestions were adopted and the third rejected by the Faculty. A final draft, revised by American-educated Nigerians and designed to include their conception of the service and leadership functions of the College of Education, was finally approved. The final document, upon which the previously mentioned public announcement from the Chancellor was based, was immediately put to use as a discussion paper for meetings with the Ministry of Education in Eastern Nigeria. Its introduction provided the rationale which was used for legitimizing the Institute itself:

> One of the factors which inevitably slows down progress in teacher training is exclusiveness which can develop between institutions engaged in the training of teachers. If teacher training in Nigeria is to improve as rapidly as practicable, it is thus imperative that each of the Colleges or Institutes of Education in each of the Universities in Nigeria should organize channels of effective communication between itself and the teacher training institutions in the area it might most appropriately serve.

Such a proposition was, in fact, an important recommendation of the Ashby Commission (Part II, Chapter 3, p. 90). At the February 1961 Seminar on Higher College of Education held under the auspices of the University of Nigeria College of Education, it was unanimously agreed that this was a desirable and natural step to take if the new College of Education were to serve the country effectively in the area of teacher training. Failure to follow through in meeting this challenge and following this mandate would be an abdication of responsibility on the part of the Harden College of Education and would ill-serve the educational needs of Nigeria.

IN THE LIGHT OF THE ABOVE, IT IS RECOMMENCED THAT STEPS ARE IMMEDIATELY TAKEN TO ESTABLISH AN INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION AT THE HARDEN COLLEGE OF EDUCATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA WITH A VIEW TO MAINTAINING ADEQUATE AND EFFECTIVE CONTACT BETWEEN THE UNIVERSITY, THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, AND TEACHER TRAINING IMPROVEMENT AND FURTHER PROFESSIONALIZATION OF TEACHER TRAINING WITHIN EASTERN NIGERIA.

Subsequent discussions with the Ministry of Education were carried on in parallel with discussions concerning the new Advanced Teacher Training Colleges,

[redacted]

No further action on the Institute was taken until the following academic year, largely due to the expanding commitments of the College of Education (especially in helping develop the "New Mathematics" programme for Africa and operating the Nigeria Union of Teachers Vacation programme for unqualified teachers). During the strike of University students during the Fall of 1962, four faculty members visited most of the Teacher Training Colleges of Eastern Nigeria to acquaint the latter with the proposed Institute. The Institute was formally launched in January, 1963, at a meeting attended by 24 out of 29 principals of Teacher Training Colleges in Eastern Nigeria, representatives of the Federal and Eastern Nigeria Ministries of Education, voluntary agencies, and the Nigeria Union of Teachers. Dr. S. E. Imoke, Minister of Education in Eastern Nigeria, in his opening address to the Institute, stressed above all its liaison function:

> I am certain that you share my belief that the Institute will play a valuable and much needed role in the educational development of the Eastern Region. In the advanced countries of the world, as you know, institutes and organizations of this type are of vital importance; they serve as cnetres for educational consultation, liaison, and for the professional development which is so necessary in education. . . . In teacher training. . . with which we are primarily concerned, the number of institutions in the Eastern Region has increased by some 400%

> in the past ten years, and the number of students by more than 400%. With such development, it is inevitable that there have been matters we have been unable to concentrate on. But the main difficulty, I feel, has been the lack of a proper centre or unifying body, and it is this lack which this institution is designed to fill. . . .*

The cover design of the printed proceedings of the Inaugural Conference of the Institute of Education appropriately consisted of three links in a chain binding teacher training institutions to the College of Education by a central link clearly labeled "Ministry of Education."

The program which has developed under the aegis of the Institute has been the most extensive organized service program of any Faculty of the University of Nigeria. It must, however, be recognized that many of the service activities which have been run would have been run with or without the Institute; some were mere continuations or extensions of programs which had existed prior to its establishment. On the other hand, the Institute did provide a convenient administrative organization for these programs and also a wider sponsorship for them than that of the College of Education itself. Ostensibly, it could be said that through their membership in the Institute, the Ministry of Education and the member Teacher Training Colleges could consider themselves co-sponsors of all that occurred in the way of service

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*S. E. Imoke, "Opening Address," Proceedings of the Inauguration of the Institute of Education, Nsukka: University of Nigeria, pp. 11-12.

programs thereafter. Actually, however, the infrequency of Board meetings, the decline in attendance at Annual conferences after the first year, and the fact that many programs were in fact initiated, developed,or negotiated by the University without any formal involvement of Institute "members" probably reduced the institutionalizing effect which might have come from more direct and persistent involvement. This was in part due to the inability of the University to locate a Director or Associate Director of the Institute to assist Dr. Fafunwa who was by 1964 wearing three hats, those of Dean of the Faculty of Education, Head of the Department of Education (which runs the College degree programs), and Director of the Institute. Furthermore, although the MSU "Advisory" support in Education was far more central to the implementation of innovative elements in the philosophy of the University than most others, for reasons which appear to have been partly personal or parochial, available advisory positions (other than that in Vocational Education) were by 1963 withdrawn from Education.

The extent to which the Institute served the purposes of implementing program and establishing and maintaining formal linkages with other organizations in

the educational field can be revealed by the programs listed in Table F on the following pages, a listing which is exclusive of its own annual board and memberships meetings.

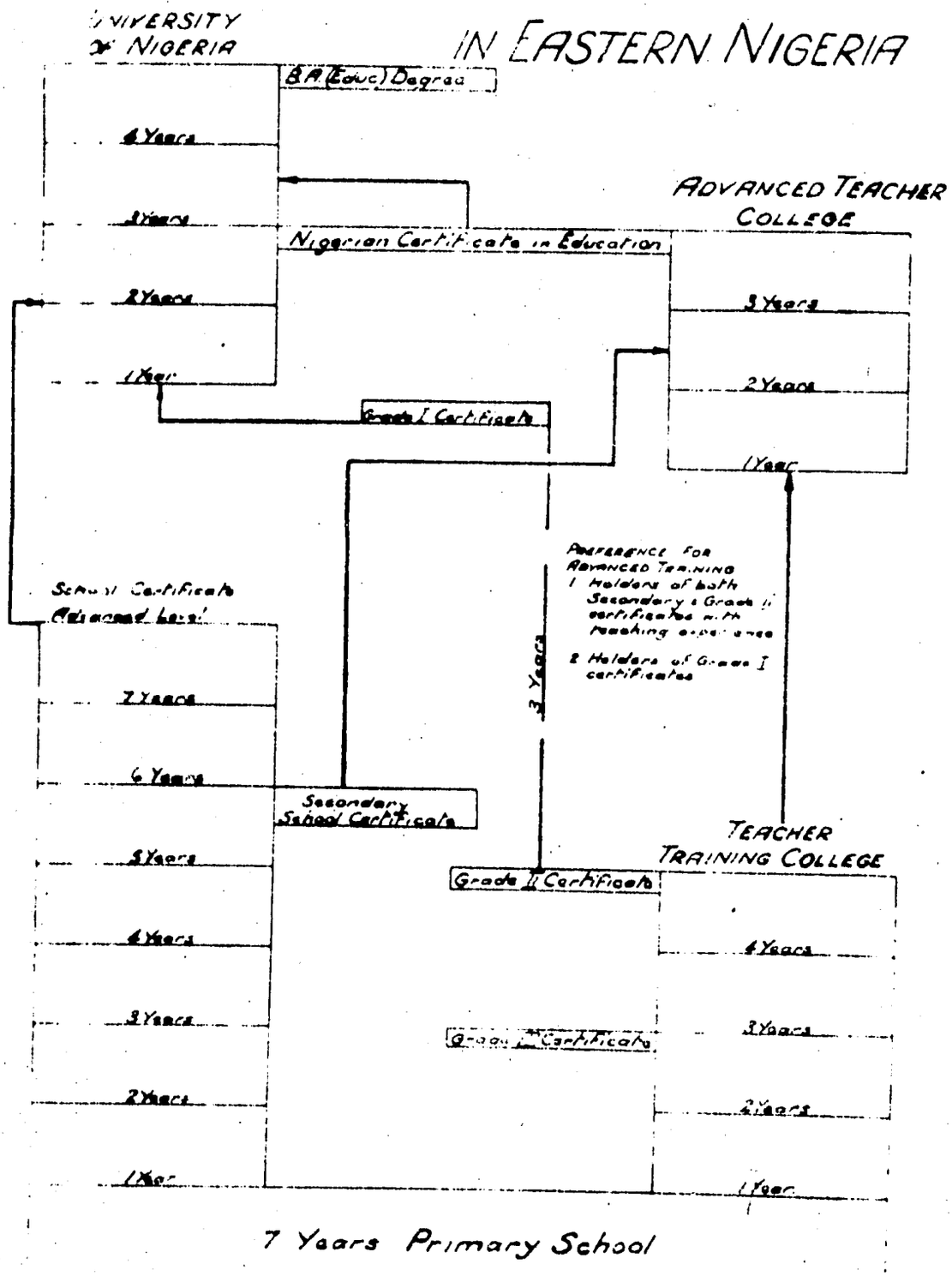
The services which the Institute could provde as an enabling or legitimizing linkage for the College with the Ministty of Education were among its most important from the standpoint of institutionality. The Ministry's support and willingness to participate were apparent from the beginning. By the time the Institute was created, a Ministerial reshuffle following the elections in 1962 had removed key individuals who had expressed early hostility to the University, replacing them with individuals who were anxious to establish cordial relations between Ministry and University. The presence of the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education to open the 1964 inservice course for upgrading unqualified teachers suggested a new type of relationship had been established. Probably the degree of acceptance which developed, however, was most clearly indicated by the following request from the Ministry of Education, addressed to the Institute in July of that year:

Table 7

DIAGRAM B

APPENDIX E

TEACHER EDUCATION IN EASTERN NIGERIA



> I am directed to ask whether the Institute of Education of the University would be able to arrange 4 to 8 weeks courses during the University's long vacations for the untrained graduate teachers of this Ministry. We are most anxious that these courses should be provided in the interest of efficiency of our officers.
>
> 2. If the Institute of Education could arrange the courses I am to ask under what conditions this could be done. I am further to ask if, in the event of the Institute of Education being unable to arrange the courses, they would be able to participate elsewhere (say at the Advanced Teacher Training College, Owerri) by seinding lecturers.
>
> 3. Your very early reply would be greatly appreciated as we are most anxious that a beginning should be made during this long vacation.

Although the Director of the Institute felt forced to decline this request because of prior commitments, the fact that the Ministry of Education was eager by this time, to send its own graduate members to receive further training at the University "in the interest of efficiency" was the most notable index of the institutionality of the College with this public. In the fall of 1965 further plans for joint Ministry Institute programs were developed, although in these cases the initiative appears to have come from the Institute of Education rather than the Ministry. The first of these was a proposal for refresher courses of one week duration, to be run in August, 1966, for 500

primary school headmasters and headmistresses; the second was for in-service training courses for the Inspecting Assistants of the Ministry, courses which it was agreed should be instructed jointly by Ministry and University personnel. The division of responsibilities, as between Ministry and University, was worked out further in the Institute Board Meeting in January, 1966.

Two enabling factors operated to the benefit of the Institute in carrying forward program and establishing linkages. The first was a grant of £ 82,000 to the Institute from Ford Foundatio to carry forward its work for a period of three years. This grant, made on the basis of a proposal submitted in May, 1964 provided support both for logistics and professional staffing; the latter, however, at salaries for direct hire personnel in Nigeria, salaries not likely to attract expatriate personnel able to give effective leadership in the service and research programs which it had been hoped to establish. The Institute has further requested subvention from the Ministry of Education, which has been agreed to in principle by those on the professional side of the Ministry, but which has not been forthcoming to date. Finally, the Ministry

requested Government funds to support a regular liaison person to operate between Ministry and Institute. There appears little doubt that by 1965 the use of a formal and "familiar" administrative structure had gone far toward establishing normative and funcational linkages not only between the College and the Ministry of Education but between the College and other significant groups in the educational establishment.

Establishing Linkages: Nigeria Union of Teachers

One of the incidental results of my attending meetings of the Joint Consultative Committee on Education was my early recognition of the Professional interests of the Nigeria Union of Teachers. Mr. Alvan Ikoku, President of the Union, was therefore invited to participate in the Carnegie Seminar on Education, and when he was unable to attend I made it an early order of business to visit him at his secondary school. I also wrote to the General Secretary of the Union, Mr. E. E. Esua in 1961 asking if I might attend the approaching annual conference as a visitor and further inquired:

> (1) Does this Union of Teachers include University Lectures as members; specifically, do you have or would you welcome, university branches of your organization? If so, I should like to apply for membership and assume some leadership in organizing a University branch at Nsukka.
>
> (2) Does the Nigeria Union of Teachers possess any junior affiliate for persons receiving university training who anticipate becoming full-fledged members of the Nigeria Union of Teachers?. . . .

Mr. Esua welcomed my expresssion of interest with enthusiasm but,as I was unable to attend the conference personally, Dr. Fafunwa deputized for me.

As neither of the other two higher educational institutions involved in teacher training had shown interest in the Union, our interest was rewarded by the waiving of normal rules and the immediate appointment of Dr. Fafunwa as representative of Higher Education on the Union Executive Committee. Themain problem facing the Jnion in 1962 was the position of the uncertificated teachers who lacked proper training and were now suddnely faced with wholesale dismissal as more and more certificated teachers were being produced by a host of teacher training colleges. As many of these teachers had served long years, and lacked any other job to which they could turn, their problem affected not only the union and the morale of teachers generally, but concerned many in Nigeria who believed Government had a

moral responsibility to aid them. Fearing the Union would do nothing more than pass resolutions calling on Government ot provide such aid, Dr. Fafunwa proposed that the Union itself run an inservice program to help them qualify for certification. Upon his return to the University, he and I developed a proposal whereby we would investigate with the University Council the possibility of using (1) the University campus as a site for this inservice training and (2) available peace corps and University faculty members to handle administration and carry part of the instructional load. Dr. Azikiwe and the University Council welcomed the proposal enthusiastically. The Union responded with even greater enthusiasm and its Executive Committee explored the proposal with the Eastern and Western Nigeria Ministries of Education. The Ministries promised their moral support but made no firm commitment that they would automatically provide those who successfully completed the course with Honorary Certificates.

No previous program had as clearly and as publicly identified the <u>service</u> orientation of the new university. Much of the praise went to the Union, but the name of Union and University were frequently

linked and it is clear that both benefited from public acclaim. The Lagos Daily Express (12/1/62) commented editorially under the headline A GOOD EXAMPLE as follows:

> It is a jolly good idea that Nigerian Union of Teachers is now thinking of running its own training scheme for those of the profession still untrained.
>
> The habit of this country is for everybody to look up to government for everything without wanting to pay anything for it. This is a lazy attitude of mind that could easily turn a whole people passive and unwilling to exert themselves.
>
> Any effort at self-help must therefore be most welcome. It was such a spirit that brought daylight to Udi, and communities all over the country can very well do with some lighting up. So go ahead, teachers!

Similarly, the Minister of Education of Eastern Nigeria publicly noted that "The Nigeria Union of Teachers is at present running a course for Uncertified and Untrained Teachers at the University of Nigeria. I entirely endorse and fully appreciate these efforts,"

Commenting on this endorsement, the Nigerian Outlook editorialized:

> We join the Minister in his gratitude to the Nigeria Union of Teachers which is currently running a refresher course for teachers at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. We hope, too, that this is not one of those things done to catch newspaper headlines and that far from being the end of a fine idea it is merely the beginning of a revolution in the teaching profession. (Outlook, August 17, 1962, editorial, p. 3).

This innovation was so out of keeping with the previous University image in Nigeria, so effective in demonstrating the new image we wanted to portray, and so crucial in establishing ties with the Nigeria Union of Teachers that the description of it published under the tital NEW VISTAS FOR NIGERIS'S TEACHERS by its Coordinator, Miss Catherine Crook, merits inclusion.

> After a quiet July, the University of Nigeria suddenly came to life during the first week of August. It was the opening of the Vacation School for Uncertificated teachers. From the Northern, Western, Eastern and Federal Regions five hundred and forty-six enthusiastic and eager teachers registered for a six weeks course, during which they studied English, Mathematical Process, Principles and Methods of Education, Geography and History.
>
> Their first impressions of the campus were formed by the modern buildings in which they lived, ate, and studied during their course. These gave way, as the course progressed to a realization of the more lasting values to be gained from their experiences. Here were Nigerian teachers being served by tutors from their own country and from lands across the sea. Here, teachers of many years service were being given an opportunity to reawaken their inner knowledge, to develop theirimaginations, and to widen their own horizons. Their gratitude and their enthusiasm for the course were recorded in their written work in English classes and in the many letters which have been sent since their return home to their tutors and the Directors of the School, Dr. A. Babs Fafunwa, Head of the Harden College of Education of the University of Nigeria.
>
> That there is a need for schools of this kind is substantiated by the 1959 figures that show that 69,115 of the 103,194 teachers in the country were untrained. The Nigerian Union of Teachers, in an

effort to combat this deficiency, proposed that Vacation Schools of this type be held in the various regions. Successful negotiations were carried out between the Union and the University of Nigeria so that this first School was evolved.

Announcements of the Vacation School were not made until the middle of June; but the news spread rapidly and by the closing date for applications, the seventh of July, some three thousand had been received and others continued to arrive after the session began. Nearly one thousand were notified of their acceptance, limited only by the student housing facilities available at the University. It is regrettable that 43% of those who were accepted failed to notify the Vacation School that they were not coming thus preventing others from attending.

The school was financed by the combined efforts of the University and the Union. The University of Nigeria made available all of their fine, modern facilities at a minimum cost of ten guineas for room and board. The Nigerian Union of Teachers generously contributed money to allow the Nigerians who taught in the course travel expenses from their homes, room and board costs, and a small honorarium. A registration fee of one pound was charged each student to cover administrative costs such as correspondence and materials for teaching.

The staff of the school was international. Of the 35 members of the teaching and administrative staff 20 were Nigerians, all but three being students from the University of Nigeria. Two tutors, sent by the Nigerian Union of Teachers, were from the Western Region, one a graduate of the University College Ibadan and the other a student from that University. Two members of the staff were Canadians who were sent from Canada to this country by an agreement between the Canadian Federation of Teachers and the Nigerian Union of Teachers. Their travel and living expenses were defrayed by the two unions and the teachers themselves donated their services. Three Americans who are members of the Faculties of the University of Nigeria contributed their services to the school. Ten Americans who are members of the American Peace Corps at the University of Nigeria donated their services, making a total of 17 graduate teachers on the staff of the school.

> The student body of the school was made up of 503 men and 44 women. Of these, 456 came from the East, 69 from the West, 13 from the North and 9 from Lagos. In the final results of the exams taken by students in the three courses in which each was enrolled by, 222 passed or received credit in all three, and 62 failed in all that they attempted.
>
> The first of any venture must always be considered an experiment to be modified and improved when repeated. In the opinions of the teachers attending the tutors, the Directors, and the officers of the Nigerian Union of Teachers the Vacation School was a successful experiment and should be repeated each year. . . .

It was soon clear that the picture of those lowest on the academic ladder attending a university was startling to Nigerians. The overwhelming proportion of these teachers possessed nothing more than primary school education. Lecturers commented on their early arrival, dirty, smelly, and unsure of themselves, but also on the change in attitude that developed as they came to accept their responsibilities in being part of a "university community." The Nigerian Outlook (September 22, 1962) published as a major article on its editorial page a moving tribute given the course, written by one of the first students.

AT THE VARSITY OF NIGERIA I FOUND NEW DIGNITY

by

S.O. IHEANACHO

After four weeks stay in the Nigerian Union of Teachers' vacation course at this "School of Universal Learning," I can sincerely say that I am highly impressed by the University.

Upon first arriving, I was impressed by the great number of tall modern buildings. Actually the campus buildings are better seen than described orally or in writing. Where should I begin in order to fully describe the Univesity to a far distant person? Should I begin by describing the Arts Lecture Hall with its many tiered rows of seats ascending from the ground floor to a two story height?

Or should I first tell of all the modern two-storyed class-room buildings, the lofty well designed student hostels named after the most important political personalities of the era, the colourful avenue of staff housing, the Margaret Ekpo Refectory Hall, the Nnamdi Azikiwe Library, or the huge Stadium just to mention a few? All these buildings among the high green Nsukka hills, thus giving a magnificant and inspiring impression.

Having seen such a campus, I was inspired to really work hard in my vacation course. Helping my 600 N.U.T. classmates and we were a truly International University Staff of Nigerians, Americansand two Canadians who had come to Nigeria expressly to teach in the N.U.T. programme.

From the Director of the programme, Dr. A.Babs Fafunwa, down to each tutor we were shown much courtesy.

The tutors are cultured and learned but at the same time humble. The wise saying that the more learned a person is the more humble he becomes is certainly true of the staff of the University of Nigeria. If our undergraduate students could learn the same humility from these lecturers, our newly independent country would spring up with truly educated people.

> In addition to its fine buildings and competent tutors, the University has an excellent record of achievements. Certainly it is remarkable that in two years time the University should have increased its enrollment from 270 students to an expected 1,500 this September.
>
> Of course, the university's achievement which is dearest to me is the vacation course which they have been offering for uncertificated teachers. The university has unselfishly lent its campus facilities and its staff to help upgrade the whole system of Nigerian elementary education. This is indeed a service to the entire nation.
>
> The motto of the University of Nigeria is "To Restore the Dignity of Man." In my short stay on this campus, I have found a new dignity.

Despite this type of recognition, difficulties were encountered. The Union was unable to persuade the Ministry of Education to grant automatic honorary certificates to all who completed the course successfully. Fortunately, many did receive such certificates and the job security that went with them; others received special certificates from the University, which less fortunately provided only a psychological reward: A large number used the training received to sit as external students and pass the examinations which entitled them to the regular certificate. The Secretary of the Union in Eastern Nigeria estimated that several hundred had secured their certificates in this manner, and the President of

the Union announced that ninety percent of those who attended the course for two summers were successful in securing certification. The course was not smooth for all, however, and in September 1964, after the third such summer program had been run, the Nigerian Outlook Sept. 2., 1964 editorialized under the headline SPOIL SPORTS as follows:

> Teachers are complained against the laying off of some of their colleagues by Voluntary Agencies after they have attended the Vacation Course being run by the University of Nigeria in collaboration with the Eastern Nigeria Ministry of Education.
>
> Unless the unfortunate teachers attend such courses without the knowledge and consent of their employers, it is difficult to understand why a teacher who attends a course obviously designed to improve him, and through him society as a whole, should stand in danger of losing even the job which he is equipping himself for. Surely no teacher is sent on a vacation course to learn to lose his job.
>
> When teachers are not complaining about irregular payment of their wages, they have other things worrying them. When the Government takes the trouble of improving the lot of teachers, to whom this country can never be too grateful, Voluntary Agencies find their own way sabotaging Government effort.
>
> It seems to us that unless the Minister of Education drills some sense into those Voluntary Agency School Managers who try to make a mess of his job things will not improve. We urge the Minister to do exactly this.

Failure of the Ministries to give automatic certification to students whom those in charge of the course recommended as qualified, plus competing demands upon the time of University faculty as they became involved in other commitments, led to the suspension of the course in 1965; although the Nigeria Union of Teachers has continued to press for the Ministry to assure protection to teachers attending it and automatic accreditation to those successfully completing it. In all, 1,800 teachers passed through the courses in three years.

From the standpoint of institutionality, the N.U.T. vacation course stands as an early landmark in history of the College of Education at Nsukka. The course stood for something very central to the doctrine of the University--namely the rencering of service to elements of the community which would not normally be considered its responsibility; and for this service it secured wide support and recognition from teachers and the press. Perhaps equally important in the process, it established functional and normative linkages with the Nigeria Union of Teachers, a union which had not only displayed its considerable strength through its voice at professional

councils in Nigerian education and through the prominent position of its two leading officials as unofficial spokesman for Nigerian education. In its 1963 Annual Conference the Union duly acknowledged its appreciation in its leading resolutions.*

> 1. Resolution that in view of the great benefits derived by the uncertificated teachers from the N.U.T. vacation course held in 1962 at the Harden College of Education, University of Nigeria, Nsukka this 32nd Conference of the N.U.T. places on record its deep appreciation and thanks to the Head of Harden Institute of Education, Dr. Babs Fafunwa, Miss Catherine Crook and the team of Lecturers whose services have helped to raise the standard of the teaching professions in Nigeria and to the authorities of the University of Nigeria for the use of its premises.
>
> 2. Resolved by this Conference, held in Oyo in view of the tremendous success that has attended the first N.U.T. Vacation course for uncertificated teachers held at the Harden Institute of Education, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, in 1962, that the Nigerian Union of Teachers make the running of such a course an annual event.

Perhaps less important from the standpoint of institutionalization but equally important to those who participated in running the program was a letter of thanks from one of the most humble of the students the University was ever to serve:

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*Nigeria Union of Teachers. Minutes of the Thirty-Second Annual Conference of the Nigerian Union of Teachers, Held at St. Andrew's College, Oyo, January 12-15, 1963.

P.O. Box 14
Eket District
Eastern Nigeria

19th October 1964

The Dean of Students,
The Institute of Education,
University of Nigeria,
Nsukka
Eastern Nigeria.

Dear Sir,

In a few lines of words I must show forth my heartfel gratefulness to you, the N.U.T. and the Government for all your efforts to deliver us from doom as well as ruin that might have laid its cold hand on us and snatched us away. Had it not been the N.U.T., the University of Nigeria and the Government.

I must be grateful to the Dean of the University of Nigeria who tolerated us even when we behaved like babies. Thank you, Sir, for your patience. I must be grateful also to all members of the staff of the N.U.T. Vacation School, Nsukka. Teachers (Grade II) Higher Elementary Certificate Examination is not an easy examination. A clever student spends four years of hard studies before he or she passes or he or she be referred in some papers after spending the said period of years to prepare for the examination. But to some of us the University had prepared us for six weeks. After this period some of us have been able to pass the centrally set papers in Grade II. Teachers' Higher Elementary Exam., which is the first and the most essential part of the Examination. At such I say to the Dean and the entire members of the staff of the Vacation School thank you, Sirs.

We who were called the untrained and the uncertificated teachers have been trained and certificated now at such this painful as well as degraded name given to us had been removed from us. Here I say again thank you Sir. In schools we have been able to teach the children the little we know with certainty and free from the criticism of the most junior staff who claimed to

have perhaps Grade III certificates. Out-side the school we can move freely and in company of the teachers who answers "trained teachers." In short I have no suitable words of appreciation with which to appreciate your honest, sincere and sympathetic help to us during the past three years of intensive course.

I am not writing this because I have done anything worthy of reference, but I give thanks to God and to those who helped me, that I who was know and called the untrained and uncertificated teacher have been trained and certificated and like (10) ten Jewish lepers who were cleansed by or Lord Jesus Christ one of them returned to say to Jesus thank you, I therefore say to you thank you.

After all may I inform youthat I have been considered fit for the award of Teachers' (Grade II) Higher Elementary Certificate. Glory be to God, to the N.U.T. and to the University of Nigeria. I pray that the Lord God Almighty keep you, bless you and strengthen you for better and higher services world without end Amen.

Your happy teacher.

N. A. Essiet

Establishing Linkages: The School Board Issue

The Ministry of Education in Eastern Nigeria found itself in an increasingly difficult financial position in the years immeidately prior to and following Independence. Already redeiving some forty to fifty percent of the budget of Eastern Nigeria, it was, especially in light of the planning documents on education and economic development, expected to expand secondary and technical education with no expanded budget. By far the largest

percentage of the Ministry's budget went into primary education, even after the A.L.C. (Assumed Local Contribution, usually collected as "school fees") had ben raised as high as eight pounds for the last standard of the primary school. At the same time primary schools often operated with great inefficiency due to the religious competition described earlier (see pp.). The situation was aggravated by the tendency of some voluntary agencies to use school fees for other than strictly educational purposes, a type of fraud that only ardent church apologists denied. Any attempt to finance secondary and technical education (the latter being an exhorbitantly expensive operation) required a reduction, or at least a stabilization, of the expenditures on primary education. As it was politically important that this be done without depriving children of education, it meant that the system had to be "rationalized," i.e. consolidation of schools within communities would have to take place in order to assure that classes were of an economically feasible size. The situation was further aggravated by long periods in which teachers in primary schools went unpaid, leading both to sporadic strikes and a persistent threat of strikes.

A decision to achieve some control over primary education appears to have taken when Dr. Imoke became Minister of Education and Mr. Akpan became permanent secretary in Education in 1962. Both were committed to two general principles in respect to the place of the voluntary agencies in Primary Education: (1) that the school syllabus in Religion needed revision to emphasize comparative religion and common elements of Christian beliefs rather than divisive dogmas; and (2) that the primary schools must be brought under some kind of control to assure both the legitimate disbursement of government grants and assumed local contribution and to reduce or eliminate non-viable schools which had been created, in the words of the Ikoku Commission, by an "inter-denominataional scramble for schools with religious expansion [redacted] as a background motive." The initial phases in the struggle of Government to exercisesome regulation over subsidized church schools is detailed in the description of the educational environment above.

The faculty in Education concurred in the Ministry belief that uncontrolled expansion and ecompetitive religion constituted two of Eastern Nigeria's most pressing educational problems. In general, all senior members of the Department of Education and the Department of Vocational Education were strongly committed to the notion

that education was a public concern and should be publicly controlled. The strong position in favor of secular control held by the faculty in Education was later epitomized in a public statement Dr. Ukeje made in reply to an article by a University of Nigeria lecturer in another faculty who had argued for parochial schools. Dr. Ukeje's statement reveals the tenor of senior faculty members thinking:

> We are at present striving to win economic independence and all that the educationists who advocate for a national system of education are asking is that we should also strive to win educational independence.
>
> This is as important for future progress as political or economic independence.
>
> Education is a very powerful weapon. It is indeed the most powerful weapon ever devised by man for his own progress. Education is the most potent force for the achievement of the hopes and aspirations of the nations. . . .
>
> The type of role which education plays and can play in any society depends largely on who controls it. Whoever controls the schools controls the ultimate purpose of education (not paper purpose) and hence the role of education in the society.
>
> I think it is necessary to point out some of the evils inherent in the present system of dual control of the multiplicity of agencies running schools and receiving grants-in-aid:
>
> (1) Because no Voluntary Agency wishes to be overdone by the other in the bid to own schools, there are all over the villages in the Provinces so many unviable schools (at times one across the street from the other) all receiving Government Grants in aid. . . .

(2) Because of the unviable schools, some of the Voluntary Agencies have unfortunately resorted to some malpractices including campaigning and struggling for pupils and this has in turn led to untold divisions in the villages. . . .

(3) Again because of the unviable schools resulting from the rivalries among the Voluntary Agencies the poor peasant farmers have quite often had to pay, from their below subsistence earnings, for non-existent children and empty chairs.

(4) Under the present dual control, the Governments of the Federation are often forced to make representation on educational bodies on the basis of religious groups. One cannot be sure whether educational issues are decided on the basis of national good or on the basis of the interests of the Agencies. This can be quite serious. . . *

In keeping with feelings like this, the Institute of Education began informal discussions with the Ministry to explore the role it could play in altering the control situation. These overtures were warmly welcomed by the Ministry, which was seeking methods to legitimize a new law which would provide some control over the Voluntary Agencies. Consequently the Ministry of Education agreed to sponsor jointly with the Institute of Education a Seminar on Administration, Organization, Financing of Primary Education and the Establishment of School Boards in Eastern Nigeria, which was convened at the Continuing Education Center of the University in June, 1965, and was presided over by Dr. Fafunwa. Representatives of the various Voluntary Agencies, the Ministry, the local Councils, the Institute

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Ukeje,

of Education, and the University of Ibadan were present. Again the position which the faculty held was presented by Dr. Ukeje who concluded his address as follows:

> I shall now make the following definite recommendations: (1) The Eastern Regional Government should assert its responsibilities in education and take over the control of Primary Education in the region by the establishment of a State System of Education to be managed by Local Education Boards. All the Agencies running schools in the region including County Councils should be asked to hand over all their schools to the State. Because Nigeria is a Democratic Society those that are unwilling to hand over their schools should be allowed to run them but at their own expenses - with no grants whatsoever from the Government. (2) For the effective management of the schools the region should be divided into school Districts to parallel the present County Councils. In other words the region should be divided into 110 school districts to correspond to the present 110 Country Councils in the region. There should be set up in each school District or County a Board of Education of about 9 members to be charged with the responsibility of all Primary education in the County. (3) For the actual running of the schools, each school District should have a Chief Executive Officer who should be employee of the Board. (4) Under this system a form of the present financial arrangement of A.I.C. may be maintained. Education is most functional and effective when it is a shared function between the Government and the Local Communities. Like Democracy, Education of the people should be by the people and for the people. Apart from participating in the control of education, the Local Boards and the people should also participate in the financing of their schools by the payment of local rates for education.

At times the discussions became highly acrimonious, the Catholic Education representative at one time threatening to disassociate himself entirely from the proceedings. The final conclusion of the seminar supported the secular supervision of schools, the following recommendations being unanimously passed for transmission to the Ministry of Education of Eastern Nigeria for its consideration:

> 1) That the government of Eastern Nigeria should establish State Schools which should open their doors to children in the region irrespective of their religious persuasions and that these schools be styled Public Schools.
>
> ii) That for the effective control, organization and administration of these public schools local School Boards should be established on Divisional basis.
>
> iii) That the Board members should be appointed by the Minister of Education and membership of the Board drawn from eminent citizens and experienced educators within each Division.
>
> iv) That it will be the general function of these school boards to be both Managers and Proprietors of all the Primary Schools within their areas of jurisdiction and should discharge the administrative responsibilities of running these schools and be responsible to the Ministry of Education through the Zonal Inspector of Education of that Division.
>
> v) That the Board should appoint a Chief Executive Officer - a graduate with teaching qualifications to discharge its administrative functions.

The results of the Seminar were reported subsequently in the Nigerian Outlook in a release entitled SEMINAR URGES STATE SCHOOLS: WANTS DIVISIONAL BOARDS SET UP, which was judged by the Catholic representatives to be an unfair representation of the conclusions of the Seminar.

The Report of the Seminar was one basis of legitimization which Dr. Imoke, Minister of Education, used in proposing A Bill for the Establishment of School Boards and for Purposes Connected therewith, which was duly enacted into law by the Eastern House of Assembly in 1965 but not put into effect, the delay apparently caused by continuing Catholic opposition and later the Military coup. In arguing for the bill, the Minister pointed to the fact that the need for such school boards had also been strongly recommended by the Dike Commission on Education in Eastern Nigeria, was something which the Ikoku Conference representing all shades of educational opinion "strongly and unanimously advocated," and was "the very pivot of the recommendations of the last National Joint Negotiating Council for teachers and which was unanimously accepted by ALL the members of the Negotiating Council."

With the coming to power of the Military Government in January 1966, Dr. Fafunwa was interviewed by the Nsukka Record as to his position on what the military government should do. Devoting his remarks exclusively to education, he advocated that primary schools be administered by the provinces, that secondary and university education be handled by the central government, and that "missionaries be counted out in the running of schools."

The failure to put the school board law into effect led to continuing teacher unrest, including a strike of some 2,000 primary school teachers in the Aba district alone. The Nigerian Outlook although by this time generally critical of the previous regime, commented on behalf of teacher welfare:

> Some time last year the former regime in Eastern Provinces devised a generally accepted means whereby teachers could get their salaries as regularly as other employed persons. To this day, it appears that the plan never went beyond the paper upon which it was written. . . If this is the era of reconstruction which we all believe it is, we can hardly afford to play with education. And conscious that the new military regime means to put this country on the right track we ask that our educational system be placed on the priority list.

Similarly in April 1966 it advocated that "The Federal Military Government not only take over primary education with all that it involves" but "take steps to evolve a uniform and higher standard." It was clear that the College of Education had aligned itself with the wishes of the teachers and the most influential public information agency in the Region, but in doing so it had unquestionably alienated itself from a major nongrovernmental power and vested interest in education, namely the Catholic education authorities.

By doctrine, the College of Education was committed to concern itself with the basic problems of education in Nigeria. It is clear that facing the question of control was essential if sound educational planning was to take place. Furthermore, the forces of secularism were among those which could be counted upon to run parallel with forces of nationalism following independence. In light of the strength of the Church and the strong religious propensities of the new Military Governor who assumed control in the East in 1966 it remained to be seen what effect this essay into the realm of social controversy would have upon the institutionality of the College. The latter had clearly committed itself in

opposition to one of the strongest and best organized pressure groups in Eastern Nigeria, the Catholic clergy. At the same time it had fought as an ally of the Ministry and the organized teachers of the Region who felt themselves constantly victimized by Voluntary agencies. The ultimate effect of this confrontation, and these alliances, would only emerge after the period covered in this study.

Summary: Linkage Strategies in the Process of Institutionalization

Any attempt to recapitulate leadership strategies runs the danger of providing them with a rationality and a neatness they did not actually possess. If this is a danger of a historical reconstruction generally, it is even more the danger when that reconstruction is attempted within the framework of a set of analytical concepts which reorder experience into dimensions or provide it with constructs which were not present *per se* in the mind of the historical actor. Within these limitations, it has been possible to look back and examine certain major strategies which were devised, albeit crudely, and to reconstruct the reasons which led to their use.

During the early months of the University we became increasingly aware of resistance, ambivalence and even hostility toward the University and especially its College of Education in the environment in which we hoped to operate as change agents. These resistances, ambivalences and hostilities have been traced in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, but we might here recapitulate certain major dimensions of which we became aware. First, there was general ambivalance in Eastern Nigeria about American education. Most persons in positions of authority, that is those who could legitimize action, were educated either in Britain or in British African universities or schools and considered American education to be of low quality. Second, we erroneously believed legitimization in the political arena could be left entirely to President Azikiwe and we at first failed even more signally to recognize the careful reservation of authority to those in civil service and professional positions which had developed under the British. This meant specifically that those within the professional branches of Ministries of Education could withhold from the University legitimization or authority to operate programs in Education. It also menat that it was necessary for the College of Education to build and use a network of enabling, functional, and normative linkages with the educational

establishment. Third, there existed a low evaluation of the status of "teacher education" as an academic pursuit, both at the pre-university level and at the university level. There were strong feelings that such programs did not merit degree status, or the remuneration that this would entail. Fourth, a series of early actions and early appointments by all University leadership, notably by the University Council and Dr. Azikiwe, made the problem of establishing such linkages doubly urgent but also doubly difficult. The most important of these decisions were:

> (1) The launching and publicizing of two non-degree programs for teachers without taking account of either the existing environment or the formal legitimization procedures.
>
> (2) The employment, and often in position of considerable rank, of a number of persons who had proved themselves failures in the school system of Eastern Nigeria or who were unacceptable to one another of the Ministries of Education. (This was further complicated by the employment of several able persons from the Ministries in Eastern Nigeria without using the accepted channels through which such inter-agency employment was expected to proceed.)
>
> (3) The open offering of admission, as regular students, to those with lower entry qualification than had been offered regular admission at University College, Ibadan or at British universities, an action which was interpreted as "lowering standards" and as ample confirmation of previously held suspicions concerning American education.

Those of us from America were, moreover, increasingly aware of our own lack of knowledge about the Nigerian educational scene. Fortunately some members of the Education faculty, notably Dr. Ernest Ukapby, recognized this lack of knowledge was not limited to the American members of the faculty and we were not forced into the position of accepting Nigerian birth as a hallmark of Nigerian educational competence. In any event, the American s in original positions of leadership quickly recognized their own inability to forecast subtleties in educational evaluations which would be made by Nigerians, or to assess the differential strength of allegiances which were attached to various established routines or institutions within the Nigerian educational system.

In this situation, leadership became committed to certain broad strategies. These might be categorized as follows:

> 1. To familiarize ourselves with the Nigerian scene, to make public the fact that we were so familiarizing ourselves, and to involve Nigerian influence-wielders both in projecting innovations and in the process of decision-making which we hoped to employ regularly at Nsukka.

This we attempted to do first through the Carnegie Seminar. This Seminar was structured so as to introduce us to the problems of Nigerian society and so as to introduce Nigerians to the type of direct relationship which we believed should exist between school and society. Our decision to make it a predominantly Nigerian gathering and to rely heavily on a number of American educated Nigerians to place programmatic interpretations on the social diagnoses presented was designed to begin a process of persuasion and involvement. The Nigerian participant educated in the British tradition who commented on his evaluation sheet "I was able to see how the American approach differs from the British in this matter of setting up a cirriculum for a university course. The practical application of theory to life once misunderstood by many of us in Nigeria with regard to American education became very attractive to me. . . " summarized the effect on participants we were hoping to have. The widespread diffusion through the press of ideas which had been presented at the Seminar provided the first diffused linkages we were able to establish with more inclusive Eastern Nigerians publics.

Fortunately, we were able to follow up the Carnegie Seminar with visits to other major educational institutions and with the extensive summer "research trip" which is described in the next chapter.

> 2. To establish a network of inter-institutional linkages which would provide support for our own innovations and through which we could give support to others in achieving their goals.

We were able to join the established consultative machinery (the Joint Consultative Committee and the major Reference Committees) upon invitation as soon as the University was established, and the College participated regularly in deliberations. An attempt to create an advisory committee, which would have provided continuing consultative relationships with major publics of the College was effectively sidetracked by the Secretary of the University Council, for reasons it is difficult to determine. Some of the same purposes were achieved by the creationof the Institute of Education with an Executive Board representing Teacher Training Colleges,the Ministry of Education, and the major Voluntary Agencies. A formal sponsorship arrangement was worked out between the University, the Ministry of Education, and the Advanced Teacher Training College whereby the University was able to support the latter two in the promotion of their interests. The partnership arrangemement with the powerful Nigeria Union of Teachers in offering the idea, and our good services, for a Union-University program of inservice training won the College's

strong support from the Union. The use of the Institute as an instrumentality to further Ministry and faculty interests in promoting public control of education through School Boards resulted in strengthening relationships between these two formal organizations but only at the expense of jeopardizing normative linkages with the Catholic Church, the major Voluntary Agency (school proprietor) in Eastern Nigeria.

CHAPTER 6

LEADERSHIP DECISIONS AND STRATEGIES: INSTRUCTIONAL PROGRAMS

It is one thing to propose that a University should shape its program in terms of the needs of the society in which it is located; it is another thing to determine what those needs are. There is, in the first place, no process of logical implication which enables one to determine an educational curriculum from a given situation. Curricula are always matters of choice. As the metaphor runs, there is nothing in the nature of an egg to determine whether it will end up a chicken or a breakfast. Nonetheless, even recognizing that curricula rest upon value judgments does not preclude a significant role for "empirical" conditions existing in making choices and the College did attempt to structure its program as far as possible on an empirical basis--that is, by discovering (1) what the objective situation in the country was, (2) what those in the teaching profession believed their needs to be, and (3) what outside experts believed to be the educational needs of the society. We attempted to secure this basis by an extensive research tour to visit schools

(and especially the less-privileged schools) of Nigeria and involving the entire faculty in Education as it then existed throughout the long University vacation of 1961, by reference to judgments expressed during the Carnegie Seminar we had sponsored, and by frequent reference to the report of the most recent "Expert" study commission on Nigerian Education (the Ashby Commission). The Carnegie Seminar has been discussed in the preceding chapter, for it also provided an important linkage device in institutionalizing the College; but brief consideration of the 1961 Research Tour and the use of the Ashby Report as a basis for ideas and legitimization for major programs is appropriate here.

The survey of rural schools, which we designed to acquaint ourselves with the difficulties faced by the schools we hoped directly or indirectly to serve, was planned by faculty members during a series of informal meetings held between March and June, 1961. Its purpose was in part to provide us with a background of illustrative material for teaching, but more importantly it was desi .ed to help us identify the problems confronting teachers, pupils, and the school system. In all, one hundred and ninety six schools were visited and studied with the aid of planned observation sheets. Most of these schools were rural or "bush" schools. Teachers

or headmasters in over one hundred of these also returned questionnaire forms indicating the types of help from the University they would most appreciate. The translation of such an experience and the heterogeneous requests and suggestions we received into a University curriculum would not, under the best of circumstances, be an easy task. In the time and place, two factors operated against its being accomplished effectively: (1) the push of a large student enrollment and the opening of a degree program that fall, a program which followed almost immediately upon the close of the research period, and (2) the fact that two of the staff who were subsequently to provide most of the leadership and drive in the College (Drs. Fafunwa and Ukeje) did not join the faculty until after the completion of the Study tour.

The Ashby Report: Legitimization and Barriers

The most significant common reference point for program building which was available, therefore, proved to be the Report of the Ashby Commission. This report and the supporting argumentation published with it, provided as careful a statistical (and often evaluative) analysis of the current Nigerian educational situation as was available; the Commission's recommendations attempted to relate the current situation to a visualized

future state, quantifying gaps to some extent by target figures set in terms of manpower. As this Afro-Anglo-American Commission of nine experts was specifically commissioned by the Federal Government of Nigeria as a prelude to independence, and was to survey the nation's post-secondary educational needs over the succeeding twenty years, it provided a reservoir of informed judgment on what the College of Education (and the University of Nigeria generally) faced as a problem and might conceivably offer as solutions to that problem. It is interesting to note retrospectively the extent to which we relied upon ideas incorporated in the Report, whether our judgments merely came to coincide with those of the Commission or were actually [illegible] judgments. Although the uses made of the report as "legitimization" have been mentioned frequently in other specific contexts, the extent to which the Report provided such a basis of potential legitimization for doctrines and programs we were developing is incredible in retrospect. It is clear that despite protestations of "intellectual independence" the University and the College during the first few years of their existence, relied upon this Report in many ways. Without pretence of comprehensiveness, Table G indicates the remarkable degree of congruence between Ashby Commission proposals

TABLE G

NORMATIVE LEGITIMIZATION:
THE ASHBY COMMISSION REPORT AND UNIVERSITY DOCTRINE AND PROGRAM

Statements from the Main Report	University of Nigeria Practice
1. "In round figures, the minimum need over the next ten years is for 80,000 people with post-secondary education. About 30,000 of these are described as 'senior: managerial, professional, and administrative.' Ideally, all of these should be graduates or the equivalent, and in any case 20,000 of them must be graduates.	1. The University represented a new approach to University growth. By 1965-1966 it had a total enrollment of 2,579, of whom all but 158 were enrolled in degree courses. (Ibadan had a total enrollment of 1,250 after 14 years of growth.)
2. Provision must be made forthwith for. . . continued education, at whatever sacrifice to other national aspirations. Of all Nigeria's recources her young people are the most valuable; expenditure upon their education should be a first charge upon the nation's finances. And the job must be started without delay. . .	2. The University itself represented such a commitment.
3. Something over 30,000 children should enter secondary schools each year, and . . . the total number of children in the years up to School Certificate should approach a maximum of 180,000. This demands a dramatic increase in places in these schools, for in 1958. . . the	3. It was in response to this type of increase that the large enrollment in the Faculty of Education was permitted or encouraged. By 1965-1966 the Faculty of Education enrolled 393 students, most of whom would become teachers in secondary schools (most of the remainder in Teacher Training Colleges).

total number of secondary grammar school places did not exceed 45,000. . . To meet Nigeria's need for high-level manpower the first step is to create places for some 18,000 more entrants to secondary schools. . .

4. The first step is to give an injection of remedial education to some 80,000 teachers. . . What these teachers would benefit from most is a concentrated course, lasting about a month, in English and other subjects. We suggest that university buildings should be occupied by teachers in every long vacation for two courses, each lasting for a month.

4. The University of Nigeria provided such a course for the least qualified of the teachers, servicing in conjunction with the Nigeria Union of Teachers some 1,600 different teachers (1,800 total enrollment) during the first three long vacations. Only one course, slightly longer than a month in duration, was offered each vacation.

5. The flow of graduate teachers alone must reach 700-800 a year. . . We propose in our section on universities a degree course, specially designed for intending teachers, with some teacher training built into the course.

5. It is difficult to anticipate the percentage of University graduates who go into teaching. In 1964 the Faculty of Education graduated 76 students; in 1965 it graduated 77. In addition to these, a good many arts and science students enter teaching, although many only reluctantly. One-third of the first group of University graduates (1963) entered teaching and this was before any students in Education has completed their course.

6. We strongly believe (in introducing) a manual subject as an obligatory ingredient in all primary and secondary schooling; not as vocational training, but because such subjects have educational value

6. By 1965-1966, both a degree and a diploma course had been introduced to train industrial arts teachers. Forty-eight students from throughout the Federation were enrolled.

which entitles them to a place in a general education. We should like, moreover, to see technical streams in some secondary schools leading to a School Certificate examination.

7. Nigeria should not imitate American land-grant universities any more than it should imiate British universities. Neither kind of university should be exported unchanged to Nigeria; but both kinds have something to teach this country, and the lessons to be learnt from America include diversity and flexibility.

7. The University of Nigeria by 1965-1966 was an eclectic mixture of the British and American systems: student evaluation was a combination of the two systems; after initial General Studies courses, the remainder of the program was almost exclusively one subject; the American "cafeteria of courses" had been adopted (contrary to another Ashby recommendation), but so had such British elements as "external examiners." Degrees were awarded in many fields not accorded degrees in Britain; on the other hand, British distinctions between Honours degrees of various classes were maintained. There is no reason to believe this eclecticism represented any particular adaptation to Nigerian requirements; but many have identified compromise with adaptation.

8. The future of Nigeria is bound up with the future of Africa; and Nigeria's past lies in African history and folklore and language. It should be a first duty of Nigerian universities, therefore, to foster the study of African history and antiquities, its languages, its societies, its rocks and soils and vegetation and animal life.

8. The General Studies program was destined in part to familiarize all students with African culture and African problems. An Institute of African studies was established, but made little progress. On the other hand, considerable research was done on the African past by the Dean of Arts and, interestingly, a Catholic priest in the Department of Religion. The Departments of Fine Arts and Music,

and the Department of English likewise placed great emphasis on African culture and creative work in the African cultural idiom.

9. We estimate that Nigeria will need an output of some 800 graduate teachers a year. A minority of these teachers will need, for sixth form teaching, concentrated training in a narrow field; but for the great majority of graduate teachers the curriculum for this type of degree is, in our view, quite inappropriate. We recommend, therefore, that all Nigerian universities should institute a degree of B.A. (Education). It should consist of four subjects the first year, three in the second, and three in the third, and built into the course there should be a course in pedagogy, with teaching practice in the vacations.

9. The University of Nigeria was the first African university to offer the B.A. (Education) degree. The pattern varies somewhat from that proposed. The B.A. (Education) at the University includes two teaching fields, the General Studies program of the University, and a professional band (including long vacation and supervised teaching practice one year). A number of graduates have also found themselves teaching in areas in which their University preparation was limited to their General Studies courses.

10. The hope for Nigerian higher education lies in its diversity. . . Therefore we believe that universities in Nigeria should be independent from one another. Each should offer its own degrees . . . special relationship between London University and University College, Ibadan, has created worldwide confidence in Ibadan. . . Nevertheless, we are convinced that the special relationship does not leave enough room for the experiment, the Nigerian universities must have.

10. The University of Nigeria began by offering its own degrees and was the first British African University not to have "special relationship" with a British University.

11. We wish to make some general comments on what our survey of the whole Nigerian scene leads us to conclude concerning the courses which should have an early place in the line of developments of new universities. A basic subject, is agriculture. A second is education, that is, the preparation of teachers and research into the many and varied problems of teaching. A third will be engineering. Lately, expansion. . . of extra-mural studies.

11. The University of Nigeria began with just such a priority system, including the sciences also as a priority. Priorities were implemented through enrollment quotas and scholarships. Extra-mural work has become a major commitment of the University. Between July 1- December 21, 1965 a total of 23 conferences, short courses, and seminars (with 1,562 participants) were held at the Continuing Education Center on campus, and there were 56 other meetings involving 2,370 participants. During the same period 37 extra mural studies centers were operating in Eastern Nigeria, offering 114 courses to 2,883 students. Over 40 evening classes are offered on the Enugu and Nsukka campuses.

12. Education must also have a high priority. We hope that the University will consider favourable the type of Bachelor of Arts degree in Education which we suggested. It would be wise to set up an Institute (or College) of Education which, apart from administering these degree courses, should act as the foster-mother of a number of the better teacher training colleges in the Eastern Region. In association with the Institute there might be opportunity for a demonstration Grade I teacher training college which could be developed as a model for this kind of college.

12. Education was provided this priority at the University of Nigeria and has provided these functions. No demonstration school or College has been provided, although the N.C.E. (Industrial Education) program is being developed for "export" to the Advanced Teacher Training Colleges.

RELEVANT STATEMENTS FROM THE REPORT RELATING SPECIFICALLY TO TEACHER TRAINING

Statements from the Main Report	University of Nigeria Practice
1. Present policy requires that one (Secondary school) teacher in three be a graduate. To achieve adequate standards, we believe that one graduate in two should be the minimum. (Furthermore), we recommend a three-fold expansion of secondary education. We believe that a minimal (teacher training college) target is a staff which is half graduate. . . at present (1957) figures 18 percent are graduates. To improve the quality of the present programme of primary education requires a notable increase in supervising teachers. A minimal estimate for 1970 is. . . 1,000 for the Federation. Half of these men and women should be graduates.	1. It will be noted that College staff, Education students, and Education graduates looked upon the College of Education as devoted primarily to the "professionalization" of teaching. The degree program in education was designed largely to provide the kinds of balances suggested, and the Institute sought to provide standards for the "well-qualified non-graduate produced by the A.T.T.C." In a number of public statements, faculty members looked forward to the right of <u>every</u> Nigerian youngster to a secondary school education. No specific program for preparing primary supervising teachers was worked out, although by doctrine the College was committed to emphasis on primary education.
2. We recommend that the facilities of post-secondary educationbe made available in the long vacations for series of intensive courses which raise the standard of English while also improving the teachers' grasp of other school subjects. . . Vacation courses for secondary and training college teachers can be more modest in scope. . . "refresher courses". . .	2. The University of Nigeria did provide such a course for the least qualified of the teachers in conjunction with the Nigeria Union of Teachers (and the Canadian Federation of Teachers the first year.) Some 1,600 different teachers attended these courses. Only one course, slightly over a month in duration, was offered each long vacation. A number of short refresher courses have been provided for English, Science, and Mathematics.

3. Each university should establish an Institute of Education, with four responsibilities (a) to sponsor and aid teacher training colleges, (b) to sponsor and aid the new Grade I colleges, these became known as Advanced Teacher Training Colleges ATTCSO, (c) to conduct research on such current problems as the teaching of English. . . (d) to be responsible for diploma courses. . . and shorter courses of both the "refresher type" and in professional topics of concern to educators.	3. The University of Nigeria did establish such an Institute in January, 1963. It provided sponsorship and aid to teacher training colleges, was committed to research, "sponsored" the new Grade I college in Eastern Nigeria, and offered refresher courses. Diploma courses, in the administrative arrangement set up, were provided by the Department of Education and the Department of Vocational Education.
4. It is recommended that (vocational agriculture) teachers take a regular agricultural degree programme with the addition of a course in educational methods and ideally a practice teaching course, offered and supervised by the faculty of education.	4. A vocational agriculture degree program for teachers was worked out jointly by the Department of Vocational Education and the Faculty of Agriculture. The University judged it would be best to bring this in as a degree course in education--B.S. (Agricultural Education). Approximately one-half of the work was in Agriculture, the remainder in General Studies and Education.

on the one hand and those elements of University doctrine and program which affected the College of Education (and College of Education doctrines and programs per se) on the other. In this sense, the innovations of the College of Education were often in fact programmatic interpretations of ideas included in the Report of an expert body having no connection with the University. In attempting to secure approval of these innovations or to justify them to publics which could legitimize them, we frequently made reference to this congruence and referred to our programs as applications of Commission recommendations.

It must not be understood, however, that the Report of the Commission served as a working plan for the University, or for the College of Education. In a few respects its recommendations served as barriers to the development of the type of University which was planned for Nsukka. For example, a recommendation concerning avoidance of duplication of programs between universities ran counter to Dr. Azikiwe's dream of a genuinely "comprehensive" university, and programs at Nsukka were often established in what appeared to be direct competition with other sound existing programs elsewhere, and this often at considerable expense to the new university.

The rapid proliferation of programs at the University of Nigeria is a clear indication that this recommendation was not followed. Two other recommendations did, however, more seriously threaten the types of programs we envisaged for teachers at the University of Nigeria.

The first of these was the recommendation of the Commission that the facilities of the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology in Enugu "should be given to the University of Nigeria" and "should be the headquarters of an institute of education which would raise and maintain the standards of training colleges nearby." This recommendation was to plague the College of Education for its first two years of existence. The fact is worth mentioning in this context, not because it reveals clearly how an important decision was in fact made, but to suggest the environment of poor understanding in which the College initially operated. The Federal government, following the recommendations of the Commission, did turn over the facilities of the Nigerian College in Enugu to the University. As University facilities at Nsukka promised to be inadequate for the enormous increase in enrollment the second year, it was believed necessary to move one or more units of the University to Enugu; and the recommendations of the Commission were not overlooked by other academic units

anxious to stay at Nsukka when they urged that Education be in fact moved to Enugu. Such a proposal seriously threatened plans for the development of a unified College or faculty which offered degrees, provided in-service training, conducted research, and rendered services to schools in the field. The issue was mooted several times in the 1960-1961 academic year, and only by vehement and repeated protests did we forestall being moved. The issue was reopened again in late August 1961, at which time on behalf of the College of Education faculty I again protested such a move to the Acting Principal. This letter, while appealing to the biases of the Chancellor against previous "colonial" types of Education and the "Ibadan pattern," nonetheless is also indicative of the problems confronted by a College of Education (in a nation unfamiliar with the idea of a College or Faculty of Education) as it tried to gain a position of "respect" and be viewed as an integral part of a University Community:

> I should like to stress the extreme urgency of locating the College of Education geographically on the same campus with the Faculties of Arts and Science. Of all the units of the University, the College of Education is the least self-contained and the most dependent upon other departments in the University. The rugent need for the College of Education to be located with these faculties is attested to by the following considerations.

1. In the B.A. (Education) program, approximately 4/5ths of the student's work is taken outside of Education. Only one course in Education as such is taken during the first year. Furthermore, the courses outside of Education are not concentrated in any single department. Thus, for example, if Education were moved to Enugu, it would be necessary to offer courses in a multitude of teaching fields, in Enugu, including for example, French, English, Botany, Chemistry, Physics, Mathematics, Geography and History. The classes offered there would all be small classes but necessary for the development of the program of the different students. This would be a most un-economical use of faculty. Nor could the problem merely be solved by sending instructors to Enugu, for it would involve the splitting of our already limited library resources in each of these fields if our students in training as teachers were not to be deprived of genuine university education.

2. The notion of a self-contained Institute of Education such as has characaterized British colonial education has been vigorously rejected at this university as a matter of policy, a policy which I understood the Provisional Council has accepted. If we are moved away from the Faculties of Arts and Sciences which will offer the bulk of the work which our students will take, it will necessitate the immediate abandonment of our pioneer venture, the B.A. (Education) program. There would, in my judgment, then be nothing left but to go back to the type of Associateship courses and Child Study courses which have characterized the Institute of Ibadan. I believe this would be a serious step backward. The students aiming to be teachers, of all University students, are most in need of the cross-fertilization ideas characterizing a total university campus if the educational ferment in Nigeria is to achieve the future to which we aspire and if education in Nigeria is to produce the type of democratic character that can carry the superstructure of our freedom and all it implies.

". 3.The program in Education, as the program in any new university disciplines, faces a difficult uphill fight in achieving status and respect. The placing of the College at Enuge, necessarily an auxiliary branch of the University at this time, would seriously jeopardize the prestige and morale of students upon the quality of whose service the reputation of this University will largely depend. This College has taken pride in being the pioneed institution in Nigeria to offer the B.A. (Education) proposal for Extramural work bearing University credit and we sincerely hope that nothing will be done which will lower the prestige of these new adventures in the eyes of the greater Public. . . .

5. Nothing in this argument would prevent a portion of the College of Education from accompanying, say, a Faculty of Science to Enugu. We could then logically and willingly move those of our students who were preparing to teach science to Enugu where they would be with their appropriate basic faculty. In this case the College of Education staff would be split, but this might not be an insuperable problem.

6. If the University decides to abandon the B.A. (Education) program and the N.C.E. program and offer only extramural services courses in Education, the faculty members in Education would find the Enugu campus a satisfactory and pleasant place of residence.[1]

It was impossible to determine at the time, and it has been impossible to determine since, the extent to which such functional considerations entered into the final decision to leave the College at Nsukka, adjacent to its related Faculties of Arts, Science, and Agriculture, faculties which provided Education students with work in their teaching fields.

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[1]Memorandum UN/CE/1/129 from the Adviser in Education to the Acting Principal.

By far the most serious liability which the Report of the Commission handed the University, however, was it strong endorsement of the Sixth Form in Secondary Schools and its recommendation that such forms be rapidly expanded. As the "Sixth Form" was one of two possible juncture points for a University with the secondary schools--and one which the University rejected by and large--this recommendation served as a major barrier both to the institutionalization of the University and to the development of genuinely innovative programs in part which replaced the Sixth Form. This recommendation is also thus worthy of special note. The Commission approached the "problem" by asking itself a question, which, by excluding the very alternatives the University was to propose, largely determined the Commission's answer. This question was: "Where should Sixth-Form work be done?" Assuming the academic preparatory nature of Sixth Form work, and that the nature of such work was clearly "understood," the Commission concluded that at this level, "there is not much scope for experimental curricula, although there is plenty of scope for originality in methods of teaching." Having decided in favour of the curricula as they were then offered, the Commission considered the alternatives available,namely

that this work "could be taken in universities, special colleges, or schools," ultimately "coming down in favour of secondary schools. The great positive advantage of this arrangement is that a sixth form strengthens the rest of the school and gives tone to the whole of secondary education." In supporting sections of its Report, it further argued a prevailing colonial educator shibboleth, which some American educators view as a minor theme version of the picture of the African as a "happy child" less mature by age than his counterparts elsewhere. This view of late adolescence was made explicit. "Pupils at this stage of their education are not adequately prepared or sufficiently mature for the university environment with its greater freedom and its view of students as young adults possessing a developed or growing sense of responsibility about the disciplining of their time and study rather than as older school boys whose work at every point needs the closest supervision." This view, held despite the generally greater age of Nigerian school boys than their British counterparts,' was readily accepted by Nigerian educators, insecure themselves in the face of modernity and ambivalent about their own culture and social institutions. Indeed, they appear to have been the strongest spokesman in favour of the Secondary School Sixth Form. The

Commission further alluded to the presumed greater expense of programs at universities than in secondary schools, commenting that of the alternatives they considered, not providing such work in secondary schools would be travelling "by the most expensive vehicle to a destination which can be reached by a road on which the method of progress is at once less expensive and undeniably more satisfactory." There is no indication that the Commission did in fact gather evidence as to the relative expense of two years of post-secondary school certificate education in schools (that would thereby have to be provided with vastly superior laboratories and libraries) and work at University-level institutions (where it might have been telescoped), on the patterns of deployment of graduate teachers in schools which did have Sixth Forms and what this did to the quality of instruction in lower forms, or on the relative effect of a secondary school environment or a university environment (characterised by lecturers, libraries, laboratories, and superior instruction) in overcoming the presumed "maturity gap." It was consequently in the face of this explicit recommendation that the University had to develop its four year, integrated programs and institutionalize its emphasis on General Studies.

Although the University as a whole rejected the Higher School (Sixth Form) Certificate as the only suitable point for University entrance, this issue became a particularly serious one for the institutionality of the College of Education. This was so for two reasons: (1) because the College was the unit of the University inevitably and immediately connected with the secondary schools, and (2) because Dr. Fafunwa assumed the responsibility for carrying the argument against Secondary School Sixth Forms both on behalf of the University and in accordance with the convictions of its College of Education. This he has done in professional meetings and in the public press. His first major attack came in his address to the Conference of Principals of Secondary Schools in Nigeria, subsequently printed in the Nigerian Outlook on January 14, 1963. Arguing essentially in behalf of General Education, he turned the general arguments of the Ashby Commission for high level manpower against its own recommendations supporting the Sixth Form. Pointing to the results of a study he was conducting on the University performance of Higher School Certificate holders and West African School Certificate holders, he argued:

> Our experience so far indicates that the Nigerian undergraduate needs all or most of the course (General Studies) described above. Whether he is a sixth former or a West African School Certificate holder. Although it is too early in the game to generalize, we have not found so far any significant difference between the performance of the sixth former and the school certificate entrant in the General Education Course, except in English language.

Making no bones about his opposition to the Sixth Form, he attacked the Nigerian school people for aping British practice:

> What one cannot understand in Nigeria is the sheepish manner in which we have been following the United Kingdom practice with little or no regard to our circumstances and needs in Nigeria. . . In my considered opinion, the Sixth Form is an unnecessary bottleneck and a self-defeating process in terms of our manpower requirements. For instance, in 1959, 4,627 students sat for the West African School Certificate and 3,117 candidates or 66 percent passed. . .

Measuring the small output of Sixth Form graduates against these figures, and both against the manpower targets accepted in the Ashby Commission report, he concluded by urging a revised curriculum and school structure.

> Until these steps are taken, our educational system will continue to be alien in content and orientation, and the best student we can hope to produce would be one who is Nigerian in blood but English in opinion, in morals and in intellect. There is really nothing drastically wrong in producing such an animal, but we must set up a machinery for exporting such products. [1]

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[1] A. B. Fafunwa, "What's the Purpose of Our Education," Nigerian Outlook, January 14, 1963, p. 3.

Some support for this position was beginning to develop in Nigeria, probably partly as a result of the American education of a considerable number of the school people. Later that year a special correspondent of the Nigerian Outlook, in a five column spread, attacked the conservatism of African educational thinking, pointing specifically to the Higher School Certificate as an instance of cultural colonialism:

> But it is worth nothing that neither at Accra, Ibadan, Nairobi, Dar es Salaam nor at Makerere has the problem of earlier entrance or of a new kind of general degree, possibly additional to present degrees been tackled. The British model is, except for the very new, American fostered, University of Nigeria, Nsukka in Eastern Nigeria, being continued without the British connection.
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> It seems that anti-colonist African leaders, many of whom are themselves products of the British system, have shaken off the "shackles of cultural colonialism" only to find, in their determination to have only "the best" for their countries, a common ground with the conservatism of British expatriate cons determined to maintain standards."

Presumably arguing more on economic than on nationalist grounds, the International Seminar on Manpower Problems in Economic Development with Special Reference to Nigeria held in Lagos, in March 1964, recommended inter alia.

> Although sixth form work is expanding rapidly it is only gradually overtaking the input requirement of the universities, and particularly in the area of science; the situation is aggravated by the fact that there is a growing emphasis on the science and technology disciplines. It is, therefore, RECOMMENDED that in view of the great need for high level manpower, particularly in the science and technology disciplines in Nigeria, the universities should continue to recruit students from both the school certificate and sixth form levels. [1]

Despite such growing support and the position of the Professor of Education at the prestige Institute of Education at Ibadan that Sixth Forms were an economic luxury Nigeria could not afford, interviews with school principals suggested that the entry point of the University continued a point of issue which affected approval of the University, and therefore its College of Education. In actual fact, by 1963 only one-third of the entrants to the University of Nigeria were West African School Certificate Holders and the majority of this group were in pure and applied sciences. A comparative study by Fafunwa[2] conducted early in 1964 indicated that of students admitted in the 1961/1962 academic year there was "no significant difference between the Advanced level group and the West African School Certificate group" in terms of academic performance in the University.

Although special instructional programs for the upgrading of unqualified teachers and the inservice

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[1] Nigerian Outlook, March 20, 1963, p. 3. (Since that time several other universities in former British Africa have adopted the West African School Certificate or its equivalent as the appropriate university entry point. Authors note.)

[2] A. B. Fafunwa, The Quantity and Quality of Sixth Forms in Nigeria: Universities' Policies on Admission

programs of the Institute of Education have been previously discussed, four further instructional programs require attention in considering the institutionalization of the College of Education. These were (1) the General Studies program of the University, (2) the original Nigerian Certificate of Education program, (3) the B.A. (Education) program, and (4) the Vocational Education Degree and Certificate programs. Although the latter three were all specifically College of Education programs, and thus are part of the heart of the institutionalization process of the College, the General Studies program requires brief mention, for this program constituted a major argument in the University's rationale for repudiating the Ashby recommendation on Sixth Forms and also the major element which distinguished University of Nigeria education programs from programs which developed in other institutions.

When graduates in Education of the University were questioned concerning the advantages they saw in taking their University degrees at this institution

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and National Manpower Needs (Mimeo., May, 1964) In his study Dr. Fafunwa makes particular point of the assertion in the Robbins' Report that "the specialized sixth form, like the British Honours degree, is the exception in the world and not the rule."

rather than another, by far the largest proportion of their responses indicated that the chief advantage seen was an academic one,namely, the advantage of General Studies or Broad Education. Similarly, among the smaller sample of graduates of Arts and Sciences who have gone into teaching, General Studies or broad education was marked as the chief advantage the University of Nigeria had to offer, being noted by these graduates three times as frequently as any other characteristic. The decision to offer such a program at the University is not easy to trace, but appears to have originated when the initial advisors assembled at the University in 1960 became convinced that the first group of University students had been exposed to a secondary school (and Sixth Form) education which did little to prepare them for leadership in an independent, modern Nigeria. Consequently, the American advisory group recommended early in the academic year that the University of Nigeria introduce a program in General Studies, similar in intent to that offered at Michigan State University, and further encouraged MSU to provide assistance for such a program. This idea received further endorsement from those of us present at the Carnegie Seminar in Education that year

and from a considerable number of the American-educated Nigerians who participated in the Seminar. Programs considered in the final sessions of that Seminar included General Studies bands, and much of the discussion during the final sessions was devoted exclusively to the desirability (and extent) of such bands, a desirability which was generally endorsed and was included in the Report of the Seminar.

During the spring of 1961, two committees were consequently appointed to develop proposals for such a program. The work of these committees was ultimately coalesced, and during the summer of 1961 a final scheme for offering general studies courses was hammered out. In a meeting of the congregation (total faculty) of the University in September of that year, I was asked to present the rationale for such a program; and by a close vote (with a number of American advisory personnel participating) the decision was made to require all students to enroll in the general studies courses which had been worked out. The program, although explained to the student body by the Acting Principal, ran counter to the perceptions of the University students then enrolled, who visualized University work as appropriately falling in the "Ibadan pattern" of narrow subject-matter

specialization. Students in Political Science, in which department there was also some faculty opposition to the program, correspondingly at first refused to enroll in classes. In an emergency meeting of the four acting Deans (three American and one British adviser), it was decided that adherence to the decision was a sine qua non of University attendance and that students failing to abide by University academic policy would not be considered University students. Faced with this fact, the students capitulated and did enroll in the required courses which had been prepared. For most of the "pioneer" (by then second year) students, this meant enrollment in a course in Natural Science. First-year students were expected to enroll in a course in English Language and Usage, prepared and administered by Dr. James Noonan (a British adviser) and a course in Social Studies, administered by Dr. Mozell Hill, an American adviser. The arrival before the second term of that year of a first contingent of Peace Corps teachers provided able discussion group leaders for the program, leaders without whom the courses (several of which were inadequately structured) would unquestionably collapsed. Later that year the first advisers specifically in General Studies arrived, and patterns were also

worked out whereby students having entered the University with "advanced standing" (Sixth Form work or its equivalent) might secure waivers for one or more of the General Studies courses, depending upon the fields they had studied in the Sixth Form or the "Advanced Level" examinations they had used for University admission. From this time on the pattern of all four-year students taking General Studies courses in English, Social Studies, Natural Science, and Humanities was established, and three-year students came to take a lesser number of these courses, depending upon their entry qualifications. The program remained suspect by many faculty and students, however, and much of the credit for its survival during the first years must be given to the explicit and rigorous support of the Vice-Chancellor and the implicit support of the Chancellor. In 1962, however, Dr. Joseph Druse arrived as an MSU advisor to provide leadership for the Humanities course and Dr. Lewis Zerby arrived to head the Social Science course and provide overall coordination for the program. As these proved two of the more scholarly of American advisors sent, the program gained much in "respectability." In the 1964 academic reorganization of the University, the leadership these two scholars had provided was reaffirmed when the program was, as the College of General

Studies, made a central academic division of the University. However, it was not until the first group of graduates scored exceptionally well on Civil Service examinations (a result they attributed largely to their "broad education"), that the programs were judged "vindicated" and serious question concerning them appeared to vanish within the University Community. Although this program was an essential ingredient of all Education programs--and surprisingly became a major element in prizing University of Nigeria degrees--three other instructional programs constituted the major College of Education course interpretations of University doctrine.

Developing Academic Programs (1): Certificate Programs in Education (1961)

Unquestionably the greatest single barrier which was raised to the acceptance of the professional education program of the University of Nigeria was the first substantive public action taken by the University in the field of teacher training and the way in which it was taken. This action was the precipitate announcement by the University scarcely a month after it opened its doors, of two sub-graduate programs in Education and a newspaper announcement which further specified the

duration of the courses and the entry qualifications of candidates. On November 19, 1960, the Nigerian Outlook announced that the courses would begin in January.

The disruptive consequences of this action on development of cooperative relations between the University and the professional education "world" in Nigeria cannot be overstressed. Two plans had been laid to forestall any such rash acations, actions which MSU recognized might endanger the precarious relationship existing between those connected with American education and the Nigerian educational system. The first of these was for a Planning Seminar in Education, to be financed by Carnegie and designed to bring together noted educators (including members of the Ashby Commission) to assist in planning professional Education programs at the University. This seminar, it was hoped, would serve as a crucial briefing session for the first advisors in Education. The seminar was initially timed so as to permit Ashby Commission members to participate prior to their leaving Nigeria, thus hopefully assuring continuity between their recommendations and University program. The illness of Dr. Stearns, first Acting Principal of the University, and the pressures of opening the University unfortunately necessitated postponing this Seminar until the following February, a much less

propitious moment. The second plan was that I should familiarize myself with the Nigerian educational scene through a full year of consultation with school and Ministry personnel before launching any program in teacher education. The wisdom of this decision was clear in view of the complexity and unfamiliarity of that scene to an American educator.

To understand the complexity of the scene in formal education in the Nigeria of 1960 requires more than a perusal of the educational ladder as it then existed. Rather it requires visualizing the historical residue which remained following a period of incredibly rapid expansion in primary and secondary education accompanied by a wide variety of emergency schemes to provide teachers for schools in the years preceeding independence. Education below university level was considered a Regional responsibility, but the mobility of the teaching population, the recognition that there were common elements in the problems to be faced by all Regions, and the sense of "nationalism" which preceeded independence had led to creating the professional (and also an administrative) advisory machinery described in Chapter V.

In the year in which the University of Nigeria was born only one-third of the primary teachers in Eastern Nigeria were trained, yet 37% of the Region's recurrent budget was devoted to education (largely to primary schools). Of the one-third of the teachers who had received some training, most had received it through various forms of "emergency training schemes," or schemes no longer considered adequate and soon to be abandoned. Most schools were administered by churches ("voluntary agencies") which received government subvention for operating the schools, yet had many considerations other than academic in mind in operating these schools. Consequently, fees collected too often went to other uses. Merit promotions of teachers had long been discarded as impracticable in a society where achievement norms corroded under the impact of tribalism, family obligations, and corruption, and where supervision or assessment of teachers by anyone qualified to engage in supervision was a virtual impossibility. Confronted with this situation, Ministries had worked out salary schedules which took account of all recognized categories of teachers, whatever their training or education had been and whenever it had occurred. Such scales were carefully balanced, largely on the basis of the

number of years of academic or professional training the teacher possessed. In 1960 there were 6,449 primary schools in Eastern Nigeria alone, with 44, 478 teachers who had to be paid by the Voluntary Agency concerned from a government grant plus an assumed local contribution (ALC) in the form of fees or a local tax. To make order out of the confusion which existed, the Ministry of Education in Eastern Nigeria had in 1960 established twenty-eight salary scales for voluntary agency schools carefully graded and balanced in terms of a rationalized scheme of assessing qualifications. In addition there existed a somewhat higher scale for teachers in training colleges and secondary schools operated by the Government itself. Ministry of Education budgets were drawn up in relation to teachers on these salary schedules and any threat to the salary system was a threat to Ministerial planning and certain to arouse the strongest official opposition.

It was against this structure that the Finance and General Purposes Committee, acting on behalf of the Council of the University, launched in November 1960, two proposed programs which were lead to a certificate and a diploma. These ignored completely the elaborate salary structure which already existed. The combination of the entry points which were advertized in the press and the "number of years" of training announced for the

courses produced two new categories of teachers who would fit into none of the existing scales. Furthermore, as these courses were advertized on a Federation-wide basis, they cut across the pattern not only of one Ministry of Education but of each of the four Ministries of Education in the Federation. They were launched without proceeding through the accepted consultative and legitimizing procedure which had been used for a number of years when introducing any new training program in Nigeria. This was the way programs in professional education began at the University of Nigeria! It goes without saying that in the eyes of those in the Ministries it was a beginning point decidedly below zero.

Writing a paper for this study five years after the fact, Mr. N.O. Ejiogu, then Chief Inspector in the Eastern Nigeria Ministry of Education, described the reaction of the Ministry to the launching of this program as follows:

> Although the University of Nigeria had been founded with funds provided by the Government of Eastern Nigeria and placed under the jurisdication of the Premier's Office, it was unfortunate that its Faculty of Education did not initiate adequate and effective communication with the Ministry of Education as early as was deemed necessary. This apparently led to the University adopting certain measures which ran counter to the established policies operating in the Ministry. For example, it was through a radio announcement published later in the local press that the Ministry of Education got

> the information that some Grade II teachers were being admitted to the University on a 2-year diploma programme in education with a view to placement on the new sub-graduate scale of salary after its completion. Both the Ministry and the school proprietors re-acted very unfavorably to what they regarded as a precipitate and irregular action on the part of the University, and agreed not to accord professional recognition to such half-baked teachers as would be produced by the 2-year diploma programme.

Although the advisors Education were taken as much by surprise by the announcement as were the Ministry and the Proprietors (I learned of it only through the newspaper account to which Mr. Ejiogu refers), it was immediately assumed that the College of Education must be responsible for launching these courses.

The reasons for the decision to launch such programs are not difficult to discern. The University, which was launched in October to coincide with Independence, was ostensibly a "land-grant type" University designed to emphasize and give attention to the applied fields of study, especially as determined by Nigerian "needs." Yet, by virtue of faculty on hand, original advertisements for students, and facilities available it had been necessary to limit initial enrollment of students to those in the arts, social sciences, and mathematics. Even before the opening of the University, it was decided that of the applied fields, Education would be the easiest to get underway and that in Eastern

Nigeria, Education and Agriculture were the two applied fields deserving highest initial priority. It was in accordance with these judgments that Richmond Davis, an Adviser in Vocational Education, and I, an Advisor on the overall Education program, had been appointed to the initial advisory group, each of us with the understanding that we should "study the Nigerian educational system and social context" for a year before launching programs.

Before the meeting of the Finance and General Purposes Committee at which the program was decided upon and announced, the MSU advisors had been asked their advice on launching vocational programs and had recommended that no new programs be launched before spring. At the meeting of the Committee, Dr. Azikiwe (apparently keenly aware of the shortage of qualified teachers in Eastern Nigeria and possibly desiring to provide a more balanced image of the University) overrode this recommendation and urged launching certificate and diploma programs in Education immediately. The Finance and General Purposes Committee acted upon his suggestion, deciding in favour of the two programs mentioned. Its Secretary, Mr. Chukwudebe (once an Officer in the Ministry of Education) was given the task of setting entry qualifications, determining course

purpose, and advertising the courses. This he did unilaterally, consulting neither the qualified advisers present nor the acting head of the professional education program (whom he considered less informed than himself about Nigerian education). Neither did he consult any of the Ministries of Education, either individually or through the joint consultative machinery, with which he was surely familiar.

It is clear at this point that no attempt was made to distinguish between the functions of the University Council in setting broad policy and its functions in deciding administrative and acacemic means for implementing policy. As this was a pattern which was to mark its activities for four years, it served as one of the decisive turning points in the history of the University. When, at the next meeting of the Committee I was requested to submit the course syllabi outlined for the programmes which had been announced, the Committee not only revised the academic syllabi but further decided to inform all academic units that detailed syllabi were henceforth to be submitted to the Finance and General Purposes Committee for its consideration.

The radio and press announcement of the programs came fortunately at the time I was attending for the first time a meeting of the Reference Committee on Teacher Training, a unit in the formal legitimizing system for teacher training programs throughout the Federation. I entered the meeting to be confronted by an angry Federal adviser with a newspaper announcement of the proposed course, courses which I knew nothing at all. Although in a strained atmosphere, I was able to explore with the Ministry officials present (who were well aware of Dr. Azikiwe's proclivity for unilateral decisions) the proper steps which might be taken to regularize the program and contribute not to further chaos in education but to the planned upgrading of the teaching profession.

Following this unpropitious beginning, we made every effort to rectify the damage it had done through confirming suspicions of professional persons within the Ministries that the new university was to be a "political university," run without consideration of the practical consequences of its actions on the educational system in Nigeria. The first occasion to remedy this impression came at the meeting of the Joint Consultative Committee a month later. As Mr. Chukwudebe's letter to the Northern Ministry of Education had been forwarded to the Federal Ministry "for recommendation," it was

possible for me to meet with the Chief Federal Adviser on Teacher Training and two representatives of the Northern Ministry of Education. We reviewed the variety of training courses already existing in Nigeria, the remuneration provided for each, and the content in each. After this meeting (which Dr. Stearns attended with me), we emphasized by memorandum to the Acting Principal the danger to the reputation of the University and the harm which would result to individual students if courses were offered which would not subsequently be granted remuneration at least comparable to that awarded graduates of courses of equal duration at other institutions, a condition dependent upon offering sound courses and employing the appropriate consultation and legitimization channels.

As entrance requirements had already been publicly advertized, it was judged necessary to proceed with the programs. Applicants were consequently screened by means of an admissions examination. The limited number of applicants for the one year course,plus the results of this examination, allowed us to cancel that course; but forty students were admitted for a two year "diploma" program. As both Dr. Stearns and I were present in advisory capacities, Dr. Johnson divided

our responsibilities, asking Dr. Stearns to assume major responsibility for developing the diploma course and asking me to devote my attention more directly to the degree course which we hoped to begin the following year.

The Finance and General Purpose Committee did recognize that additional staff would be needed. The process used to select faculty in Education is described in Chapter IV. As faculty were not available at the time students were to report, however, it was necessary to schedule students in courses in a variety of disciplines, for which existing University staff were available, even though these had little or no relation to their subsequent teaching careers and were unacceptable as "course content" by the Ministries of Education.

Between January and March, programs were drawn up for the students who had already been admitted and for any students who might subsequently be admitted to the diploma program. These were discussed with the Ministry of Education in Enugu and the Federal Ministry of Education in Lagos. On the basis of discussions with these Ministries, substantial modifications in the program were made. Both the Federal Ministry and the Eastern Ministry gave formal assurance

that they would support the revised programs. In the subsequent meeting of the Reference Committee on Teacher Training, further modifications of future entry requirements and program were made; and Mr. Kay, Chief Federal Adviser on Teacher Training, urged appropriate and even generous salary scales for the recipients of the diploma. Representatives of the Northern Ministry indicated their willingness to recommend these scales to their Ministry, Representatives of the Eastern Ministry requested the opportunity to discuss the matter with the Eastern Nigeria School Board (a statutory advisory body), and the representatives of the Western Ministry indicated they wished to refer the matter to their Ministry. At the subsequent meeting of the Joint Consultative Committee, final action was again requested, on this occasion the main burden of the argument for the programs being born by Mr. Kay of the Federal Ministry and by Mr. Awokoya, new chief Federal Adviser on Education. By this time our relations with Mr. Kay were excellent. His reply to my thanks for his support of the program was typical of the attitude we were to encounter from most British professional officers: "Fair is fair: you came to us and both sought and accepted our advice. We believe the program proposed is sound and we had an obligation to support it." The Western Ministry of Education

refused to support the program,however; and as Joint Consultative Committee recommendations required unanimity to be binding, the decision on salary recognition to be awarded the diplomas remained uncertain.

This uncertainty about the salary recognition to be given the program the first education students were pursuing, coupled with the wide disparity in recognition and status between "certificates" and "degrees" in Nigeria, led to considerable unhappiness on the part of the first Education students. Under the circumstance, the only feasible strategy appeared to be one of keeping them apprized of the efforts we were making on their behalf, while at the same time attempting to prevent a reoccurrence of the problem in the future. In May, twenty-seven of the students who possessed entry qualifications which approached those established by the University for degree entrance and who had achieved good first term results, were permitted to transfer into the degree course effective the next academic year. Permission was also obtained from the University Council to suspend "temporarily" future admissions into this program in order that we might concentrate on our proposed degree program. In a memorandum to the Council in April, 1963, Dr. Fafunwa

proposed permanent elimination of the diploma course in view of the University's participation in the development of an Advanced Teacher Training College which offered similar courses and did have Ministry approval; and in 1964 the last of the Education students admitted for the still unrecognized diploma course was transferred into the recognized degree program.

In addition to muddying the waters with the Ministries of Education, the ill-advised launching of this course set a number of bad precedents within the University. First and foremost, it established a policy of ignoring or overriding academic and professional determination on academic programs, content, and personnel requirements. Not only did the University Council undertake to legislate, without professional advice, on matters of teacher training when it originally announced the course, but in its Finance and General Purposes Committee Meeting of January 16, 1961, began hiring practices and set hiring policies which aborted important programs called for in College plans. By undertaking close vetting of academic syllabi, furthermore, the Finance and General Purpose Committee set the unfortunate precedent of interferring directly in academic matters, presuming thereby to an academic competence

it clearly lacked. (A number of course titles were changed and an additional professional course was inserted into the curriculum of the diploma program, the insertion running exactly counter to the recommendations of the official consultative machiner.) The Committee went further in asking that "the detailed programmes for all courses now being offered be submitted in Council" to assure that "course content should be in line with the concepts of the University." The second unfortunate effect on the University of the decisions establishing this program was that they broke down the distinction between academic and administrative matters at the University. The reputation built up in this and similar instances were to bear final fruit six years later when the first public edict of the new Military Government in Eastern Nigeria included a public announcement of its intention to turn control of academic affairs at the University over to academicians.

Any attempt to assess the overall impact on College institutionality with Ministries of Education must, however, likewise take into consideration the fact that in the protracted series of negotiations with the Eastern and Federal Ministries of Education (negotiations which became increasingly amicable) much of the initial ill-will and suspicion was dissipated. It seems

probable that the Ministries felt, and rightly so, that the University had in the process learned much about the requirements of the educational establishment in Nigeria. Coupled with the decision of the University to use the West African School Certificate, rather than the Higher School Certificate, as an admission qualification, the entire incident did, however, confirm their suspicion that this new "American sponsored" university was not sufficiently committed to "maintaining standards."

Developing Academic Programs (II): The Bachelors Degree in Education (1961)

The Cook-Hannah-Taggart Report, in naming Education a priority a field, had urged that it must be concerned with "leadership in the development of more professional elementary and secondary school programmes," with "creating new teachers," and with "raising the standards of those. . . in the profession." Obviously these latter charges implied teaching programs of some form or other. The inapposite diploma program established by the University Council was the first such program launched. The decision that an undergraduate degree program in education would be a more defensible type of program was the chief recommendation concerning

instructional programs contained in the proposed Development Plan drawn up and approved in February, 1961. This enabled us to advertise for and admit students for a degree program in the 1961-1962 academic year.

The doctrinal legitimization for this program came both from the Ashby Report on Post-School Certificate and Higher Education and from our own Report of the Carnegie Seminar on Education, a seminar which had been designed to assist the University in planning its professional education programs. (see pp. 326-332 above) The Ashby Report recommenced explicitly "that all Nigerian universities should institute a degree of B.A. (Education). The Joint Consultative Committee on Education accepted this proposal, but the Federal Government in its White Paper Educational Development, 1961-1970 did not specifically endorse the proposal, instead designating the training of graduate teachers as "the responsibility of universities."

The recommendations of the Ashby Commission provided part of the background against which the Carnegie Seminar on Education met in February, 1961; and the Commission's recommendation that Education become an undergraduate degree subject was discussed seriously, sometimes heatedly. It was clear from the discussions of the seminar that there were widely divergent opinions

on the relative merits of an undergraduate Education degree and of the familiar Post-Graduate Certificate of Education which normally followed after a degree in a subject field. In summarizing the conclusions of the debate, however, the final report of the Seminar indicated:

> There seemed to be agreement among the majority of the participants that a degree course in education was desirable. It was fully agreed that such a course should include a professional component, a general education component, and one principal and one subsidiary teaching subject. . . .
>
> Much attention was given to the nature of the degree program which should be offered. While there was no attempt made to formalize recommendations on specific courses in the degree program, there did seem to be support for the following types of courses or learning experiences in such a program:
>
> A. PROFESSIONAL COMPONENT . . .
> B. SOCIAL ACTION COMPONENT: Among the types of courses or experiences suggested in building this component were:
> 1. Community study.
> 2. Group dynamics, placing emphasis not on formal group dynamics skills but rather on locating of problems, [redacted], and solutions in a supportive emotional situation.
> 3. Actual experience in working on community change and improvement projects.
> 4. Attention to the philosophy of community, that is, "what is it that makes a good community?"
> C. TEACHING SUBJECT COMPONENT (one major and one minor)
> D. GENERAL EDUCATION
>
> Although there was not full agreement on the "structure" of the program, three general plans with modifications were supported by various members of the seminar. These plans were as follows:

Plan A. This plan would call for admission beyond Higher School Certificate or its equivalent, followed by three years in an honours course in a teaching field or a general course, followed in turn by a Post-Graduate Certificate in Education. All agree this option should be one of those available to students.*

Plan B. This plan called for admission beyond Higher School Certificate or its equivalent, followed by a three-year Bachelors Degree Course in Education (Professional education plus teaching fields plus general education components.) this course seemed to have majority approval among the participants.

Plan C. This plan called for admission beyond the West African School Certificate or its equivalent, followed by a four-year Bachelors Course in Education (Professional education plus teaching fields plus general education components). This plan appeared to have minority support among the participants.

Much of the disagreement concerning the structure of the program hinged upon the question of what was the most practical and efficient entry point for students into a university program. The major issue in this field came as to whether it was most efficient and practical to admit students at the WASC level or at the HSC level. An additional problem which was not resolved was how to handle students who had come up through the Teacher Training College route rather than through the secondary school route.

A second problem which was considered was that of recognition of the graduates of any program which was established, a problem which might be complicated if the WASC was used as the admissions standard.**

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*This was the existing program, and hence could not be considered an "innovation."

**Carnegie Seminar on Education: February 1-4, 1961, Nsukka, Preliminary Content Report, pp. 3-7.

Following the Seminar it became my responsibility as Acting Head of the College of Education, with such help as I could acquire from the faculty which was present, to devise a program which might lead to a degree. Although the specific pattern of courses had to be altered considerably when the University adopted a general education program quite different from that which I believed to be called for, the general program recommendation in the Development Plan which was drawn up and approved was that beginning with 1961-1962 academic year we implement both Pattern B and Pattern C described in the Report of the Carnegie Seminar (Pattern A was recommended for implementation in 1963-1964, the academic year following the award of the University's first undergraduate degrees in the Arts and Sciences.) In place of the four-subject, three-subject, two-subject pyramid proposed by the Ashby Commission, the design including two academic fields and professional education for all years, plus the University General Studies requirements. Aside from specific course recommendations, however, two further innovations were recommended:

> In view of the fact that this is a professional degree, requiring practical internship work as well as academic work, the total program of studies is slightly heavier than that demanded of arts and science students. The additional load is carried in two summer internship projects which are carried on under the supervision of the College of

> Education in conjunction with the professional component of the program. (One summer internship in a Planned Community Development Project between the third and fourth years; the second summer internship consisting of Practical Teaching following the fourth year.)
>
> Because of the unique routes of training for the teaching profession in Nigeria, and the special demands placed upon teachers, the entrance requirements proposed vary slightly from those of the University. . . and advertisements for the admission of students should clearly indicate this. Most of the variation is in the form of additional requirements specifically related to teaching performance, but an additional regular course of entry is proposed:

The first, and more regular, course of entry was for holders of the West African School Certificate who passed an entrance examination. For these candidates we wished to keep open the possibility of also requiring three years of successful teaching experience and additional assessment by interview. The second route was for students who possessed the Teachers Grade II Certificate with credit in Principles and Practice of Education and/or English. (This would mean they had been among the most successful of those who had specifically completed a course which was held in lower repute than secondary education.) The University Council rejected the second entry route as being too "revolutionary" in a period when the University was likely to come under fire for accepting even the first. (The "announced" regular admissions point to Ibadan was Higher School Certificate, a Certificate

earned by examination at the end of a two-year "Sixth Form" or Post-Secondary School course.) Several years later the right to interview candidates was also withdrawn from the College on grounds of alleged abuses, in which College faculty were said to have promised students entry prior to formal action by the University Admissions Board.

During the months that followed the Carnegie Seminar in Education the staff of the College engaged in a series of discussions concerning its projected programs. The concept of a degree in education was accepted by those present, and both Dr. Ukeje and Dr. Fafunwa who were not to join the faculty until later endorsed this kind of program. The reasons for its acceptance seem clear. The ranking members of the faculty present, and the advisers in education, were American educated. They were strongly committed to the idea that all teachers should (1) be trained as "professionals" and not merely as academicians; (2) that subject matter courses would take on meaning if they were studied in parallel with professional courses; (3) that developing the attitudes and skills required for "educational statesmanship" would require several years; and (4) that it was urgent that we get students on whom we could have a long and presumably consistent impact. The fact that this program had

been"legitimized" by the Ashby Commission, headed by a "status figure" in British education, gave it greater acceptability to those members of the staff who were not American educated; and the strong support to Dr. Azikiwe, who had examined and endorsed the original program, likewise enhanced its acceptability with the faculty members whom he and the University Council had just selected.

During the long vacation that began in June, 1961, the staff visited nearly two hundred schools throughout Eastern Nigeria in order to familiarize itself with the actual problems being confronted by schools and teachers in the field. In August we reassembled to design our degree program. The program as then designed was the product of deliberation and agreement, reflecting not only the professional judgments of the staff but also reflecting their concern that each of them in fact have a significant berth in teaching. The result of this concern for "each his place" was a program (1) which was overloaded with professional courses and had to be later pruned to make way for academic work in teaching fields, and (2) included courses ordinarily considered of post-graduate level. Both "administration" and"curriculum development" received major attention in the undergraduate program. The inclusion of these

latter courses can be accounted for (1) by resentment of American-educated Nigerian faculty members that British tradition placed academic teachers rather than professionally trained administrators at the head of schools, thus "building in" a traditional academic bias and often assuring poor administrative procedure; and (2) by the fact that adapting the curriculum to the Nigerian culture and needs was a major article in their educational faith. The general theoretical orientation of the Faculty (all but one majored in philosophy, anthropology, comparative education, social foundations, or child development,) also meant that there was a strong bias in favour of broad philosophical-social-psychological courses rather than "methods work"--the latter also suffering the disadvantage of being associated with the low-repute Teacher Training Colleges in Nigeria. The program designed was also unique in that it attempted to divide the program into various streams, depending upon whether the student (1) anticipated returning to work in a Teacher Training College (preparing primary school teachers), (2) anticipated returning to a secondary school, or (3) wished special emphasis on Testing and Guidance (not recognized job categories) or Educational Administration. Additional programs were worked out by

the adviser in Vocational Education for four fields: Agricultural Education, Home Economic Education, Business Education, and Industrial Arts.

The earlier plan that all students be required to have genuine internship in community development during one vacation was changed to what proved, in practice, to be a pious hope that students would "often be expected to engage in a community study and. . . take part in a community development or community education project, prefereably involving a school." On the other hand, a course in Research in Education was introduced, which became for most students an empirical field study. The community development concept appears to have been been abandoned largely because of the accurate belief that most students in the program would have to teach during the vacation to help cover their university fees, although it is likewise doubtful if most members of the staff really saw much connection between "community development work" and the task of the "school teacher."

In the University's second academic year, 1961-62, approximately one hundred new students entered this program in addition to students who were permitted to transfer in from the ill-starred diploma program. The first contact of these students with professional education

was in a course in the "Social Foundations of Education," which dealt explicitly with the role of education in society, presenting essentially a social-reconstructionist interpretation of that role. In addition, or by way of illustration, the doctrine of the University of Nigeria itself was examined in this course. This strong indoctrination period may in part account for the ability of many of the first graduates in Education to at at least verbalize the doctrine of the University, as was revealed during this research study. As the degree course was ultimately, three or four years later, bound together by a capstone seminar also largely concerned with societal problems and education, this degree virtually assured that students would at least verbalize a pragmatic philosophy of education, a philosophy which the first External Examiner commented upon but judged to be an emphasis of genuine commitment, not of mere memorization.

The question as to whether such a program would in fact be accepted by the relevant publics remained open. A large number of students did receive financial support, but the fact that the status of the course had not been officially acknowledged by ministries continued to cause

uncertainty. In July, 1965, the Public Service Commission of Eastern Nigeria suspended interviews for the post of Education Officer because it had difficulty in evaluating this new degree. It thereupon requested information from the Ministry of Education on how evaluation should be made, commenting that members of the Commission judged "this degree was specially suited for teaching in Teacher Training Colleges rather than secondary schools."

Informed of the issue at hand, Dr. Fafunwa of the College argued the case for recognition on the basis of previous decisions in the Joint Consultative Committee which had suggested that such degrees be granted the highest salary recognition. He further pointed to the relation of these programs to the "needs" of Nigeria, to the recommendations of the Ashby Commission and concluded with a final appeal to Nigerian progressivism:

> It will be of interest to you to learn that three Nigerian Universities, spearheaded by Nsukka, pioneered these new areas of teacher education; thus Nigeria can proudly claim to have shown the way to other Commonwealth Universities. The now famous Robbins' Report on UNITED KINGDOM HIGHER EDUCATION, issued late in 1963 recommended a similar degree for the United Kingdom and two British Universities have adopted the programme.
>
> I should think that Nigeria should be proud for showing Britain the way at least for once and I can only hope that our Public Service Commissions and the various Nigerian Ministries of Education will not frustrate our pioneering and subsequent graduates by under paying them.

The Chief Inspector of Education in the Eastern Nigerian Ministry of Education, to whom the matter was first referred in the Ministry, was more circumspect in his endorsement:

> Until a few years ago University graduates who wished to enter the teaching profession, be they Honours of General Degree holders were required to do an extra year of professional training in order to become reasonably effective either as teachers or educational administrators. Because of this additional year of study after graduation many a would-be graduate teacher drifted into other professions. The B.A. (Education) was designed apparently to kill two birds with one stone-attracting to the teaching profession people of the right calibre who would not only study their special subjects up to the University level, but will have had adequate professional training to make them effective both as teachers and administrators. Such teachers are less likely to be lured away from the profession, which is an added advantage in producing them.
>
> In submitting its own proposal for introducing the three-year B.A. (Education), the Ibadan University has made the important point that in this new degree course the post-graduate Certificate in Education is adequately catered for by the long vacation courses, periods of observation and teaching practice which are conducted without prejudice to the academic content of the B.A. (Education) programme.
>
> My view is that a Secondary School doing Sixth Form work has as much need for a graduate with Honours degree as it has for a B.A. (Education) especially if the latter is trained in the method of teaching his one or two special subjects carried up to degree level. I would allow two or three more years before making an comparative assessment of the effectiveness of the two categories in our secondary schools and Teacher Training Colleges.
>
> I therefore recommend equal consideration for both in matters of appointment, depending on subjects combination.

Recognizing that the matter was a national one, the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry referred the matter to Ministries in each of the regions, and following the next meeting of the National Reference Committee on Teacher Training, he was able to inform the Office of the Premier and the Public Service Commission that all governments of the Federation, including that of the Eastern Nigeria, had now accepted the recommendation of the Reference Committee, namely:

> that teachers holding the B.A. (Education) qualification (a general honours three=year degree course in Education) should be recognized as graduates with teaching qualifications provided that they had two subjects at the G.C.E. ("A" level) or its equivalent before their admission to a three-year course or that they passed the entrance examination before admission to a four-year course.

This meant that throughout the Federation holders of the B.A. (Education) were to be accorded the top teaching salary scale, a scale hitherto reserved for persons who had received degrees in subject matter fields <u>plus</u> an additional post-graduate year. This placed the B.A. (Education) graduates in the privileged position apparently intended by the Ashby Commission.

As a specific instance in institutionalization, it is interesting to note that this program moved from a position where, at the Carnegie Seminar in Education in 1961, it was a subject to considerable debate to a position

four years later in which it was approved by all Ministries for most preferential salary treatment. A number of factors help account for this: (1) The program was specifically designed to face up to crucial and increasingly recognized problems in the educational environment. (See Appendix B by the then Chief Inspector of Education.) (2) The program had been legitimized both by the prestigeous Ashby Commission Report and by referral through the formal consultative processes recognized by the Ministries. (3) It was a proposal introduced not only by Nsukka but by the "Premier" University in Nigeria (Ibadan). (4) The most "sensitive" element in the original proposed program (admission via the Teacher Training Route) had been recognized by the University Council as too threatening and therefore deleted. (5) Final legitimization came at a time when it had already been possible for the College of Education to support the Ministry in carrying out certain of its projects, rather than at a time when the College still appeared either an untamed "maverick" or a competitor to the Ministry. As all but one graduate of the program for whom the University or College possessed any address had been accepted for teaching or an administrative position in education, it appeared also to have gained a considerable degree oe institutionality with school proprietors in Nigeria.

The extent to which the program would be able to achieve its stated purpose of providing "leadership" and meeting the most pressing "needs" of Nigerian education could not be ascertained at the time of the study. Most graduates had been out too short a time (one or two years) to either introduce any significant changes into their schools or to assume the number of leadership positions which could greatly influence the decision-making bodies.

A further unresolved problem of implementing the doctrine implicit in the program was that of balancing teacher-output to areas of teacher demand. The lack of teachers and facilities for science in the secondary schools precluded students from doing science courses in the University; inability to take science courses due to lack of prerequisites or fear of such courses in turn prevented the production of science teachers. Thus, out of a total of 257 students in the Department of Education in 1965-66 with declared major and minor teaching fields only seventeen had both major and minor teaching fields in science or mathematics and only eleven additional students had one teaching field in science or mathematics. On the other hand, 131 students listed history as their major and fifty-one listed geography in the same category, although these are probably the two major teaching

fields in which a sufficiency or superfluity of teachers already exists. This remains at present an unresolved problem in designing a degree program to meet recognized needs, when the prerequisites for courses in teaching field and the provision of propadeutic courses are not subject to the control or even significant influence of the College of Education.

Developing Academic Programs (III): Certificate and Degree Programs in Vocational Education (1961-1965)

The importance of training vocational teachers was recognized from before the opening of the University of Nigeria. Dr. Troy Stearns, first Acting Principal of the University, strongly recommended the immediate appointment of an Advisor in Vocational Education following his first visit to Nigeria in 1960. The original Plan of Work for the Development of the University of Nigeria included provision for such an advisor (one of two advisors in Education) as part of the MSU commitment. The urgency of the task to be performed in Vocational Education was matched only by its difficulty. Although there were only two secondary schools in Eastern Nigeria (the Enugu Technical Institute and Bishop Shanahan's Secondary School), offering technical subjects at the

time of the Ashby Report, it was clear that Nigeria stood on the verge of rapidly expanding the number of "technical wings" for secondary schools. At that time (1959) there was no local provision for training staff for such schools, and an expert study found only one graduate with technical qualifications and industrial experience in the Region. Confirming this the Straker Report of that year found no adequate provisions to replace expatriate technical instructors by Nigerians anywhere in the Federation. In the field of agricultural education, spaces were frequently unfilled in 1959 in the agricultural schools of Nigeria, due to the unpopularity of traditional agriculture and the difficulty of establishing modern commercial forms. The only genuine alternative to grammar school education was the commercial school, providing a curriculum leading to an examination of the Royal Society of Arts. Seventeen commercial secondary schools existed in Eastern Nigeria in 1959, and an expert study of education at the time found almost all of these run entirely for private profit with little regard for standards of staffing or accommodation.
By 1960 the number of technical and vocational schools had increased to nine. Although the number of such schools vacillated, student enrollment increased steadily and by 1963 seven such schools existed and enjoyed a

total enrollment of 1,688 (five times the figure enrolled in 1959). Siminarly, by 1963, the number of secondary commercial schools had increased to twenty. In view of the stress the Ashby Commission placed upon manpower development, it is not surprising it emphasized the need for technician training and commercial education to the middle level. Subsequent reports by Cottier and Caunce, and J. W. Gailer, following the Commission Report, developed proposals for the expansion of technical education. Gailer surveying the situation in 1962, for example, found a "continuing need for technical teachers at all levels and for steps. . . to deal with this problem."

Despite the original intent of the University to emphasize vocational education, considerable difficulty was encountered. The uncertainties of the first year of the University and the problems involved in becoming acquainted with the Nigerian educational scene in particular led to getting off to a slow start. When I requested that the original Adviser in Vocational Education be appointed a member of the Rural Science Reference Committee of the Federation, we were turned down because he had not yet had occasion to familiarize himself with the various rural training programs in Nigeria. It

was also difficult to visit and learn about such other limited vocational facilities as existed. Prior to the opening of the second academic year, however, Dr. Davis did find it possible to think through instructional programs, and four year degree programs were planned on paper in Business Education, Agricultural Education, Industrial Arts Education, and Home Economics Education, although these programs were worked out separately from the College of Education and did not include the course requirements established by the College. Despite special consideration of applicants who might be willing to do their work in vocational education, and special inducemetns provided by giving Vocational Education students "double priority" in awarding scholarships, little effective progress was made in implementing the program. Lack of instructional staff and facilities, other responsibilities undertaken by the Adviser, scarce applicants, and lack of attraction of some vocational fields combined to handicap program development. By the time the first American direct-hire faculty member arrived in Vocational Education, the program had withered away again to one student (in Vocational Agriculture); and the program as a whole existed only on paper. Consequently, this faculty member spent his first year teaching elsewhere

in the University. Meanwhile several able counterparts were selected and sent to the United States for Advanced Training.

Beginning with the 1963-1964 academic year and the arrival of a Nigerian Head of Department and a Vocational Education Adviser able to devote his time exclusively to the Department, a program began to develop. The new adviser was able to devote much of the time between August and December, 1963, to visits to and study of vocational education in Nigeria. At the conclusion of this period, a departmental plan of work was produced jointly by the staff. Major targets in this plan were (1) establishing programs in vocational teacher education and (2) developing a program for curriculum improvement and instructional materials for vocational fields in Nigeria. In accordance with these general departmental objectives, and with the support of the College of Education and the University administration, a proposal for a pilot program designed to produce secondary school teachers of pre-vocational and pre-technical subjects, to develop curriculum guides with accompanying instructional resources, and to prepare teacher trainers was presented to the Ford Foundation for its support. A grant of $150,000 was forthcoming. The University of Nigeria simultaneously committed itself

to providing a new building and expanding and training staff. During the academic year 1965-1966 construction on a planned vocational education building was finally begun; but in the meantime instructional programs were planned and launched, albeit with inadequate facilities.

Prior to presentation of this proposal to the Ford Foundation, members of the Department of Vocational Education began actively participating in committee work sponsored by the Eastern Nigeria Ministry of Education and aimed at developing appropriate curricula for new trade schools proposed for the Region. One Committee addressed itself specifically to drawing guidelines for the preparation of teachers for these new schools. These guidelines provided a basis for the subsequent development of Industrial Education curricula at the University, of which two were developed.

The first of these was a non-degree program of three years duration leading to a special Nigerian Certificate of Education in Vocational Education. This program was intended to provide teachers of prevocational and pretechnical subjects for secondary schools throughout the nation, and its students were selected on a Federation-wide basis. Designed for eventual transfer to the Advanced Teacher Training Colleges, this program prepares

teachers who have not only basic technical or vocational knowledge but, in common with other University of Nigeria programs, provides a supplementary background in professional education and in General Studies. Worked out jointly with the Ministry of Education, the program was specifically endorsed by the Eastern Nigeria Ministry which agreed to support it through the consultative and legitimizing channels. The College correspondingly referred the program to the Reference Committee on Teacher Training and thence to the Joint Consultative Committee, the normal legitimization process, where the program received formal legitimization in January, 1965, as an approved program leading to the Nigerian Certificate of Education. By the 1965-1966 academic year thirty students from throughout the Federation were enrolled in this program.

A second curriculum leading to the B.A. (Education) in Vocational Education, has been designed to prepare both teachers for secondary schools and potential leaders in vocational education in Nigeria. Teachers prepared in either program are judged suitable for either the new, experimental comprehensive schools or for the technical wings now appearing in an increasing number of secondary schools.

The contrast between the approach to institutionalizing these curricula and the approach of institutionalizing earlier curricula is remarkable. Curricula in this instance were worked out jointly from 1963 onward with top officials in the Eastern Nigeria Ministry of Education. Programs for the new schools in Nigeria were developed simultaneously with the development of programs to train teachers for them. Members of the faculty of the Department of Vocational Education were coopted by the Ministry of Education for this purpose. Close working relations were maintained between the Department of Vocational Education and the College of Education and the program consequently accorded well with College and University requirements. The approval of the Ministry of Education was sought before programs were launched, and with this approval in hand the College went through the official consultative machinery for legitimizing programs and assuring adequate salary recognition for graduates of them.

Meanwhile considerable progress has been made in developing programs for Vocational Agriculture teachers. The Department of Vocational Education, working with Mr. Ross Blount of the Faculty of Agriculture, revised the curriculum in Vocational Agriculture during 1965. It is

not clear, however, that the same close cooperation developed between the Ministry and Department in this instance. Unfortunately the Department of Vocational Education is not represented on the Regional Advisory Committee on Agricultural Education, on which the Dean of the Faculty of Agriculture of the University serves as chairman. Failure to secure this direct linkage has led to the feeling in the Ministry that there is no assurance that plans in this area fit needs as these are viewed by the Ministry. Similarly, programs in the training of Business Education teachers and Home Economics teachers have been worked out between the Departments involved at the University, but it would appear that less adequate linkage has been established between Ministry and Department concerning these.

By the 1965-1966 academic year a total of twenty-five students were enrolled in degree courses in Busines Education and Agricultural Education, but prior to the time of the study only one student has been graduated from the Department of Vocational Education. It is, thus, extremely difficult to judge the extent of institutionality of these programs outside the University. It is, however, certain that they stand as <u>examplars par excellence</u> of the pragmatic, vocational strain in the University doctrine, and as good examples of developing

interdepartmental linkages for program development within the University.

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In concluding a paper on the pattern of relations which developed between the University and the Eastern Nigeria Ministry of Education, N.O. Ejiogu, former Chief Inspector of Education, commented as follows:

> Graduates of the University of Nigeria are already taking their rightful places in the labor market and are to be found in various walks of life. In the field of Educationthey occupy positions as Education Officers teaching at all levels including Sixth Forms of the secondary schools. Some are principals of newly established schools, and there is nothing to suggest that they have been unequal to their tasks. Others have been accepted for higher studies in older and world-famous universities.
>
> It is perhaps too early yet to make a general assessment of the contribution and impact which the graduates of the University of Nigeria will bring to bear on society and education in new Nigeria. But one thing of which the University itself is no less well aware is that the challenge of the times imperatively demands that its products shall be men and women well-equipped for translating into reality today's dream of a better and happier Nigeria.

Ultimately, the institionality of University innovations appeared certain to depend largely upon the acceptability of its graduates. The programs discussed in this chapter have indicated the decision-making process by which programs for these graduates have been developed and, in some cases, legitimized.

Throughout the brief life of the University, it has been possible to call upon the Report of the Ashby Commission to legitimize most innovative programs of the University. When, as was the case with the original Nigerian Certificate of Education program, this has not been accompanied by proceeding through the established channels for legitimization, institutionality has been uncertain or denied. When, as in the case of the B.A. (Education) program and the programs in Industrial Education, normative legitimization through the approved "expert" report has been further supported by using agreed upon protocols and established consultative processes, not only has approval been forthcoming but favorable differential remuneration for graduates has followed on this. Although each of the programs described was based on a presumed need in the educational system, it was only when both that "need" and the proposed "remedy" were legitimized through accepted channels established by and involving the power hierarchy in Nigerian education that institutionality appeared assured. Failure to refer programs through these channels appeared in such instances as could be observed (the original diploma program in Education and the initial program in Agriculture Education) to render institutionality highly uncertain in an environment where bureaucratic and professional protocol is greatly valued.

Chapter 7

INSTITUTIONALITY, 1965: ANALYSIS BY CRITERIA AND PUBLICS

Although it would be premature to draw more than the most tentative of conclusions concerning the institutionality of a major organization in a developing and rapidly changing society less than five years after the inception of that organization, this is not to say that no "progress report" can be made. Present judgments concerning institutionality of the University and its colleges are rendered difficult by a number of factors other than its age, some of which have been suggested in previous sections of this report. Among these are the following: the fact that its major programs are four year instructional programs and thus its first products have been on "market" at most two years; the fact that its leadership has changed with greater rapidity than would be true in established educational organizations in more developed nations; the fact that increasingly the climate in Nigeria has been one of political upheaval and tribal conflict; the fact that long range trends in economic development are not yet clear and thus predictions which provide the basis for University planning are less secure than would "ideally" be desired (especially in view of its doctrine of "meeting needs"); the fact that personnel records of the organization were found to be incomplete and often impossible to locate. But if a report on institutionality (especially with regard to organization <u>innovations</u>) must be tentative, this is no reason to back away from making a report. Considerable data is available; and if it is neither as "hard" nor as complete as one might wish, this is not an unusual characteristic either in developing areas of social sciences or in research in developing nations.

In attempting to determine the present extent of institutionality, I have relied largely upon criteria proposed by Blaise and Esman, although more specific observable indices or fuller operational definition have perforce been used to get readings on such characteristics of institutionality as normative spread, support, influence, or autonomy. A comprehensive criterion of institutionality proposed in this study is that an organization may be said to be institutionalized to the extent to which it is viewed within the environment as having intrinsic or instrumental value, that is to the extent to which it is prized. The use of the qualifying adjectives "intrinsic or instrumental" is not intended to suggest a dichotomy between the two but rather to emphasize that persons often fail to distinguish sharply between intrinsic and extrinsic goods. Rather than being dichotomous, our day to day valuations shade imperceptably into one another and distinctions are muted. In studying an organization which views itself as an instrument of public policy, as a state university in a developing country today will likely do, one would expect to find most valuations actually nearer the instrumental end of the value continuum.

The more specific criteria of institutionality used in this study are defined hereafter as they are used. These criteria have been termed use, survival, support, respect and approval, normative spread, autonomy, and innovative thrust. Although these terms may not in all instances be as felicitous as might be wished, and although the behaviours they refer to are not in all cases discrete (thus leading on occasion to repetitive presentation of data), most appear to have almost prima facie validity as cues to prizing. Therefore the fact that no elaborate rationale is given for their use is intended not to indicate that they are to be taken as pure stipulations

but rather to reflect a judgment that the relationship between criterion and concept is sufficiently apparant within the context of this type of study to make justification unnecessary. Thus they might be considered reportive operational definitions. As each of the criteria is itself still a high-order abstraction it has been further judged desirable to make explicit the indices which have been seen to provide evidence as to the extent to which the criterion has or has not been met, and data have been organized in terms of these indices. One other characteristic of institutionality and of prizing should go without saying: not all groups or persons prize the same phenomena equally.. For this reason it has been deemed desirable to introduce the concept of publics of the organization and to assess, inadequately to be sure, the extent to which the organization has gained institutionality with respect to each of these publics. Results of such analysis appear in a number of tables throughout the study and are made explicitly in terms of groups selected by reference to other differentia in a final brief section of this chapter.

Institutionality as Indicated by the Criterion of Use

The search for valid indices which might permit empirical demonstration of as vague a concept as "valuing" led early to considering criteria related to the uses others make of an organization, in this case of the College of Education of the University of Nigeria. As the first partial definition of valuing, for purposes of this study, an organization shall be said to be valued to the extent to which its program and policies are willingly used by those publics which it is designed to serve, and to the extent to which potential publics request its services. This is to say that the extent to

which an organization has been used by its relevant publics is to a considerable extent a measure of at least its instrumental value to those publics.

Nine specific indices of usage have been considered. The College shall be said to have met the criterion of usage to the extent to which:

1. Its graduates are employed in positions related to their training, that is within the educational establishment.
2. Its graduates are placed in positions from which they are able to exercise authority or influence, thus enhancing probability of norm diffusion.
3. Its graduates are given salary recognition at least comparable to that accorded competing job candidates.
4. Its students are supported financially by units within the government or the educational establishment.
5. Its leadership is called upon to serve in advisory or decision-making capacities within the educational establishment.
6. The programs and physical facilities it offers are used by relevant publics.
7. It has become a functional and articulated link in educational flow patterns.
8. It provides materials or services demanded by those in the educational system or which support other organizations within that system.
9. It provides research services which are requested or used by other units within educational system.

Some data, albeit not always statistical, has been gathered in respect to each of these.

* * * * *

1. Employment of graduates: Perhaps the most obvious index of the use made of a College of Education by an educational establishment is the employment of its graduates in positions related to their training. Attempts to determine the extent to which graduates were being used in education were to some extent handicapped by incomplete records in the offices of the university, a situation both explained and complicated by the fact that approximately one third of the total graduates of the College of Education had completed their degrees during the spring and summer of 1965, immediately prior to or even during our interviews in the field. Of one hundred and fourty four students who were graduated in Education between June, 1964, (when the first students in Education were graduated) and August, 1965, some kind of address was secured for one hundred and fifteen graduates, either through university records or through checking with other graduates whose whereabouts was known or discovered.

Of the one hundred and fifteen students for whom addresses were located, ninety were either interviewed or returned completed questionnaires. (In a few instances graduates ~~were not subsequently~~ seemed to have to be tabulated.) Of all graduates whom we succeeded in locating or learning about, all but one were either in teaching, on maternity leave from teaching, or pursuing advanced studies in Education. It is clear that the products in Education were being employed in education. Furthermore, in response to a question concerning future hopes and further educational plans, all but one graduate indicated the intention to remain in education and that one expressed vague hopes of doing advanced studies to prepare for "educational journalism." In a society in which it appears a considerable number of arts graduates are already finding difficulty in securing employment, the "hard" data of present employment

figures are not an insignificant indication of use in themselves.

A rough check on the employment of graduates was made during interviews with principals. Of the ninety-eight principals interviewed, sixty-nine revealed they had employed graduates from the University of Nigeria; twenty-five indicated they had employed graduates with degrees in Education. In order to assess quality performance of the graduates as viewed by employers (as a cue to further market for graduates), principals were asked to indicate both their degree of satisfaction with the graduates' performance and their judgment as to how these graduates compared with those of other universities. Analysis of principals' responses to the question on their general satisfaction with the performance of University of Nigeria graduates, suggests twenty were "highly pleased" with their performance, twenty-two were "pleased", seventeen indicated some form of mixed reaction, and six suggested they were disappointed. Respondents willing to compare these graduates to others were both cautious and critical: only two indicated Nsukka graduates appeared better than others, twenty reported they compared favorably, while five reported that Ibadan graduates outperformed them. Most respondents expressed the opinion it was still too early to judge their performance.

2. Status Positions Held by Graduates: Beyond the simple statistic on employed graduates, however, the significance for institutionality depends upon the type of use made of them, that is, upon the positions they hold in the power hierarchy within their schools. At the time the survey was conducted (less than a year and half after the first group of some thirty education students had been graduated), thirty-eight (over one third) of the

graduates contacted already held positions entailing special status, prestige, power or influence within the employing school (8 were principals, 16 Vice-Principals, 11 Senior Masters and 3 Academic Deans). (Four of the early graduates were pursuing advanced degrees at Columbia, U.C.L.A., Leeds, and Michigan State University.) Four of those already named principal were from Ijaw or Rivers tribes, tribes inhabiting a previously school-impoverished area. This statistic clearly indicates those graduates were assuming leadership in the educational power structure in that area. One graduate in Education was reported to have been designated to serve as Education Secretary for the United Church of Nigeria, a newly formed Protestant federation for the nation. In addition to Education graduates serving as principals, seven other principals interviewed during the study proved to have graduated from other departments in the University of Nigeria. All of those known to be holding the post of principal were located in Eastern Nigeria, but within this Region the rapid rise of graduates to posts of responsiblity and authority did suggest a considerable degree of institutionality for the University and its College of Education.

3. Remuneration of Graduates: A further dimension of the usage index of institutionality is, of course, the direct monetary value placed upon graduates in the form of salaries. The Ashby Commission had urged that the required training time for professional teachers be reduced by absorbing the professional component into the regular three year degree course, rather than requiring an additional post-graduate year for this preparation. The Commission had further argued that salary scales for graduate teachers must be "at least as attractive as the scales in other branches of government services" and called

for "improvements in the salary scales*". The Report of the Commission appeared to imply, but did not explicitly recommend, that graduates with the B.A. (Education) degree be placed on the scale hitherto reserved for holders of the Post Graduate Certificate of Education. The heads of Departments or Collegesoof Education in the Nigerian universities recommended to the various Ministries of Education the use of this scale. After considerable delay, the Federal Government and the Government of the Northern Nigeria announced that graduates holding the B.A. (Education) degree or a university degree following the award of the Nigerian Certificate of Education from an Advanced Teacher Training College would be the only graduates thereafter placed on this top salary scale. In 1965, the Eastern Nigeria Government likewise gave this top salary recognition to graduates with degrees in Education but continued to recognize other degree holders who also possessed an upper elementary teaching certificate for this same salary scale. Awarding this scale to Education graduates had the effect of placing these graduates in a preferred position, thus, indicating a considerable shift in the differential economic returns for university degrees. Thereafter, in Eastern Nigeria, Education graduates were given initial salary of £ 762 as compared with £ 690 pounds for the honours candidates who lacked teaching qualifications. The decision to award this preferred salary status to graduates of the College of Education appears the clearest single index of the institutionality of organization and innovative program.

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* Investment in Education, p. 19

4. Subvention of Students: A fourth index of the value placed upon an organization is to be found in the willingness of government or schools to provide financial support for its students through scholarships (frequently accompanied by provisions bonding students to teach). Student and graduate respondents indicated they had secured support from the following sources.

1st Year Education Students*	57 indicated family or self-support 12 indicated voluntary agency (Mission), school, or government scholarship support. 7 indicated University or Ford Foundation support.
Final Year Education Students( )	32 indicated family or self-support 30 indicated school, church or government scholarship support 2 indicated University or Ford Foundation support.
Education Graduates:	32 indicated family or self-support 30 indicated voluntary agency, school, or government scholarship support.

Since many of the first graduates had originally been enrolled in a diploma program which was not recognized by Ministries (see above), and since a degree program in Education was a completely unknown quantity in Nigeria in 1960-61, government and school support for these students would appear compounded as much of the pressing demand for teachers as of institutionality of the College or its programs. However, if the conclusions of this study are correct (see pp. 629-631 and passim), these two factors should not be considered as independent or discrete, institutionality being in large measure a product of the close fit between the program of the College and a strong demand factor operating in the environment.

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*(It may be anticipated that the pattern for the first year students will later approximate that of present final year students; for scholarships are often not awarded until admission to the university is secured or, in some cases, some university work has been successfully completed.)

A check on the willingness of secondary school proprietors to support prospective teachers through sponsorship or scholarship was provided by querrying school principals on their policies and practices with respect to supporting students at universities. Of the principals and educational secretaries querried about practice in their schools, 35 indicated that individual schools were sponsoring university students, an additional 16 indicated sponsorship was by the Voluntary Agency (Church), and 40 indicated that no support for university students was provided. Of those who indicated scholarships were being provided, 27 indicated sponsorship was being provided students at the University of Nigeria, 13 indicated such support was being given to students at Ibadan, 6 to students at other Nigerian universities, 4 to students at unspecified African universities, and 8 to students overseas. This suggests a high relative degree of willingness to support students at the University of Nigeria, apparently on a percentage basis somewhat greater than the support given Eastern students enrolled in Arts, Science, and Education at the established, competitive University of Ibadan. As only four of those supported were known to be enrolled in Education, however, there is no indication here that the College program was particularly prized. With the demand for teachers in many subjects very strong, these figures appear on an absolute basis to suggest surprisingly little financial support for students. This can be accounted for by several factors. First, traditionally schools had been able to provide support through government subsidies (in Eastern Nigeria under government Regulation 20) and with this support not expanding as rapidly as the number of University students, proprietors often were reluctant to expend private resources for what they felt should receive government subvention. Second, Education had been able to attract relatively few students in the teaching fields in greatest demand (see pages 457-9), and the University students enrolled in the sciences were reluctant to commit

themselves to teaching in view of more promising vistas in industry. Third, proprietors had in the past found that neither private commitments nor financial bonding proved effective in holding graduates in a profession they did not prize. A highly respected Nigerian principal commented "In the past I have sent students to the United Kingdom, the United States, Ghana, Sierra Leone, and University College, Ibadan. As a rule I have found they don't come back, and so I have reluctantly decided not to do so again. They just don't prove loyal." Such responses were frequent enough to suggest that traditions of support for university students are definitely changing. It is possible, however, that if the degree in Education does over time prove as effective in holding people in Education as indicated above, the trend may be reversed for Education students.

5. Demands upon Leadership: A fourth index of use is the extent to which organization leadership has been called upon to serve in advisory or decision-making capacities within the educational establishment. A number of positions on official bodies are accorded to the College of Education on an ex officio basis, including representation on the four chief professional advisory committees on education (the Joint Consultative Committee and the Reference Committees on Primary Education, Secondary Education, and Teacher Training.) The important place of the Institute of Education on the Advisory Board, Examination Board, Selection Board, and subject panels of the Eastern Nigeria Advanced Teacher Training College is described elsewhere. The College has ex-officio positions provided it on the various regional and national committees of the West African Examinations Council (where a member of the Faculty now serves as Chairman of the Examination Committee for Principles of Education), the National Education Research Council, and the Nigerian Aptitude Testing Unit.

Dr. Fafunwa serves as Chairman of the Research Committee of the latter body, as a member of the Nigerian Manpower Board's Committee on Unemployment, and as Higher Education Representative on the Executive Committee on the Nigeria Union of Teachers. It is clear that the early Nigerianization of top leadership positions in the College resulted in a considerable number of positions of responsiblity being delegated to faculty members of the College of Education.

On the international level Dr. Fafunwa was chosen as member, and deputy leader, of the Nigerian delegation to the United Nations Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of the Less Developed Nations, as Head of the Nigerian Delegation to the Educational Services Incorporated Conference on Elementary Science Education (Entebbe) in 1965, as co-director of a follow-up Conference on Elementary Science in Dar-es-Salaam in 1966, and as co-director of an International Conference on the Role of the African Intellectual in Abidjan. A second member of the college has served for a number of summers as a core member of an African team working on the development of the "new Mathematics" elementary education programs for Africa sponsored by E. S. I., and a third member of the College has recently joined that summer work group. The salient position of Science and Mathematics among the concerns of Nigerian educators, and growing concern for improving the quality of instruction in these fields in the primary schools, makes these positions of international leadership particularly strategic leverage points in promoting educational innovation.

A further indication of growing reliance on the College of Education came in 1962 when Eastern Nigeria determined to reexamine its education system by means of a professional conference. In a written introduction to the

final report of the Conference, the Hon. S. E. Imoke, Minister of Education of Eastern Nigeria, wrote as follows:

> "Educational policy, to be serviceable and viable, must be geared to the special needs and aims of a nation . . .In the quest for the right solution we have commissioned many experts to study and advise. Generally such commissions have been manned mainly by non-Nigerians. The findings and recommendations of those commissions have been extremely helpful to us in our educational plans and development. But no foriegner, no matter how sincere, knowledgeable and objective can see or feel our problems in exactly the same way as we ourselves; for they are bound to be influenced by conditions, circumstances and traditions which, while relevant in their own countries, may not be quite applicable to our set of circumstances and conditions.
>
> It was against that background that I decided, last year, to draw on our undeniable wealth of local talent and experience. A conference of leading educationalists -- from the University, Training College, Secondary Schools, Primary School administration, joined by the Ministry experts -- was convened . . .The outcome of the conference, as this Report shows, has been most rewarding and encouraging: for one thing, <u>it has shown most convincingly that in matters like this, the best answers to our problems may rest with us</u>.*

In this process of relying on the "undeniable wealth of local talent and experience", the Minister of Education drew two of the eleven members of the conference Steering Committee and the Chairman and another member of the Committee on Teacher Education from the College of Education at the University. The Report of the Conference clearly reiterated doctrines frequently enunciated by College leadership. Both Ministry personnel and the Conference Chairman judged this leadership to have been influential in shaping conclusions and recommendations.

The home background, personal background, personal friendships, and tribal affiliation of Dr. Fafunwa would suggest functional[1] linkages with the Federal Ministry might have been expected to develop more rapidly than with the Eastern Nigeria Ministry of Education. Quite the opposite has proved the case. The Federal Ministry, in matters other than those relating to <u>inter-Regional policy, has established</u> closer ties with the Federal universities

* Imoke, S. E. "Foreword" to <u>Report of the Conference on the Review of the Education System of Eastern Nigeria</u>

than with the University of Nigeria. It is to the University of Ibadan and the University of Lagos that the Federal Ministry has turned for consultation or assistance on such matters as research or planning for schools in the Federal District. As one official put it, "We have a natural bias to ask the Federal Universities first. We tend to go to Lagos or Ibadan because we can approach them directly." Thus, aside from its ex-officio roles on inter-Regional bodies, the College of Education has not been regularly used by the Federal Ministry. As measured by this index, institutionality appeared to be far greater with the Eastern Nigeria Ministry.

6. Participation by Professional Publics: A fifth index of usage is the extent to which relevent publics avail themselves of the programs and physical facilities of the organization. Clearly the minimum condition for meeting the criterion of use is that the on-going instructional programs of the organization be utilized. Data indicated below (see pp 500 and 512) reveals not only a steady growth in enrollment but suggests that demand for teachers promises to increase further/demand for available graduates. However, it would be anticipated that professional publics other than students would avail themselves of College programs and facilities, Of the principals and education secretaries interviewed during the study, (an overwhelming proportion of whom came from Eastern Nigeria), only 38 out of 98 indicated that they had attended meetings held at the University of Nigeria; of these, 30 reported explicitly that they found the meetings they had attended to be valuable. A far larger number (65) reported they had in one capacity or another used the facilities of the university, the large majority further indicating they had been favorably impressed with the facilities they had seen or used. In a university strongly committed to giving high priority to a service program

which brought publics to the university campus, the number of principals who reported participating in programs appears surprisingly small. Whether this indicates a lack of institutionality, the indifferent or non-professional orientation of Nigerian educators (upon which a former chief advisor in Education has publicly reported*), difficulties or transportation and communication in Nigeria, or the fact that Continuing Education Service of the University did not really begin to function until 1963 (and did not have adequate conference facilities until 1965) is difficult to judge. It may be compounded of all of these.

7. Functional Articulation in Educational Flows: A yet more significant index of institutionality as suggested by the criterion of usage is the extent to which an organization has become a functional link in the educational system in such ways that it is an articulated part of a more extensive flow pattern. Three articulation points exist between the larger system and the University and its College and Institute of Education. Continuing friction at any one of these points would suggest lack of institutionality. On the other hand, institutionality might be said to be achieved to the extent to which:

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*cf. Bunting, Reginald. "Nigeria", in Helen Kitched (ed.) The Educated African, pp. 282-283. The former chief federal adviser on education comments: "At the moment, those in the teaching profession who are prepared to work to bring about reforms are still few. Very few Nigerian teachers regularly read professional journals, and not more than twenty actually submit articles for inclusion in these journals, judging from the records kept by the editors of the West African Journal of Education and the Nigerian Teacher over the last two years. Only seven Nigerian educators submitted written evidence to the Ashby Commission . . . ."

(a) the entry point to University programs reinforced rather than conflicted with norms supported by the Ministry and other units in the system.

(b) the outputs of the organization support rather than disrupt norms held to by the Ministry and other units in the system.

(c) the program of the University or College supports or facilitates the operation of other units in the system.

Institutionality as measured by this complex of three indices was least clearly indicated by the first. Both Ministry and School personnel continue to question the decision of the University and the College of Education to admit West African School Certificate holders directly into degree programs. (The traditional and generally accepted pattern requires two further years of "Sixth Form" work at a Secondary School.) The future of the University policy of admitting students at two different levels, and the related question of the future of Sixth Forms in Nigerian secondary schools, still remains unresolved. Potential or actual conflict arises (1) between the University policy and the entry points which are openly acknowledged by other Nigerian universities; (2) between the University policy and aspirations of many secondary schools to maintain or enhance their prestige by offering Sixth Form work; (3) between University policy and the hope of the Advanced Teacher Training College to recruit outstanding secondary school students (which is

jeopardized by University competion when admission is at the same level); and (4) between University policy and the recommendations of the National Universities Commission favoring the Higher School Certificate (Post Sixth Form) as an entry point.

Consistent with the University of Nigeria policy, several of the newer universities created elsewhere in Africa have adopted the lower admission point, and the Institute of Education at the University of Ibadan now also supports admission at the West African School Certificate level as economically the most feasible arrangment for Nigeria. The University of Nigeria has not done sufficiently refined research on the consequences of its policy, either in terms of cost analysis or educational achievement in university by students admitted at different levels, to provide it with a sound basis for decision or persuasion. Present practice continues to reflect (1) the preference of early M.S.U. advisors for a four year University program and (2) a serious shortage of science stream in Sixth Forms. The low entry point and the resultant judgment by some that this implies programs of no quality has proved the most frequent criticism of the University by those respondents who were not its own graduates. A number of respondents, in making a favorable assessment of the University, did so, "Because they understood this policy was being changed."

Institutionality as measured by the extent to which <u>outputs</u> of the organization support rather than undermine other units in the educational system appears greater. Early friction, such as the threat imposed by launching a diploma program which promised to disrupt salary schedules, was eliminated by the College at the first opportunity. As indicated above, graduates of the University have been readily absorbed into the educational system, have been given preferential treatment in terms of salary scales and

have often been judged by their employers as more "flexible" (that is, able to fit into more slots in the school system) than single subject honors graduates. There is at present a gross imbalance between the teaching fields being studied by Education students and the fields in which there is the greatest teacher shortage. Thus, while graduates are at present having no difficulty in securing employment, it is not clear that this pattern will persist unless teaching-field preferences (or potentialities in terms of pre-requisites) can be altered.

Although articulation between University and employment as teachers presently assures the position of the "academic" education graduate, it is still not clear that this articulation extends to products of programs in Physical Education which were initially developed outside the College of Education. The Chief Inspector of Western Nigeria has stated that that Region will not offer graduates in Physical Education more than 60% of the salary assured other graduates. An influential respondent in the Eastern Nigeria Ministry of Eduction doubted if that Ministry would recognize these degrees for "degree level" salary scales. At present, however, Physical Education Graduates who have been employed appear to have been remunerated on the same scale as other graduates in Education by virtue of the B.A. (Education) degree they were awarded and/or because of their ability to handle "academic" courses in addition to Physical Education. (The practice of awarding degrees in Physical Education has also come under scrutiny by the new University Council ("Board of Trustees") appointed by the Military Government in 1966). Concern was also expressed in the Eastern Nigeria Ministry because the single

graduate in Agricultural Education did not possess the training deemed necessary by the Ministry. With the latter reservations, however, programs of the College were generally judged by those elsewhere in the educational system as meeting needs.*

Thus far graduates have been the chief "product" of the University. A text for school English classes which was to have been prepared by two Nigerian research workers with funds provided by a major textbook publisher has never reached the market. A text in mathematics produced by two lecturers is published and a second in the series is in the hands of the publishers. Materials produced bytthe Elementary Science Workshop have been tried on an experimental basis, but inadequate support for this program through allocation of University facilities has reduced its impact.

8. Interorganizational Support: If one considers the extent to which the offices and facilities of the organization have supported other units in the system, a notable degree of institutionality has been achieved, primarily through the programs of the Institute of Education and the Continuing Education Service of the University. The Continuing Education Service, particularly since the opening of the Continuing Education Center (1965), has provided Conference facilities and seminar planning services for a large number of educational groups and organizations.

This service has further facilitated the operations of the Institute of Education and occasionally has supported the Institute by securing for it a

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*How long this acceptance would previal if students began to perform in accordance with the role of "educational revolutionaires," as they view themselves, remains to be seen. There is little indication that the program prepares them in sound strategies for instituting educational change without conflict, and some evidence that the contrary is the case.

role in educational activities, (such as a British Council program for English Teachers), from which it might otherwise have been excluded. It may be presumed also that the extra-mural teaching program of the Service is of particular value to those in education. The Institute of Education, and the College of Education before creation of the former, have supported the Ministry, the Nigeria Union of Teachers, the Advanced Teacher Training College, the Eastern Nigeria Secondary School Principals Assoication, the Nigerian Secondary School Principals Association, and the British Council in conducting program ~~as detailed in Chap~~. An indication of the scope of the Institute activities in support of teachers and professional organizations appears in Table F, pp. 366 ff. In particular the close working relationships between the Ministry's Advanced Teacher Training College and the University have served to cement relations between Ministry and University, while the relations between the Nigeria Union of Teachers and the Institute have been mutually supportive. All respondents spoke enthusiastically about such supportive linkages and the help the Institute had provided the cooperating unit. Conferences still in the planning stage during the study included a joint Ministry of Education-Institute of Education workshop for School Inspectors in the Ministry. In general, a division of responsiblities had been worked out between Institute and Ministry whereby the Ministry assumes sole responsibility for inservice training programs which involve small numbers of persons while joint responsibility of Ministry and Institute is agreed to for "major inservice training projects." The Ministry has agreed in principle to help subsidize the latter.

Although this list of supporting activities is not inconsiderable in view of the age of the organization, it is clear that serious lacunae continue to exist. For example, ti has been possible only on rare occasions to carry the resources of the University off campus to school people in the field.

Limitations have been largely those imposed by insufficient and inadequate staff and equipment. Similar limitations preclude using the campus to assist school men. These limitations stem from the inadequate physical plant of the Institute, unavailability of faculty time to develop demonstration facilities (e.g., school libraries, language laboratories, teaching aids), and failure of the University to provide a demonstration school or establish a functional linkage which would enable the College to demonstrate better education in some neighboring school. Even more importantly, past hiring policies precluded building a staff competent to provide off-campus service courses in many teaching fields. In 1966 plans to decentralize the activities of the Institute of Education by moving these to six district centers were approved by the Institute with the hope of carrying supporting activities into the field; but the process of building staff according to job specifications has been so long delayed that such activities remain largely promises for the future. The report on the first two years of the Institute of Education included no mention of such support activities in the field.

9. Research Services: A final index of use would be the extent to which the College has either produced research which has been used within the educational system or been requested to undertake specific research projects by units in the system. Thus far little significant research has been carried out. The Ministry of Education has developed its own research section and there has been no interaction between that section and the College of Education. When the Ministry desired research done on the Economics of Education, it turned first to the Economic Development Institute of the University and eventually dropped the project altogether. The college has required a field research project of all graduating seniors, and many of these projects dealt with significant problems related to developing a rational system of education for

national development. Copies of a number of these studies were requested by the library of the International Institute of Educational Planning in Paris. Research by major staff members, with the exception of experimental testing of new mathematics curricula by Dr. Ukeje, is lacking. The College of Education was turned down by the University Senate on its request to offer a Masters Degree program partly because it had not demonstrated its research competence through publications. The grant of the Ford Foundation to support the Institute of Education was based on a proposal promising research, but the research personnel have been lacking. Dr. Ukeje's forthcoming work on Education and Reconstruction in Nigeria promises to rest in large part on a doctoral dissertation done a number of years ago in the States, although updated by more recent

If one is to consider the criterion of use as defined by the specific indices we have suggested, a high degree of institutionality is suggested. It appears clear that graduates of the College have been readily employed in the school system, and demand for new places in the program far exceeds the number of available places. Not only have graduates been employed, but a surprisingly high number of them have within one or two years of graduation assumed positions of responsibility in their respective schools. Moreover, graduates in Education have been placed on a salary scale which is preferable to that on which graduates in the traditionally honored arts fields have been placed. Demand for these graduates appears to be great enough that government, Voluntary Agencies, and individual schools have provided a sizable number of Education students with financial support for their university years. If the students of the program appear in demand, the same has been true of most other services or programs which the College has provided. Its faculty have been increasingly called upon to assume leadership or "expert" roles in Nigerian, and all-African, educational organizations and conferences. Its special programs for unqualified teachers, English teachers, mathematics teachers, science teachers, and school principals have been surprisingly well attended. Until present, however,

programs of the College and University have failed to involve directly the largest proportion of principals of teacher training colleges and secondary schools in Eastern Nigeria. The College of Education has been of increasing value to the Ministry of Education both through supporting it on major policy issues and through lending the type of support, legitimization, and educational flow outlets which rendered great assistance to the Ministry's Advanced Teacher Training College. Increasingly College and Ministry policies have come to support each other. If the "knowledge" and "material" products of the University (research and publications) have thus far been limited, it does not seem unfair to attribute this in large part to the brief span of the College's life. After all, if one considers both the long vacation (5-6 week courses) and regular school programs of the College, it has in its five years of existence served approximately 2,400 teachers and prospective teachers as regularly enrolled students. This is certainly not an insignificant indication of use by its main professional public!

Institutionality as Indicated by the Criterion of Survival

For purposes of this study institutional survival has been defined as maintenance of values and distinctive identity. Inasmuch, however, as a further characteristic of institutionality is that norms and values originally distinctive of the organization have become more widely accepted, hence no longer distinctive, it is necessary to consider distinctiveness as a quality they possessed at the time of their inception.

Although the original values or innovations of the organization will tend to lose their distinctiveness through the very process of institutionalization, the same need not be true of the organization itself. The latter may both retain distinctive identity and even become characterized by its capacity

to generate further innovations. A further qualification needs to be made when employing distinctiveness in analyzing institutionality. Even when an organization is recognized as distinctive from other organizations previously existing, the values or norms which characterize it need not necessarily be unique to that organization within the total environment in order to have either institutionalization or innovation. To assume that innovation is a process in which ideas are introduced de novo into a culture is to apply both too literal and too limited a meaning to the term. In developing nations, new organizations more frequently seek institutionalization in an ethos that is characterized by central ambivalences, ambivalences frequently already involving the interplay of traditional and emergent value patterns. In these situations institutionalization may involve either embracing emergent value sets or developing new patterns of fusion or reconciliation between new and old. For example, Nigerian education in 1960 was characterized by unresolved conflicts between allegiance to "standards" (generally interpreted rather unquestioningly as meaning adherance to British patterns and content) and commitment to "Nigerianization" (which implied developing an educational system with "roots embedded in Nigerian culutre" and "capable of copying with Nigerian problems.") In this situation an innovative task facing the University of Nigeria was simply that of giving fuller programmatic interpretation to the latter slogan system which was already emerging but which still lacked adequate interpretation [redacted].

Five specific indices of survival have been used in this study. The criterion of survival shall be said to have been met to the extent to which:

1. University (macro-organization) structure, policy and program have developed in such ways that they support, promote, or themselves exemplify the norms held by the College of Education (micro-organization).
2. Norms and values originally enunciated have been implemented in programs, prodecures and structures, or have given way to modifications which still represent significant "change" in the environment.
3. Programs derived from norms have survived or grown (or the same criteria for determining program size and priority have continued to be applied.)
4. New or derivative values and programs have remained consistent with basic norms or values and represent further extensions or originally unforeseen applications of these.
5. Innovative programs or functions pioneered by the organization have been transferred to other organizations which might more appropriately perform them.

These five indices may be treated seriatim.

1. Norm reinforcement through statutue and structure. The original University of Nigeria Law (E. R. Official Document No. 23 or 1955) represented an uneasy fusion of a university committed by doctrine to a practical-vocational program in the American idiom and a university structure familiar in Britian and its colonies but designed to implement a dissimilar doctrine.

The document itself made a distinction between Faculties (arts, Science, Medicine, Law, Engineering, and Theology) and Institutes (twenty in number and devoted to vocational fields which were in Britain freqeuntly taught outside

of universities and ordinarily led to non-degree certification.) This law, while placing Institute directors in the Senate, reflected the British cognitive and terminological distinction between education and training, drawing a line between disciplines and professional fields of study presumed to possess the intellectual stature to merit degree-granting powers and "applied" fields at least implicitly judged of lesser "academic" stature and regularly leading to diplomas or certificates. This original law made provision for an Institute of Education and a separate Institute of Physical Education. No specific provision was made for training teachers in technical or vocational subjects. The law was unclear as to whether those completing courses in these institutes would receive certificates, diplomas, or degrees.

Michigan State University in accepting its A.I.D. contract considered this law to have been modified de facto if not de jure by the Cook-Hannah-Taggart Report (Eastern Region Official Document No. 4 of 1958) which was published by the Government of Eastern Nigeria with endorsement to the effect that "The Government of the Eastern Region of Nigeria accepts the proposals contained in this report, and will proceed to implement them without delay." This report specifically recommended the creation of "a College of Education", apparently using College in that American sense which can be equated with Faculty in British terminology. In keeping with the spirit of this report and the priorities it suggested, the initial MSU advisory team included an advisor in Education and an additional advisor in Vocational Education. As a number of provisions of the original law were inoperable and plans of the University authorities had changed since its enactment in 1955, the University of Nigeria Law, 1961, was enacted. By virtue of this law, its accompanying statutes, and actions taken within authority which the law granted to the University Council, the University became during

the next two years a miscellany of academic units, variously labelled colleges, institutes, departments and faculties.

The new Statutes of the University provided for one or more of six faculties, generally distinguished by disciplines (Arts, Medicine, Science, Laws, Social Studies, Technology) but also including one distinguished by function (Faculty of Research). The law further provided that "within each faculty there shall be such departments as the Vice-Chancellor, with the approval of the Council, shall from time to time determine." What had previously been listed as Institutes now took on the American nomenclature and were listed as "Colleges". (The number of these was expanded to twenty-eight by the addition of colleges in such fields as Dentistry, Diplomacy, Home Economics, Language, Military Studies, Nursing and Midwifery, and Radiography.) Engineering, Medicine and Theology (now entitled Religion) were demoted from their original status as Faculties. General Studies, African Studies and Graduate Studies were likewise organized as colleges, although their functions were not delimited by vocational field. Both Faculties and Colleges were to include such "departments" as the Vice-Chancellor and the Council determined. To each of the Colleges the Council subsequently attached the name of an African or "Afro-American" whom the Chancellor (Dr. Azikiwe) considered prominent or significant in the development of the related field of study or work. Thus the "Harden" College of Education was named after the first Nigerian educated in America.

The University Prospectus of 1962-1963 which followed the enactment of this law officially continued the distinction between degree and non-degree students, excluding students who were enrolled in certificate or diploma programs from doing more than "audit" courses available to degree students in cursu. This provision which would have discriminated against

the first Education students, was ignored in practice and did not reappear in any subsequent prospectus.

The impracticability of the fundamental law as a basis for creating a viable structure in a "land-grand type" institution was immediately apparent to academicians familiar with the American vocational university. With rapid University expansion and equally rapid proliferation of units, by the second year of University operation this law would have involved some eighteen different academic units reporting directly to the Vice-Chancellor. Consequently, an initially "extra-legal" administrative structure was established whereby Colleges became the constituent units of four Faculties (Social Studies, Arts, Sciences and Technology). In this way, Faculties came to include Colleges, Departments of Faculties, and Departments of Colleges. Furthermore, as the Faculty of Technology was a peculiarly ill-defined creature, it was redefined by Administration to include those colleges and departments whose studies involved "doing" in the sense of physical manipulation. It thus became a concatenation of such wierdly disparate disciplines as Fine Arts, Home Economics, Music, Engineering, Physical Education, and Secretarial Studies : a creature clearly part elephant, part monkey, and part parrot. The College of Education was appropriately located in the Faculty of Social Studies. With Education in one Faculty and Physical Education in another, the division between the two increased; and in my added capacity as Acting Dean of the Faculty of Social Studies I lacked jurisdiction to develop a Physical Education program more in line with that developing in Education and more feasible in light of the financial stringencies and cultural imperatives in Nigeria.

A subsequent University reorganization in 1964 rationalized the structure of the University in keeping with academic considerations. This reorganization created a separate Faculty of Education, bringing Physical Education

under the umbrella of that Faculty which came to include four units: the Department of Education, the Department of Vocational Education, the Department of Physical Education and the Institute of Education. The new organization was intended to give visibility to Education as a priority area, to encourage professionalization of all programs in Education, to give Education the autonomy and prestige which went with Faculty status, and to encourage greater integration and less duplication in education courses and programs. The effect has been to bring University structure into line with functional considerations involved in "professional" norms and to emphasize the priority status which university doctrine promises vocationally oriented programs. In this respect, the university reorganization of 1964 appears a major intra-university index of the institutionality of the program in Education. The University of Ibadan has since followed suit by elevating Education to Faculty status.

2. Implementation of Original Norms. In order to measure actual program development against original norms and avoid the historical danger of reinterpreting those norms in the light of subsequent insight, I found some normative check point needed. For this purpose the original PLAN FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION, submitted to and approved by the University Council in February, 1961, seems most appropriate. If this Plan is accepted as the basis of a "score sheet" by which to measure the extent to which norms and values originally enunciated have been implemented in the form of programs, procedures, and structures, a high "batting average" would be noted (at least on superficial analysis) except in educational research. This latter is not an insignificant lack, for without an adequate

research base there has been no accurate way of gearing educational programs to the "needs" of Nigeria, except as these needs are "seen" in the gross. As one advisor interviewer put it, "We kept taking about meeting the needs of Nigeria, and I'm not sure we had the research avialable to say what those needs actually were." Furthermore, service in the field has been limited by inadequate specialized staff and by the development of the Extramural Department of the University, which has undertaken to supply many of the types of services originally envisaged by the College of Education, thereby pushing that college toward a narrow concern with "school education" which was not originally intended and which has perpetuated unnecessarily old lacunae in school-community thinking.

With these limitations, however, program has by and large moved in directions foreseen in 1961, as is clearly revealed in Chart , PLAN AND PERFORMANCE, 1961-1966, which appears on the following pages.

3. Program Growth. The extent to which programs have grown may be measured by several indices, the most obvious of which is student enrollment and growth of instructional staff in the Faculty of Education. It may be remembered, in considering the figures, than an initially unbalanced faculty, entirely out of line with needs or projected job descriptions, was hired in January, 1961. At that point it became my deliberate policy to eliminate certain redundant faculty which accounts for the samller total staff figure the following year. Figures do not include Nigerian personnel overseas on participant training.*

*In all, six participants in the Faculty of Education (including vocational and physical Education) were sent overseas, of whom five were still overseas in 1965-1966. Three other staff members were also overseas on other fellowships in 1965-1966.

Academic Year	Faculty of Education Enrollment	Total University Enrollment	Staff Size
1960-1961	41	220	13
1961-1962	145	907	10
1962-1963	169	1248	13
1963-1964	235	1828	14
1964-1965	358	2245	20
1965-1966	393	2579	19

Chart

PLAN AND PERFORMANCE: 1961 - 1966

TOP PRIORITY: TEACHING PROGRAMS

1. Full professional degree program in Education B. A. (Education) and B. Sc. (Education).	1. Degree program began in October, 1961 and has grown rapidly since (363 degree students in 1965-1966).
2. Campus institutes and workshops for upgrading school personnel.	2a NUT programs for uncertified teachers: Summer 1962, Summer 1963, Summer 1964 (Approximately 1600 different participants served.)
	2b English language workshops (1962, 1 , 1965) Science workshiops (1963-1964) "New" Mathematics workshops (1964-1965)
3. Extension courses and workshops throughout Nigeria.	3. First extension courses offered in 1962 in three centers in Eastern Nigeria. Continuing Education service now offers courses and the College of Education has abandoned off-campus courses and seminars. The approved proposal (1966) to decentralize the Institute of Education would reinstate workshops in the field..
4. Certificate and Diploma Courses for preparing Non-Degree Teaching	4. Function for academic secondary teachers transferred to the Advanced TTC which is sponsored by the University. Certificate courses for vocational teachers for new junior high schools were begun in 1965.
5. Courses leading to Post Graduate Certificate in Education.	5. Approved for first time by University Senate in Winter, 1966. First courses are to be offered in October, 1966.
6. International programs in education, involving coordination of foreign study experiences with comparative studies of other educational systems.	6. University served as coordinating center for the following: AID Comparative Education Tour, 1963-1964. Ford Comparative Technical Education Tour, 1964-1965. The University Faculty undertook tours of other African States on Carnegie Grant in Summer, 1966. No teaching or research program involving non-Nigerians developed.

PLAN	PERFORMANCE
7. Courses leading to M.A. (Education)	7. Request for offering M.A. (Education) was turned down by University Senate, 1966.
8. Radio and television courses of instruction for school teachers.	8. College presented a series of programs as part of a Nigerian broadcasting program service in 1962 but has failed to develop any further program of its own.

The Following Priorities WeretThen Suggested

First Priority	: B.A. (Education) Program	Carried out
Second Priority	: Institute for Upgrading Teachers	Three held for unqualified teachers.
i	: Institutes on Teaching Englsih	Four held.
ii	: Institutes on Teaching Science in Secondary Schools and TTCS.	Changed to emphasis on primary school science. Three institutes held.
iii	: Institute on School Administration	Two short weekend conferences held.
IV	: Institute for Education Assistants.	Not carried out to date.
v	: Center for Community Education	Not carried out. Many of the functions anticipated have been taken over by the Continuing Education Service of the University.
Third Priority	: Post Graduate Certificate in Education	Approved to being in October, 1966
Fourth Priority	: Center for International Study	Actually has functioned in a limited sense though informally organized.
Fifth Priority	: Certificate and Diploma Programs in Specific fields.	Vocational Education program effectively begun in 1964.
Sixth Priority	: Extension Courses and Workshops	First offered in 1962, not carried through as Continuing Education has taken over the function on another basis.
Seventh Priority	: Radio and Television Instruction	See above
Eighth Priority	: Service Courses to Other Departments	Offered for Physical Education until that Department was incorporated into the Faculty. None offered for other departments.

RESEARCH FUNCTIONS

Three guiding principles:

1. The College of Education should place its emphasis on action research as contrasted with rigidly experimental research.
2. The College of Education should place its emphasis on applied research as contrasted with pure research.
3. The College of Education should place its emphasis on problems located in the College's teaching program and service programs.

The little research so far conducted has been concerned with experimental ("action") testing of science and mathematics materials and methods.

PLAN	PERFORMANCE
Recommendations of the Carnegie Seminar:	
1. Child Growth and Development in West African Societies.	1. Ford grant for Institute of Education included specification of child study; but until the addtion of recent staff, personnel were lacking.
2. Problems of Selection and Evaluation.	2. No research done, except unpublished study by Fafunwa on performance of university students selected at different levels. An AID participant trainee returning in September, 1966, has done doctoral work in guidance and will be qualified to carry on such research. Dr. Fafunwa heads the research committee on the Nigerian Aptitutde Testing Unit.
3. Methodology in the Various Teaching Fields	3. Some classroom experimentation with new E.S.I. primary school mathematics materials by Dr. Ukeje. Unpublished research by Mr. Savage on new science methods for primary school. Experimental testing of E.S.I. Elementa Science Materials is unpublished.

Further Research Recommendations in Plan of Development

1. Study of the unique problems of Education in Rural (Bush) communities.	1. Survey study of rural education by all members of facul Summer, 1961, did not lead to publication except by sel.
2. Types of crash programs which might prepare primary school leavers for productive employment.	2. No research done. Study by Dr. Ferns and Ministry of E cation on Vocationally oriented Junior High Schools.

PLAN AND PERFORMANCE (pg. 4)

3. Methods and Curriculum in Teaching English in Ibo and Efik speaking areas.	3. No basic research done. One published manuscript on language by Dr. Okala.
4. Reevaluation of primary school curriculum and methodology.	4. No genuine research although various kinds of evaluative activities. (Including subject panels established by the Institute.)
5. Problems of Educational administration and leadership.	5. Not carried out.
6. Application of Comprehensive high school and prevocational curricula in Nigeria.	6. Planning activities and conferences, but no published research.
7. Relation of volume and scope of technical training to job opportunities.	7. No original or published research.
8. Analysis of curricular content necessary to individuals for jobs in developing countries.	8. Carried out by Dr. Udoh and Ferns. Unpublished.
9. Unique problems of women's education in Nigeria.	9. Some research being carried in the field of Home Economics in rural villages by Miss Ahunanya and by Continuing Education Service.
10. Effective Community change techniques	10. Not done.
11. Problems of delinquency and rootlessness in changing communities.	11. Not done.

RESEARCH FACILITIES

1. University demonstration and laboratory school.	1. Funds not made available. Still requested.
2. Research and statistical library.	2. Institute library exists but research holdings lacking.
3. Research fund.	3. Available through Ford Grant (1964)
4. Research coordinator, plus training of faculty through team research.	4. No research coordinator; some involvement of selected University faculty on this study.

PLAN	PERFORMANCE
SERVICE ACTIVITIES	
Guiding Principles	
1. Services which can be done on cooperative basis with Ministries, voluntary agencies, and local schools should be given priority.	1. Institute has established this as a principle, involving as it does membership of Volunuary Agencies, Schools, an Ministry. Cooperative programs have been carried on wit Ministry, Voluntary Agencies, British Council, N.U.T., Educational Services, Incorporated, A.I.D., Ford Foundat
2. Willingness or eagerness of any school to participate should be a major criterion in its selection for its involvement.	2. Activities have been largely of Institute or conference type relying on volunteer participation.
3. Projects should be type which encourage schools to carry on their own follow-through activities.	3. No indication this has in fact developed except in respect to science workshops.
4. Those service projects should be given priority which give promise of feeding back new knowledge and experience which will contributue to teaching and research programs of college.	4. Programs have been within major areas of interest; but it is not clear that this feed-back has been deliberatel sought, except in science and mathematic methodology. Still a pioneer effort.
Recommended Top Priority Items	
1. Development of Instructional Materials Center.	1. Funds available but no suitable center developed due to lack of personnel and leadership in Institute. Current plan calls for mobile units.
2. Demonstration School Library	2. Not existent; College has collected books from education publishers.
3. Center for Adult Education and Community Development	3. Many programs in this area are conducted by the Universi Extramural Department, without Faculty of Education invl volvement.
4. Short Institutes.	4. Three of the six originally proposed have been offered a least once.

PLAN AND PERFORMANCE (pg. 6)

PLAN	PERFORMANCE
5. Publications: A College of Education Publication	5. Original attempts to launch such a publication in 1962 elictied material which I judged of inadequate quality. An infrequent student publication has maintained high quality and served as a vehicle for faculty writing. The College is one of four sponsoring and supporting in stitutions for the West African Journal of Education, a high quality professional journal.
6. Workshops in the field.	6. Not carried out.
7. Sponsorship of selected institutions including any new Advanced TTC in region.	7. Sponsorship of the new Advanced TTC has been carried ou Working relationships with TTC have been achieved throu their membership in the Institute. No sponsorship and improvement of select institutions has been carried out
8. Advisory Services.	8. Membership is held on regular Federal Advisory committe on the Nigerian Educational Research Council, on the Ni erian Aptitude Testing Unit, on the Committee on Unempl ment of the National Manpower Board and on the national and regional committees and panels of the West African Examination Council, and on Board of the Nigeria Union Teachers (on which the University of Nigeria is the onl University represented.)

(Figures include the Department of Physical Education to provide comparability throughout.) Thus total program growth, in terms of numbers of students, has continued to parallel that of the university at large, despite the proliferation of fields in which degrees and programs are offered at the University.* In 1965-1966, the Faculty of Education was second only to the Faculty of Business Administration in total student enrollment. Meanwhile, new programs offered within Education were developed in accordance with estimated manpower needs, especially with the increased emphasis on comprehensive junior high schools, commercial secondary schools, and technical secondary schools, and with the announced introduction of agriculture into secondary grammer schools. In 1965-1966, in addition to the courses in Education and Physical Education, programs included Agricultural Education, Business Education, Industrial Arts Education (Degree and Diploma programs), and Home Economics Education (over which there was a jurisdictional dispute within the University.) Although announced priorities were established in accordance with the doctrine of meeting the staffing needs of Nigerian schools, actual enrollments within programs continued to reflect a strong bias in favor of Arts subjects, where no great shortage existed, and total enrollment in vocational education fields had only risen to 73. It must be recognized this latter figure represented a considerable achievement in a country where vocational education was historically enjoyed low repute and where it has been difficult to find degree students with relevant pre-university backgrounds who also met minimum all-university entrance requirements. Similarly, although Nigerian schools primarily lack science teachers, only 21 education students had declared science "majors"

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*Furthermore, the All-University rate of growth has been very rapid compared to that of other universities.

whereas 226 had declared arts "majors" in 1965-1966. Thus, although program growth has been quantitatively great, it has not been a growth governed by actual priority needs (i.e., "doctrine").

4. Norm Consistency Over Time: The continued imbalance between Education students pursuing work in the arts fields and those pursuing work in the sciences raises the broader question of the extent to which programs have continued to exemplify or extend the initial norms of the College. Certainly, a number of innovations were introduced which were not envisaged at the time of the FIRST PLAN OF DEVELOPMENT FOR THE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION and several unforeseen emphases have revealed themselves in program development. The first of these involved the creation of the Institute of Education, which represented the importation and adaptation of a familiar British pattern. As structured by the University, however, this is essentially the adoption of a familiar form and the use of a familiar terminology to carry out more effectively service and research activities already foreseen in the Plan. The second possible change in norms is seen in the extent of the shift in emphasis from secondary school science education to primary school science education. Nsukka has, in effect, become the center of the elementary science activities in West Africa. This shift was, however, a reasonable extension of the priority status given to primary education in all statements of doctrine. (See Chapter 3) The science program, in particular has been concerned with adaptation to the Nigerian education environment, stressing the use of experiments requiring a minimum of apparatus, largely items locally available Thus while some elements of the original plan remain understandably unimplemented, it appears clear that new activities which have been undertaken represent emphases in no way inconsistent with norms or priorities originally expressed. Rather they represent either accommodation of unanticipated structures in achieving such norms

or capitalizing on theparticular strengths and interests of faculty (eg. Dr. Fafunwa) who were not available at the time the original plan was drafted.

5. Innovation Transferral. Thus far only two programs attempted within the College of Education have been transferred to other organizations which might more appropriately execute them.* The first of these was the non-degree program for teachers of the"academic" fields in secondary schools and teacher training colleges. These programs have been liquidated at the University, and the College of Education has instead assumed official sponsorship arrangements with the Advanced Teacher Training College, whereby it has maintained considerable voice in the development of programs to serve this "need." The second has been the offering of courses at off-campus centers in Eastern Nigeria. The Extramural Department of the University has taken over this function, but it has not developed university level and university credit courses in Education and Teacher Training as originally intended by the College of Education. This represents some normative shift insofar as the anticipated wedding of the "service" and "professionalization" doctrines of the College has been thereby annulled.

In summary, the College of Education appears quite clearly institutionalized in terms of the criterion of survival. Its original norms, as projected in theinitial development plan, have been largely implemented and two additional features in the original plan have been approved for 1965-1966: The offering of (1) a Post Graduate Certificate in Education and (2) field workshops for Teacher Training Colleges. The structure and policies of the University have been altered to give greater visibility and continued priority to the work of the Faculty. Such further innovations as have occured have not

been inconsistent with expressed norms but have represented shifts in emphasis brought about in part because of the competencies which it was possible to secure, just as some portions of the original plan have remained unimplemented because of the unavailability of the necessary expertise. Finally, of the programs which it launched and has not continued, two have been taken over by other organizations with which the College is affiliated, the Nigerian Certificate of Education by the ATTC at Owerri, which is sponsored by the University Institute of Education, and the off-campus teaching program by the Extra-Mural Department of the University. Of the various programs which it has fairly launched in keeping with its original intent, only the Nigeria Union of Teachers - University of Nigeria long vacation course for uncertified teachers is currently dormant. On the other hand, the more revolutionary of proposed interpretations of doctrine -- such as summer work experience in community development projects for all education students have been conveniently forgotten and are unlikely to be resurrected. Similarly, some more easily realisable programs of great potential impact, such as radio instruction, have never been genuinely pushed.

Institutionality as Indicated by the Criterion of Support

Support as a criterion of institutionality is considered in this context to be (1) the extent to which capital resources are provided for the initiation, maintenance and expansion of an organization's program and (2) the extent to which other organizations mobilize their influence behind programs, doctrines, and leaders of the organization. In economies of scarcity a significant measure of the value placed upon any program or idea is, of course, the extent to which scarce resources are expended for its support. The scarcity of capital resources in developing countries, where everything is crying to be

done and little is available with which to do anything, makes this a particularly cutting index of prizing. In low-income countries growing familiar with external aid, however, this may be partially vitiated as a measure of institutionality by the practice of at least the more sophisticated recipient countries to govern their actions by calculation of projects for which external aid may be expected rather than by their own assessment of priorities. Support may thus in some instances be more an indication of strategic calculation than of considered valuation.

A number of indices of support were potentially available for use; unavailability of data made it difficult to use certain of these, however,. Among indices of support in terms of which some data could be gathered for the College of Education by the 1965-1966 Academic year were the following.

Support was judged to exist to the extent to which:

1. The macro-organization (the University) provides the micro-organization (the College of Education) the resources with which to carry out its program.

2. Outside sources subsidize students to take part in the program of the organization.

3. Government undertakes to support parts of the program consonant with doctrine rather than deviating from doctrine.

4. The micro-organization (College) receives the assistance of the macro-organization (University) and of relevant publics in legitimizing its programs and mobilizing outside resources.

5. Foundations, international organizations, and bilaterial aid offices' support programs consonant with doctrine (and especially with innovative elements of doctrine) rather than elements deviating from doctrine or desired norms.

1. Macro-organization support. Early University enrollment and scholarship policies provided strong support for developing a College of Education. With the acceptance of the Cook-Hannah-Taggart Report two years before the University actually opened, the latter was committed to a concept of priorities. These would ostensibly be based upon the manpower needs of

Nigeria and would single out for emphasis those university activities most closely meshed with economic development plans. The Ashby Report had stressed the preparation of teachers as a major need in Nigeria, and the Harbison study upon which it was based set as ten year targets 8,400 graduate teachers, 6,300 well qualified non-graduate post-primary teachers, and 14,000 well-qualified non-graduate primary school teachers.* Although non-graduate teacher training was ostensibly beyond the purview of the Commission, so urgent did it consider the improvement of teacher training (which it saw as a prerequisite for all other types of human resource development) that much of its final report was given over to this topic.

The University first attempted to put a system of priorities into effect for the 1961-1962 academic year. In that year a decision was made to give "priority" to the sciences, agriculture, and Education, although implementation of the priority plan was seriously limited by the unavailability of qualified (and interested) applicants in certain fields to which priority had been given. As then planned, priorities would govern two crucial decisions: (1) they would determine the quotas of students to be admitted in various fields, and (2) they would determine the university loan scholarship quotas to be awarded fields. Twice as high a percentage of the students in priority fields were granted loan scholarships as was the case in non-priority fields. As large enrollments were actively sought by various departments as part of a power and prestige struggle within the University, and as many students were without financial resources, these decisions were not made without serious disagreement. The fact that Education was given parity with the sciences and

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*Investment in Education, pp. 61-62.

agriculture as a priority field reflects strong support given it by University administration, notably Dr. Johnson. As Education was granted a large enrollment quota on the basis of its priority status (and faculty size), and as the percentage of its students to receive scholarships was double that in non-priority fields, the College in 1961 received by far the largest number of scholarships awarded by the University. Within Education, I was therefore able to opt easily to provide an additional doubling of scholarships to the Department of Vocational Education, in the hope of strengthening a field in which we found virtually no interested candidates. Although the list of priority fields was, by the following year, expanded to the point which made the term "priority" virtually meaningless, the initial break-through in awarding Education a privileged position over the traditionally respected Arts fields with which the College had to compete in training teachers provided visibility as well as material support for the program.

Although University admission and scholarship policies supported the College, early University building plans and policies did not. In this regard the program in Education was not unique. Dr. George Johnson, first Vice Chancellor, has referred in his brief description of the history of the University to buildings that were "functional."* To refer to the early buildings as "functional" would be true only in the most limited sense, namely they did not involve the ostentation which had previously characterized most universities in Africa. Early buildings were constructed without consultation with either academic staff or architects familiar with instructional programs. The result was a welter of small buildings which tended both to divide rather than unite instructional units and to freeze instruction at

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*Johnson, Goerge, "The University of Nigeria", p. in Murray G. Ross, (ed) New Universities in the Modern World, p. 100.

substandard levels. The College of Education inherited the first building erected on the campus, a completely routine structure in no way designed to facilitate good teaching or demonstrate the principles of relating structure to program (an ostensible norm of any College of Education doctrine.) In accordance with University statutes, Physical Education was a separate college and received a separate building, an enormous stadium, and extensive sports facilities (which could only be partially used until 1965 because of faulty engineering.) Despite the high priority ostensibly given vocational education, ground was not broken for a suitable building for this department until 1966, although a Ford Foundation grant had been available to equip the building for two years.

If the total university could grant a withold support from the College in terms of <u>students</u> and <u>buildings</u>, it could also do so in terms of <u>faculty</u>. Until 1965 faculty hiring was governed by fixed conceptions or "policies" which seriously hindered the development of a College of Education, both in on-campus teaching and in providing off-campus help to schools as required by the <u>service</u> concept which was central to doctrine. Thus what was given to Education by public pronouncements of priority status was quietly taken back by failure to provide the faculty competence necessary to implement doctrine or carry out program. This was in most fields less a matter of unavailability of suitable candidates than of policies which precluded effective recruitment. An early policy which prohibited differentiation of functions within Education in terms of fields of specialized competence meant the College was unable to provide assistance in the field either in improving the teaching of many school subjects or in developing new functions (for example, vocational guidance) for which help was requested. With the

extension of College autonomy to the hiring function in 1965-1966, this basic limitation vanished. Actually this limitation was more in terms of fields and levels of competence than numbers of faculty. Although in terms of enrollee/teacher ratio the College of Education came to appear penalized in terms of staff size*, the fact that Education students took roughly three quarters of their work in other departments went far toward righting a supposed imbalance in all but the vocational fields, where lack of staff was occasioned more by unavailability than by university policy. Although by 1965-1966 earlier imbalances within the Education staff had not been entirely rectified, University hiring policy did appear to support the College and its programs. Furthermore, the University had appointed six college faculty members to receive U.S.A.I.D. full counterpart scholarships in the United States and it was anticipated a seventh counterpart would move into Education upon return.

Clearly other less visible aspects of university policy (or lack thereof) could support or undermine a college of Education. Elsewhere it had been pointed out that a considerable percentage of Education graduates indicated they had been penalized by other departments of the University in which they were required to take courses but in which they were at the same time excluded from related field trips, tutorials, and other learning experiences. As total university mobilization is necessary to make a teacher-training program effective, such de facto policies which discriminated against Education students did hamper the development of program. Attempts by University administration to encourage the cross-enrollment of students amongst departments tended to concentrate on the desirability of program breadth rather than upon the impediments placed before students.

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*For 1965-1966, Education had a "student/staff ratio" of 20.68:1 compared to an all-university ratio of 10.1:1, Progress Report: July-December, 1965, p. 86

No faculty can develop without adequate supporting non-professional staff. The changes which moved the locus of authority in faculty appointments to the academic units have been accompanied by changes which give leadership of the College the final voice in selection of its non-teaching personnel, thus providing it with at least the opportunity to use achievement rather ascriptive norms in recruitment and promotion.

On the whole by 1965-1966, official university policy gave adequate support to College of Education programs, both in respect to student enrollments and faculty and staff selection. Building policies had been altered to allow the construction of buildings to meet academic requirements (as in the case of the Vocational Education Building), but the Department and Institute of Education still suffered from inadequate buildings and no demonstration facilities. University support through statute and facilities seemed to suggest a considerable degree of institutionality as measured by this index.

2. Support through external subvention of students. The willingness of outside sources to support education students at the University of Nigeria has been conditioned by factors other than the extent to which the University or its programs are prized (for example, by the numbers of potential teachers already receiving support in other universities or the total number of teachers needed by any mission or school.) Financial support for students pursing a program must none-the-less be considered a significant index of the value which outside authorities place upon an organization and its programs. An attempt was made to discover the actual extent of such support, both by asking students and and graduates how they have been supported at the University and by asking school principals and education secretaries of valuntary agencies (churches) whether or not they were supporting prospective teachers

financially. As it had become a frequent practice for those supported through their education not to return to the school which supported them (despite bonding), there has in recent years in Nigeria been a marked decline in the willingness of voluntary agencies and prinicpals to support students. Responding to the question of how they were supported at the university, students and graduates indicated the sources of support indicated under the criterion of USE above (p. 478).

Although it was not possible to compare such support with that provided students at competive insitutions, some notion of the comparative support provided Eastern Nigeria students through non-government agencies was secured through interviews with employers and prospective employers as indicated earlier and may be repeated in this context. School principals and voluntary agency (Mission) education secretaries who were in the sample interviewed reported they were supporting 55 students in universities, of which the breakdown by institution was as follows:

University of Nigeria, Nsukka	27
University of Ibadan	13
Other Nigerian Universities	6
Other African Universities	4
Overseas	8

Of these, however, only four reported they were supporting students working for degree in Education, although it is possible this was merely a lack of communication or knowledge about the specific degrees pursued. Even if one considers the fact that these totals are biased by the ability of students to gain admission to one rather than another institutions, this appears to give some notion of institutionality with school employers.

3. Government subvention of programs. Since 1964 the University of Nigeria has received its support from the Federal Government of Nigeria and from the Government of Eastern Nigeria according to a formula determined by the Federal Government on the basis of the Report of the National Universities Commission. Additional government subvention of Education programs has not been forthcoming*, although the Eastern Nigeria Ministry of Education has agreed in principle to sharing the expenses of in-service courses run by the Institute of Education at least when these involved training or upgrading personnel for whom the Ministry felt particular responsiblity. As such in-service programs as have been considered or run thus far have been entirely consisten with the doctrine of the University, this represents support of the norms of the organization. The Ministry of Education has also requested Foundation support (1) for a liaison person to operate between Ministry and the Institute of Education and (2) for research activities in elementary science to be conducted under Institute auspices.

4. Endorsement in program legitimization and resource mobilization. The difficulties of the College of Education in program legitimization stemmed initially from its intermediate position between two organizations, each of which viewed itself as holding legitimizing power. On the one hand, the University Council which so completely reflected the wishes of Dr. Azikiwe, operated as the latter had been accustomed to operate when Premier of Eastern Nigeria, namely by promulgating policies or initiating programs with confidence others would accept these. As after 1960 Dr. Azikiwe was no longer Premier but

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*Cf. Decisions of the Federal Government . . . ., Sessional Paper No. 4 of 1964, p. 7
Except for special grants to absorb faculty who resigned from the University of Lagos in dispute having tribal and political overtones.

held instead the largely ceremonial position of Governor General (later President) of Nigeria, his perception of his power in Eastern Nigeria became increasingly illusory. Nonetheless his decisions exercised through the University Council were of course binding upon the College of Education. On the other hand, the College of Education was effectively limited by decisions of the Nigerian civil service. A tradition had been established under the British whereby professional matters in Ministries of Education were handled largely by professionals within the guidelines of broad Government policy. The professional branches of Ministries did not bow automatically to the wishes of political leaders. As the Chief Secretary of Eastern Nigeria was furthermore openly suspicious of or even hostile to Dr. Azikiwe, it was unlikely pressure would be brought upon the professional branch to legitimize educational programs merely because Dr. Azikiwe wished them. At no time was Dr. Azikiwe's influence brought to bear effectively on even the Eastern Ministry of Education in legitimizing University programs, far less on Ministries elsewhere. In effect, Dr. Azikiwe had already deliberately taken the position--reflected in his placing the Universty outside the portfolio of the Minister of Education--that the University program should not have to go to the Ministry for legitimization. This position was repudiated and resented by those in the Ministry in Eastern Nigeria. The position with regard to the Ministry of Education in Western Nigeria (a number of Education students came from Western Nigeria), was even more critical. Due to political divisions in Nigeria (and the ambitions of British-educated Chief Inspector of Education of Western Nigeria in the realm of Educational politics), it was clear that ministry would be disinclined, rather than inclined, to grant recognition to University of Nigeria programs. There was in this judgment a strong implication that the latter reflected inferior "American standards."

As indicated earlier, legitmization required operating by the unstated rules of the road set by the Ministries, the most important of which were (1) that all teacher education programs below degree level be approved by the various professional inter-Regional advisory committees before being put into operation, and (2) that a sine qua non for advisory committee approval was the prior express endorsement by the Ministry of Education in the Region or District presumed to be most directly affected by the program. The process which it was necessary for the University to go through to secure this approval for its first diploma program are detailed elsewhere. After having onee been rebuffed for failure to use approved channels, the College accepted the process in good faith. Once this decision had been made the Ministries of Education appeared to feel they had the lion effectively tamed. Thereafter the College found the Eastern Nigeria Ministry of Education a powerful friend in gaining support or acceptance for its programs, provided only that it involved the Ministry early on a consultative basis. Once the appropriate consultation had been engaged in, the advice weighed and insofar as possible accepted, Ministry personnel in the Federal and Eastern Nigeria Ministries could be counted on to provide advocacy of University programs. Similarly, when the ultimate showdown on University programs came, George Kellaway, head of the Department of Education at Zaria who had furnished the College frequent advice, moved approval of the diploma program. By 1965, the major instructional programs of the College of Education (excluding maverick programs developed for teachers outside the College by Music and by Physical Education), had the support of the Eastern Nigeria Ministry of Education and, through it, all Ministries other than that in Western Nigeria. Similarly, after a rather bizarre set of negotitations in which the local representative of Educational Services, Incorporated attempted to attach a research center

for elementary science directly to the Ministry of Education of Eastern Nigeria, professional personnel in that Ministry insisted that the center be attached instead to the Institute of Education of the University. When time came to propose certificate coursed in specialized fields (notably Industrial Arts Teacher Education), the errors of the earlier approach were avoided. As the then Chief Adviser in Education was noted:

> Two members of the University Faculty of Education were coopted by the Ministry to participate in working out the curriculum and detailed syllabuses for the proposed Trade Schools in Eastern Nigeria . . . In order to provide qualified and suitable teachers for the Trade Schools, Comprehensive Schools and the technical wings of some of the existing secondary schools the University, after discussions with professional staff of the Ministry, put forward Memoranda on the diploma and the degree Courses in Industrail Arts Teacher Education. The memoranda were endorsed by the Ministry and later referred to the Joint Consultative Committee on Education for acceptance.

The endorsement by the Ministry of <u>these</u> programs in particularly significant in that as functional or "non-academic" programs they were striking innovations in African university-level education. In summary, what appears to have been achieved is not only endorsement of specific programs but agreed upon procedures whereby the College of Education may count with reasonable assurance upon endorsement of future innovative programs as well. This was, however, achieved without support of central University Administration which appeared powerless to help directly in such matters.

5. Foundation support. In view of the emphasis Foundations have placed upon education as a motor of development, it is not surprising that the College of Education was among the first units within the University to receive sizable foundation support. The following forms of support have been received:

Carnegie Corporation:	Support for a planning seminar in education conducted early in 1961.
	Support for a faculty tour of other African countries to familiarize faculty members with other approaches to dealing with educational problems. (1966)
Michigan State University Ford Grant:	Support for a faculty survey of the schools of Eastern Nigeria, particularly rural schools, to provide a basis for program building and relating instruction to the pressing problems of Nigeria (1961)
Ford Foundation:	Support for Elementary Science workshops (1963-1965). Grant for an Institute of Education. (1964-1967). Grant for Vocational Education (1964-1967).

As the latter two grants were the first large grants($230,000 and $150,000 respectively) from a foundation,* and as the support of the University and University administration was provided in acquiring them, these are particularly strong indications of both University and foundation support for innovative college programs.

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* Previous major grants to units of the University had been bilateral aid or international organization grants.

Institutionality as Indicated by Criteria of Respect and Approval

An organization may be said to be valued or institutionalized to the extent to which its programs and personnel are judged to be serving accepted or emergent goals well or as being qualified to serve such goals well. In the case of an educational organization, such judgements may be made concerning the organization itself or, indirectly, concerning the organization through its products. The familiar judgement that the ultimate test of the University would be in terms of its products was indicated by a number of school principals and other school personnel. Illustrative of the view would be the following comment by a school principal in response to a question concerning his general reaction to the University.

> I am satisfied in general. The students are near the town folk. There is not the gulf between "town and gown". The students know the problems of secondary schools when they come for vacation jobs.

Related to this judgment that the test of the University would be its graduates was the judgment that not enough time had elapsed to make a final judgment. Such responses varied greatly in their degree of tentativeness" as is revealed by the following three responses, all of which were amplifications of the reply "fairly satisfied".

> I am fairly satisfied. They have just started and they have not failed us.

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> I am fairly satisfied. The University is not old yet. I still consider it in its youth. At the beginning one had all kinds of doubts; now this has changed.

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> I shall say "fairly satisfied" because I have not had enough experience of working closely with her. Being British and perhaps being a little old fashioned, I naturally favor the British type of University, but I feel that the University of Nigeria is trying something new, that it must be encouraged and supported and only time will tell how things will work out. I feel it is now too early to judge.

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As the College and Institute of Education were sub-organizations within the total University, this relationship affected judgments, and discrimination between judgements concerning College and University appeared called for. For example, it is important to know (1) how the University (macro-organization) and its personnel are viewed by publics, (2) how the College (micro organization) and its personnel are viewed by publics, when a distinction is made and (3) how the College and its personnel are viewed by other members of the University.

A series of more specific indices were employed to judge institutionality in terms of the criteria of approval and respect. Respect of or approval by those outside of the University was judged to exist when:

1. Members of the organization were listed as among the most competent in Nigeria in the field of function.
2. The organization was explicitly approved by its publics.
3. Respondents revealed their preference for the organization over competing organizations.
4. Respondents referred to or used the organization to legitimize their own ideas, policies, or programs.
5. Respondents referred to direct contacts with the organization as having been "worthwhile" or otherwise directly commended the organization or its program.
6. Products of the organization were referred to favorably or commended.

Respect of approval of others within the University was judged to exist to the extent that:

7. Other members of the University expressed approval of the College, its programs, and its membership.

Some evidence was accumulated, albeit often inclusive, in respect to each of these criteria.

1. Judgments of leadership competence. In [redacted] Table E, p 240, responses to the question, "Whom do you consider the outstanding leaders in Nigerian education today?" are tabulated. Tabulation of replies from all categories of respondents indicated Dr. Fafunwa to be either the most frequently or second most frequently named expert, the only other individual apparently enjoying comparable esteem being Dr. Kenneth Dike, at the time of the study Vice Chancellor of the University of Ibadan. This is the more remarkable as Dr. Fafunwa was a Yoruba, and the overwhelming proportion of interview and questionnaire responses were from Eastern (non-Yoruba) respondents. At the same time no other member of the College or Institute was mentioned with any frequency by any category or respondent other than University of Nigeria students or graduates. In general, students in the Faculty of Education did not place the quality of instruction they had received appreciably above or below that received elsewhere in the University.

2. Verbalized explicit approval. The most direct expression of the respect or approval with which the University of Nigeria was viewed came in response to a question asking respondents to classify their reaction to the University and (with a smaller sample) their reaction to the College of Education, employing a three point scale: quite satisfied*, fairly satisfied, or somewhat disappointed. (See Table J, p 247) Although it is difficult to determine the degree of acceptance which should be understood by a reply of "fairly satisfied"

* Nigerians involved in the study preferred the use of "quite" satisfied, which in the Nigerian idiom is employed to mean fully satisfied. This has been combined with the classification very satisfied used for certain categories of respondents.

(or "satisfied" as it was sometimes modified by respondents), some idea of its relative force or strength can be gained from the fact that slightly more Ibadan (and other university) graduates expressed their reaction to their own university (Ibadan was in many respects considered the "standard" in Nigeria) by employing this category than by employing "quite satisfied." Twenty-eitht Nigerian graduates from other universities were asked, "If you were to try to categorize your opinions and judgments concerning your own university or universities, would you refer to yourself as being: (quite satisfied, fairly satisfied, or somewhat disappointed)? Their answers were distributed as follows:

TABLE

	Graduate Teachers Nigerian (Non-UNN) Total: 28	Ibadan Graduate Teachers Total: 21
Quite satisfied	11	8
Fairly satisfied	13	9
Somewhat disappointed	2	2
No response	2	2

If one compares this response with their assessment (and that of University of Nigeria graduates) of the latter university as revealed in Table , one gets a somewhat clearer notion of the degree of acceptance of the University of Nigeria . Some allowance must, of course, be made for the usual allegiance paid ones alma mater.

TABLE 8J

EXPLICITLY EXPRESSED APPROVAL OR DISAPPROVAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA

	UNIV.NIGERIA GRADS:ED.	UNIV.NIGERIA GRADS: NON-ED.	NIGERIAN GRAD. TEACHERS: NON-UNIV. OF NIGERIA	NIGERIAN PRINC. & ED. SEC.	NON-NIGERIAN PRINC. & ED. SECRETARIES	STATUS INDIVIDUALS*	FINAL YEAR STUDENTS
Quite Satisfied	38	5	4	20	3	2	38
Fairly Satisfied	47	17	21	60	13	13	22
Somewhat Disappointed	1	1	0	1	3	0	2
No response	0	0	3	3	1	0	1

EXPLICITLY EXPRESSED APPROVAL OR DISAPPROVAL OF THE COLLEGE AND INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

	EDUCATION GRADUATES	PRINCIPALS	STATUS INDIVIDUALS
Quite Satisfied	19	22	6
Fairly Satisfied	26	30	5
Somewhat disappointed	2	7	2
No response	0	35	2

* The small group of respondent lagelled status individuals was comprised of Zonal Inspectors of Education, Presidents of Professional Organizations of Educators, and Education Secretaries of the Voluntary Agencies. Almost all respondents in this category were Nigerians; all but one of these Eastern Nigerians.

Response to two further questions on the study confirmed the approval or respect the University of Nigeria graduates had for their own university. Asked to indicate which university they would wish a younger brother to attend if he wanted to be a teacher, 54 of these respondents indicated the University of Nigeria, 13 indicated the University of Ibadan, and 5 indicated the University of Lagos. (56 respondents indicated they would encourage their brothers if they chose teaching as a career and 53 indicated that they would encourage them in that case to take a degree in a College of Education.) Asked which institution they would elect were they to pursue post-graduate work themselves, the largest number expressed an interest in attending Michigan State University but nineteen named the University of Nigeria and only three indicated the University of Ibadan. It was clear from the number of other American universities named that the University of Nigeria graduates in Education had developed a strong preference for "American-type" universities.

Although these figures do not indicate overwhelming enthusiasm for the new university, they do appear to indicate what this author would consider a very reasonable degree of acceptance for an organization only five years under way.

3. Preference among universities. It has generally been maintained that prospective Nigerian university students would ordinarily select Ibadan by preference to the University of Nigeria. No very clear measure of preference was secured in the present study, although a small sample of non-graduate teachers under 35, a category of respondents who might be presumed to be potentially eligivle for a degree course in education, was querried

during the study on their choices among Nigerian universities. Among those in this category, there was a clearly stated preference for the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, and those who appeared to have the "best" possible qualifications indicated the strongest preference for Nsukka. This does not suggest, certainly, that a case has been made that the rank order of preference among universities in Nigeria has now changed, but it does suggest that past facile assertions need to be re-examined. In terms of the clear "desirability" of qualifications (prestige as far as university entrance is concerned), the initially small sample was further subdivided in five categories:

1. Higher School Certificate (Most prestigious qualification)

II. G.C. Advanced Level, NC.E. Intermediate BSc.

III. West Africa School Certificate.

IV. University Diplomas in Education (Ibadan, Zaria, Edinborough)

V. Teachers Certificates (Grade I, Grade II)

The preferences respondents indicated appear in Table . As it would be expected that students in Education would at present be drawn primarily from those already in teaching, these preferences suggest that the College is not apt to penalized by virtue of prospective candidates opting to go elsewhere. If anything, this index (limited as it was in terms of data available) suggested a far higher degree of institutionality for the University of Nigeria (especially among the better qualified prospective students) than had been anticipated

TABLE K

Choices Among Nigerian Universities by a Small

Sample of Eastern Nigerian Non-Graduate

Teachers

Educational Qualifications	Order of Preference***		
	1st choice	2nd choice	3rd choice
I. H.S.C. Holders (6)			
Nsukka	3	1	0
Ibadan	2	2	1
Any one	1	0	0
Lagos **	0	1	1
Bello	0	1	0
II. G.C.E. Advanced Level. Intermediate BSc. (16)			
Nsukka	10	5	0
Ibadan	5	9	0
Lagos	0	2	3
Ahmadu Bello ****	1	0	3
Ife	0	0	1
III. West African School Certificate (7)			
Nsukka	3	2	1
Ibadan	3	2	1
Lagos	0	1	0
Bello	1	1	0
IV. Diplomas in Education (Previous non-degree University work) (3)			
Nsukka	5	2	1
Ibadan	3	4	
Lagos	0	0	1
Bello	0	1	2
Ife	0	0	1
V. Teachers Certificates (Grade I, Grade II) (13)			
Nsukka	6	7	0
Ibadan	7	5	0
Lagos	0	0	4
Bello	0	0	6
TOTAL (49)			

TABLE (Contd.)

	First Choice	Second Choice	Third Choice
Nsukka	27	17	2
Ibadan	20	22	2
Lagos	1	2	9
Bello	1	3	11
Ife	0	0	2

* The two Higher School Certificate holders expressing preference for Ibadan wished to enter medical school, which was not available at Nsukka.

**.A political upheavel at Lagos University had resulted in the resignation of Ibo lecturers. Several respondents in selecting the university qualified their selection with "if the situation settles down."

***It should be recognized that all respondents in this small sample were from Eastern Nigeria.

4. Reference to the University as an authority. The chief indication that the University was gaining respect as an educational authority came, infact, through use of its members by the Ministry of Education. Such instances have been indicated elsewhere, three members of the College of Education at the University having served on the Study Conference on Nigeria Education (the Ikoku Committee), the Institute having been asked to sponsor a conference on the controversial public school board issue, two members of the Department of Vocational Education having been used in planning curricula for the new Comprehensive Junior Secondary Schools, and a number of members serving in expert positions of advice and authority in respect to the Ministry's new Advanced Teacher Training College. In addition, several members served on the various panels of the influential West African Examination Council.

5. Valued direct contacts. The University of Nigeria early attempted to develop a program which would bring it into direct contact with other organizations in Eastern Nigeria. It became a meeting place for a number of professional and scholarly societies in the Region. It was customary, when such meetings were held on campus, for members of the University faculty to participate in the meetings of the visiting organization. Such meetings provided visitors with an opportunity to assess both the quality of facilities provided and the quality of professional personnel, and thus obviously served a potential "legitimizing" function in the educational world. An attempt was made to judge both the extent to which such meetings had actually touched the school principals and educational secretaries in Eastern Nigeria, and the extent to which such contacts were judged to have been worthwhile. Of the

total of ninety eight principals who were asked if they or members of their staff had had any contact with the Faculty of Education at the University of Nigeria, eighty four responded in the affirmative, thirty nine indicating that they had personally had such contact, thirty indicating that both they and their staff had had such contact, and fifteen indicating that only their staff had had such contact. Most contact reported had been through conferences, courses, seminars or workshops, and the overwhelming proportion of the respondents indicating their judgment conerning the value of the contacts indicated a favorable reaction. Of the ninety-eight principals interviewed, sixty five indicated that they had personally had occasión to use the facilities of the University at Nsukka in the five years since it had opened.

6. Judgments concerning Students and Graduates. An attempt was made to secure the judgment of principals as to the quality of students who had enrolled at the University of Nigeria. Seventy of the principals interviewed indicated that their former students or staff had enrolled at Nsukka. Asked to judge the quality of these, thirty-six principals indicated they had been among their best, twelve that they had not been among their best, and five that they had been of mixed quality. A much smaller number professed knowledge of former students or teachers who had elected to go into Education at the University of Nigeria; of those who professed such knowledge, twelve classified these among their best while four indicated they would not so classify them. Thus, although the pattern of responses by principals was mixed, there did not appear to be a feeling that the University was by and large attracting unsuitable candidates. This tends to confirm the picture suggested by the preferences of well-qualified students themselves as revealed in the

brief sample reported above in Table

Perhaps a more telling index of institutionality was the judgement of principals concerning the quality of graduates they had employed. Principals frequently suggested this as the basis upon which they were judging the University itself. Sixty-nine principals or education secretaries reported having employed graduates of the university (twenty-five of these had employed graduates with degrees in education). Asked by means of an open-ended question, to indicate their satisfaction with these graduates, they responded in ways it was possible to classify crudely as follows:

Very pleased	20
Pleased	22
Mixed feelings	17
Disappointed	6
Can't judge yet	2
No response	2
	69

Fewer respondents replied to a related open-ended question asking them to compare University of Nigeria graduates with others they had employed. The responses of those who did reply could be classified as follows:

Seem better than others	2
Compare favorably	20
Ibadan Graduates appear superior	5

Asked still further whether University of Nigeria graduates were suitable in terms of quality and needs, 31 responded in the affirmative and 16 in the negative, most preferring not to respond. It is clear that enthusiasm for graduates was still far from universal.

7. Organization and Membership Status. As Education had traditionally not been a degree field in British colonial universities and as Institutes of Education had held a dubious academic reputation in many institutions of higher learning, the problem of gaining respect was not limited to securing approval from external publics but had to be won also within the parent organization. In order to assess the respect accorded the College and Institute of Education, twenty-four faculty members (present and past) in Central Administration, prestige positions, or departments which came into contact with Educations were interviewed, in part to assess the respect with which they viewed the College of Education. As the University Senate had recently rejected a proposed masters degree program in Education it was possible to assess attitudes toward the College not only by general questions but also by questions calling upon respondents to account for or explain this particular decision which had suggested a low level of respect. Unfortunately, the preponderance of Americans in postions of authority during the University's first five years limited the number of Nigerian power figures whom it appeared profitable to interview, and the total number of respondents included a number of Americans which was quite disproportionate to their numbers on the faculty if lesser ranks were included. It was, however, possible to interview twelve direct-hire (non-American) personnel, and also to secure the views of Americans who observed the phenomena of acceptance and rejection of the masters program somewhat as outsiders. Such respondents reported without exception that both the Faculty of Education, and the Faculty of Education as then comprised were well accepted; although one or two respondents questioned whether it possessed strength in depth. * In commenting specifically on the rejection of the

* The attitudes of other students toward Education students have been noted earlier.

master's degree in education, respondents generally stated they believed such a program would have spread the faculty too thin, particularly at a time when it was beginning a Post Graduate Programme in education for students who had taken honours degrees in other departments. In only three instances did other Nigerians question the professional qualifications of the Education staff to handle a master's degree; and as one respondent pointed out, the Senate recommendation had not been to reject the degree but to defer it for the time being. It is also interesting to note that no direct hire respondent indicated any serious causes of friction existing between his department and the College of Education although in one case there was a feeling that the College was "imperialistic" in its aspirations.

The assessment by American advisors and administrative personnel outside of Education is also of interest in assesing the institutionality of the College. American advisors and administrators saw the idea of a Faculty of Education generally accepted (one administrator commented the idea of such a college was more acceptable at Nsukka than it was in America). In terms of its known personnel, Americans generally saw the College as possessing several strong individuals but lacking demonstrated strength in depth. Some further noted an expansionist and somewhat rigid approach in relations of the College with other units in the University, an approach which was felt to have diminished its effectiveness. They attributed the rejection of the Masters Degree in Education to a general desire to restrain further present expansion of the University, to the ineffectiveness of the presentation of the program, and to suspicion that there was insufficient faculty strength to launch a master's degree at the time it was proposed. In general, the College seems to have acquired a reputation among other faculty for serving a distinct purpose in the

University, for being somewhat rigid and imperialistic in dealing with other departments affected by teacher training programs, and for lacking demonstrated faculty strength in depth. There seemed agreement that a few of its leaders already had or were beginning to command much respect. It is interesting to note that in the period between the time Vice Chancellor Taggart left the University and Vice Chancellor Njoku arrived, Dr. Fafunwa was appointed acting Vice Chancellor , a position to which hea had also been named on previous occasions during the absence of the Vice Chancellor.

Institutionality as Revealed by Normative Spread

Normative spread is here considered to have occurred to the extent to which action and belief patterns incorporated in the organization have become normative both within the organization and for other social units within or related to its sphere of operation. Such spread should not be thought of as implying a simple "casual" relationship, however. It would, for example, be incorrect to assert (as is mistakenly done by many associated with the University of Nigeria project) that programs which first operated within the College of Education and later appeared in other institutions represented the latter's "copying" an Nsukka pattern. The analysis in this study strongly indicates that such institutionalization of the organization as has come about did so in large part because its doctrine and program conformed reasonably well to emerging or dominant preceptions of need and desirability in the environment. Similar perceptions led to similar innovations elsewhere.

While educational doctrines which were to emerge were advocated in the 1950's by Dr. Azikiwe, and by Nigerian scholars who began to speak and write about their own educational system (including several who subsequently became

members of the College of Education), recognition of the desirability of "practical" education and "education related to African needs", not surprisingly had appeared regularly in earlier pronouncements on African schools. Early reports and analysis had long been preparing an environment ready for change. Moreover, the University of Nigeria opened at precisely the time when the more careful analysis of post-secondary education made by the Ashby Commission had produced an independent and "authoritative" justification for programs and emphases which the University was to initiate. The College of Education was not primarily innovative in the sense of coming up with a series of doctrines and practices de novo; rather it put into an organizational framework ideas and doctrines which were emerging but many of which previously lacked precise definition or programmatic interpretation. Subsequently similar patterns were to be developed by other organizations, and the doctrines and slogans enunciated by the University became more and more frequently expressed elsewhere.

One can speak of the institutionalization of the College of Education at Nsukka and its "innovations" however, without implying any strict casual or imitative relationship between its programs and others which were to emerge. At the same time it should be recognized that "ground-breaking" frequently has a catalyst effect and that innovations once launched may in fact encourage other departures which might or might not have come into being without prior example. Similarly, the mere ability of an innovating organization to survive may encourage innovation elsewhere. As one of the more critical observers of the university early commented to a University official, "It is not your success that we want to compliment you on - it is your failure to fail." This ability to make change stick indicated there was a tolerance for innovation in the

environment which others came to anticipate. Fortunately we need not decide if other organizations would have developed anyway in order to speak of the institutionality of the College as an innovative organization.

A number of indices of normative spread were available for use in examining institutionality of the College of Education. We shall consider normative spread to have occurred to the extent to which:

1. Members of the relevant publics expressed the same norms as those the organization attempted to exemplify or initiate.
2. Those trained by the organization approved the norms the organization attempted to initiate (or verbalized the norms of the organization as being their own.)
3. Official policy statements on education came to reflect acceptance and reinformcement of the action and belief patterns of the organization.
4. Other units have incorporated innovative norms of the organization in their own operations.
5. Values or action patterns of the organization which were innovative have become accepted to the point where they are no longer matters of dispute.

1. Verbalized acceptance of norms by relevant publics. The extent of attention devoted in the public press to education precluded any detailed content analysis, but such an analysis is not required to recognize that Nigerian public journals to an increasing extent were concerned with "functionality" in education, with "Nigerianization" of content, with the need to offer more "science" and "technology" in schools, and with "Nigerian manpower needs."

It is clear these concerns were virtually identical with University doctrine as embodied in its slogan and priority system. The distinguishing characteristics of the University of Nigeria as recognized by its relevant publics have been indicated elsewhere (Table). The reaction of each of the school publics which was sampled to recognied University innovations, insofar as it was possible to determine this, is treated in Table . In general it would appear that with the exception of University innovations with respect to its lower admissions point (West African School Certificate) and very rapid expansion, innovations ere approved or judged acceptable. There was also a mixed pattern of concerns about "evaluation" among students. Similarly, it should be noted, the products of the university, whom it is to be presumed were viewed as "incorporating" the norms of the University, were generally considered acceptable.

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2. Internalization of norms by students. Unquestionably there was some norm-reinforcement among students by the very process of self-selection: those students who entered the University of Nigeria had been favorably enough inclined toward the new university to apply for an accept admission there. However, in the economy of scarcity prevailing with regard to educational opportunities this did not necessarily indicate they preferred that school to others. The admission standards used in selecting "pioneer" students the first year, limitations of faculty, lack of laboratory facilities at the University that year and inadequate time for planning prior to the opening of the University all combined to prevent genuine innovation in programs or academic emphasis the first year. When major innovations were introduced the following year, including particularly the requirement that all students enroll

in a "broadening" General Studies program, serious student opposition (apparently encouraged by some faculty members) led to a boycott of registration by the students of one social science department, a boycott which broke down only in the closing minutes of the registration period when it was apparent that the University administration intended to stand firm. Similarly, policies designed to implement the University's "non-elitist" doctrine (such as one prohibiting an undergraduate gown to mark students off from the town, and others which minimized personal services to students, who were expected to do their own laundry and serve themselves in the dining hall) met with strong student objection. It is thus interesting to note that among the students and graduates interviewed five years later there was almost complete acceptance of those University innovations which they then identified. The single exception to this approval was the "grading" and "degree system", in respect to which complaints varied widely, generally concentrating on the decision not to offer a "third class honors" degree, a decision which students viewed as subsequently penalizing them in the labour market. Particularly impressive was the allegiance of Education students to the non-elitist orientation of the University--to the various activities and decisions which they saw as designed to bridge the gap between elite and mass. Noted by Education graduates only less frequently than the "functional" and "broad" orientations of the curriculum, this "innovative doctrine" was rejected by none of them.

At the same time it must be recognized that the way the graduates described their own behavior was not invariably supported by the way others described it. Thirteen of the principals interviewed reported Nsukka graduates to be self-centered, some describing them as "proud", "always demanding their rights," "behaving as if a university degree makes them important,"

TABLE L

ACCEPTANCE OF UNIVERSITY INNOVATIONS IDENTIFIED BY VARIOUS PUBLICS *

	Principals and Status Group(101)			Graduates in Education (88)			Final Year Education Students (59)		
	Accept	Reject	Mixed Reaction	Accept	Reject	Mixed Reaction	Accept	Reject	Mixed Reaction
1. Pragmatic orientation	38	1		65	0	1	44	0	1
2. General education	20	40	6	56	0	6	38	3	3
3. Nigerian Cultural Content	11	0	0	14	0		10	0	0
4. Flexible or Lower Admission Standards	3	9	2	2	2	1	2	2	0
5. Large enrollment	3	6	0	5	4	0	4	0 0	0
6. Non-elitist orientation, service.	14	0	0	32	0	0	10	0	0
7. Rapid Development	0	5	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
8. Independent Status	0	1	0	7	0	0	3	0	0
9. American British-American, or International	9	3	3	12	0	2	14	2	1
10. Evaluation System **	6	1	0	8	0	6	2	6	4

* Acceptance figures were only in terms of the innovations which the respondents themselves identified and of which they did not, in response to a direct question, state disapproval.

** Student disapproval of the evaluation system is somewhat misleading. Different students expressed disapproval of one or another feature of the evaluation and degree-awarding system in operation; they were not in agreement amongst themselves.

"too demanding of conditions of service" and the like. It was impossible to judge on the basis of interview data if there was any difference in performance in this regard between Education students and other University of Nigeria graduates, although it was clear that it was primarily Education graduates who referred to "non-elitist orientation" as a distinctive quality of the University (possibly due in part to that systematic distortion which came about through original selection of students from among those who would accept a new and hence "non-prestigious" degree program in a low prestige field; possibly due in part to verbal emphasis placed on democratic or egalitarian doctrine throughout their classroom training; probably due to both factors.) Also it is difficult to judge to what extent the dissatisfaction of school administrators in this regard might have resulted from the generally "revolutionary" orientation of the graduates, from their general (and vocal!) dissatisfaction with the status quo in education.

Unfortunately it was virtually impossible to do more tha speculate on the extent to which the norms that graduate verbalized were actually reflected in their practice.* Education graduates generally believed they were applying what they had learned at the University in their own teaching. They referred to promoting critical thinking, problem solving procedures, and wide reading i n their classes. If these were actually practiced, they constituted a veritable revolution in classroom procedures in Nigeria which tend to be almost exclusively memoriter for a variety of reasons. Those graduates in positions of influence and authority, spoke of democratizing their

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* This is not to deny that what persons say may at times be as accurate an indication of their values as what they do. Often situations preclude actions in conformity with values held, or lack of knowledge effectively prevents an actor from visualizing ways in which his commitments may be put into effect.

schools through the introduction of such devices as student government. The most interesting descriptions of changes made, however, were those which suggested that teachers believed that even within the inhibiting structure of the grammar school they had been able to demonstrate the dignity of labour, the respectability of dirty hands, and the importance of the rural environment. Three replies to the question of whether they had attempted to introduce any changes bear repeating here:

> Yes. Simplicity in the life of a graduate; respect for individual personality; hard work and desire to help the needy. I work in a small farm near my school and keep some poulty; good understanding between me and members of the school's non-academic staff whom I control. I give much of my time to extra-mural studies students.

* * * * * *

> I have endeavoured to make the school.... more democratic in its management. As the boarding master I have introduced the students' council and it is functioning well. I have successfully launched the school magazine. The dignity of labour has been recognized: prior to my coming to the school, students of Classes IV and V were exempted from manual work; this has been cancelled.

* * * * * *

> Dignity of labour. I own a poultry farm of about 150 chicks and I have been able to organize the girls I teach into a Young Farmers Group.

A similar account by a graduate of his experience during his final practical teaching experience is equally revealing:

> Yes. To be tolerant is an asset to happy living together of people with various ways of behaving and doing things. My colleagues and I put this into practice at the T.T.C. Uyo in 1964 when we were doing out students' internship. We were quartered with the students in one dormitory. Our humble ways of behaviour and tolerating them was so surprising to them that they openly confessed they had never seen the like before. One of them said that nothing would make students from Ibadan University accept them in conversations, how much more living together with them in a common dormitory.

There is thus some evidence, insufficient as it must necessarily be at this time, that norms enunciated have been internalized by Education students. This would seem the first important step in their wider diffusion.

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3. Normative Spread to Official Policy. As has been indicated earlier, the Ashby Report served as a watershed in educational thinking in Africa . All Regional Ministries of Education accepted the Report in principle, although each had reservations on specific proposals. In general then, it must be assumed that throughout Nigeria the central theme of the Report, namely that education must specifically planned and tooled to produce the type of Nigeria which was envisioned for 1980, was accepted. The Federal Government, for example, announced its determination " to pursue a vigorous policy of man-power development that will at once rectify the existing imbalance in educational development, and promote the conomic development of the nation." Its main caveat with the Harbison study upon which the Ashby Report was based was that "the targets set, though large in comparison with present achievements and facilities, are considered to be low when measured against the strong political urge to step up man-power development.*

In its more specific acceptance of the Report, it endorsed expansion of secondary schools; obligatory manual subjects, vocational training, and agricultural education in secondary schools; a greater emphasis on science and commercial education; the association of teacher training colleges with institutes of education at the universities; and an increased emphasis on teacher training focusssed particularly upon the production of "well qualified"

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* Educational Development, 1961- 1970, p. 4

teachers. The preparation of graduate teachers to teach in institutions below university level was considered the responsibility of the universities.

Eastern Nigerian policy proceeded in similar directions. The Eastern Nigeria Development Plan, 1962 - 1968, noting that the Ashby Commission had "made recommendations on the ways to expand the educational facilities of Nigeria to meet the anticipated manpower needs" selected for early development "those projects which are of immediate urgency and are within the financial capacity of the Region." The main objective of the 1962-1968 plan with respect to Education was "to direct attention to scientific and technical training" without lowering the standards in grammar school education. The Report of the Conference on the Review of the Education System in Eastern Nigeria (the "Ikoku Report") like the Cook-Hannah-Taggart Report which had guided the development of the University, looked to a "complete overhauling of the curriculum to reflect a reorganization of the entire educational system in a manner befitting a sovereign and independent Nigeria."

The plea for Nigerianization of content was couched in the rhetoric of persuasion:

> In the souls of most of us engaged in this brief review there lurks an "aching void" for the games and pastimes of our childhood days, for the joys of the village green. Most of these have been ousted by imported games, which are not bad because they are imported, but which should remain side by side with those of our culture and mode of expressing. We hope the Beauty Culture syllabus (sic!) envisaged in the Vocational High School, for instance, will revive something of the training given to our girls in their early teens and later adolescence. The initiation ceremonies of boys, to take another example, have a wealth of symbolism and meaning which we shall be the poorer to lose.*

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* Reports of the Conference on the Review of the Educational System of Eastern Nigeria, 1964, p. 4

Elsewhere the conference lamented that the Federal Constitution "recognizes nursing as a profession and denies (by silence) that status to teaching," called for a genuine professionalization of teaching, proposed a new primary syllabus, urged Government to underwrite the staffs of colleges and universities in producing suitable texts, placed emphasis on instruction in African languages and devoted special attention to the development of secondary commercial, technical, and vocational schools. Although it would be difficult to determine any consistent "philosophy" in the Report of the Conference (an eclectic curricular combination based on vocationalism, reverence for Africa's cultural past and Classicism to be realized through methods justified both by a life experience- community conception of learning and notion of the "disciplinary" value of certain subjects),its primary focus on functionalism, Nigerian cultural content and professionalism in education is clear.

The new Policy for Education, which followed this conference and was promulgated in 1963, revealed these same emphases. "Educational policy, to be serviceable and viable, must be geared to the special needs and aims of a nation. We must now evolve a policy, a system of education which will produce men and women who will not be out of place in a technological age- a system which will blend science and technology with culture and spiritual enrichment; a system which will feed our industries with personnel without starving our schools, colleges, the Church and offices of such personnel." * Specific policy statements called for a shift in emphasis to Technical and Scientific Education, introduction of science teaching in primary schools (an understood policy), handicraft training intended to kill the "white Collar" attitude amongs the population, three years of compulsory agriculture in secondary

* Policy for Education, 1963. p. 1

schools, intensified technical and commercial education and trade training, and an emphasis on audio-visual instruction and school broadcasting.

The congruence between most of these aims and those of the University is immediately clear. University doctrine placed emphasis upon training agricultural, commercial, and trade teachers. The College of Education early shifted its emphasis to primary school science, for which Dr. Fafunwa assumed leadership throughout much of Africa. The overall University policies of tying education to "projected manpower needs" and fashioning it increasingly out of "Nigerian cultural content" were identical with these public statements of goals. The doctrine of the University was clearly couched in the popular vocabulary of the day Official government policy and University policy mirrored each other. This is not to assert, however, that the spread of doctrine had been unidirectional, flowing from University to wider environment. More likely each policy gained strength and acceptability from the presence of the other.

4. Diffusion of Programs to Other Institutions. Writing on the University of the North in the West African Review in September, 1961, a northern civil servant, A. H. M. Kirk-Greene, commented as follows on the factors which led to the decision to create a university in this essentially conservative and educationally deprived region:

> Though the idea of a university of the North has been mentioned in academic and thinking political circles during the past few years, it was more in the hope than in expectation and if the idea was heard more frequently on the lips of Northern Nigerians in 1959, it was to some extent due to the stimulation and quickening of hope brought about by the breath-taking concept of the Nsukka project. Here the University of Nigeria campus has opened its first session, having grwon from nothing but a beautiful site within what seemed to us accustomed to the juggernaut pace of the

colonist days, an impossibly short space of time.*

Similarly, after previously deriding the plan to develop a regional university in the East, the Western Nigeria Minister of Education, during the final sessions of the Ashby Commission suddenly announced a plan to establish a comparable Regional University in that Region. By 1962 Nigeria was to have not one but five universities. Each of the new universities followed the "Nsukka pattern" of opening as an autonomous body, and Ibadan soon requested and received its independence from London. Attempts were made in several of the new universities to broaden course offerings, either through curricular rearrangement or through required work in African studies. The three other universities which offered work in Education (Ibadan, Lagos, and Ahmadu Bello) soon made this into a degree course. Patterns of admission in each university tended to be flexible, depending upon the pool of available students, although in those other than the University of Nigeria, the Higher School Certificate clearly remained the preferred or "non concessional" entry point. Degree courses in Education soon spread further. A second prestige university of British black Africa-- Makerere University College, Uganda, followed the University of Nigeria and Ibadan in introducing a degree program in education, and a similar program is planned at Nairobi. It is difficult to know what might have occurred at the University of Ghana had its teacher education program not becoma a political plaything in the last years of the Nkrumah regime. Haile Selassie University operating in a different tradition (but an increasingly important member of the African community of English speaking universities) now is likewise offering a degree program in education. On the other hand, a number of African universities have

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* West African Review, September, 1961, pp. 33-34

continued to resist the professional degree in education: Zambia has not opened with such a program and Dar es Salaam has added education options among the papers in established "academic" fields but has rejected the degree concept per se.

In recent reports by Educational Commissions or national planning bodies, the manpower analysis approach to educational planning, and a resultant emphasis on functional education, have become so strong that Sir Edgar Castle* has felt compelled to plead in the journals for "The Necessity of the Useless in African Education." Following the publication in the United Kingdom of the Robbins Report** with its endorsement of joint University-Training College B.A. (Education) degree for that country, Dr. Fafunwa took to the pages of the Times Education Supplement, with a lengthy description of the doctrine and program involved in the B.A. (Education) and B.Sc (Education) degrees at the University of Nigeria, concluding with a paragraph in which he pointed out,

> "Considerable debate ensued when these new B.A. and B.Sc (Education) degrees were first introduced by the University of Nigeria. But today, I am happy to report that the University of Ibadan, Ahmadu Bello University and the University of Lagos have since followed the University of Nigeria's lead in this new and challenging direction. It is perhaps safe to say that the University of Nigeria was the first Commonwealth University to blaze the trail. While the debate continues in the United Kingdom, we welcome aboard with open arms the University of York.

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* Chairman of one such commission

** Higher Education: Report of the Committee supported by the Prime Minister under the Chairministry of Lord Robbins, 1961-1963 HMSO, pp.112-116,279.)

It was no doubt a particular pleasure for an African to observe education in the Home Country cast for once in the role of follower, a role in which African education had perforce been cast since its inception.

The diffusion of other innovations which are less tangible is more difficult to measure or predict. It is, however, clear that the doctrinal emphasis on science, so clearly exemplified since Dr. Fafunwa assumed administrative leadership of the College, has rapidly become a new African orthodoxy. The extent of the influence which Dr. Ukeje of the University of Nigeria, an avowed progmatist and outspoken educational reconstructionist, will have upon established educational "doctrine" in Nigeria by virtue of his position as head of the Teacher Training panel of the West African Examinations Council remains to be seen.

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5. Decline of Debate Over Innovations as an Index of Acceptance. If one considers the decline of public debate on innovations or organizations an index of their acceptance, it appears clear on the basis of data revealed throughout this study that the major innovations in doctrine and program which impinge upon teacher education at Nsukka have gained a degree of institutionality. That some innovations have only apparently or temporarily left the arena of debate is always possible; but data collected during the study appears to indicate that with respect to the "debatability" of innovations the current status of the organization can be summarized as follows:

> The University itself as a new organization. All serious debate on the acceptability of regional universities has ended with the establishment of universities in other regions. Whereas the acceptability of creating a new university had been seriously debated in the public press and in the Eastern House of Assembly at the time of consideration of the University of Nigeria Law in 1955, no such discussion

arose at the point of considering the revised law in 1961. Opposition spokesman, such as Elec Njaka, spoke vehemently in defense of the University, and the chief Government spokesman was able to note at conclusion of the "debate",

"One has to recall what happened here sometime in 1958 when we introduced the University Provisional Council Bill. There was a great deal of antagonism and hostility. People were shouting from the Opposition Bench and did everything to ruin the Bill. I am happy now to see some Members of the Opposition congratulating the Government on what they have done so far. There is no doubt that the University of Nigeria is a jewel in our crown. . ". *

When the question was raised in the Federal House concerning the employability of University of Nigeria graduates, the Attorney General of Nigeria (Dr. Elias) apparently effectively silenced such criticisms. When Dr. oyolu of the University launched a series of attacks in the press in 1966, these were directed not at the University but at Michigan State University participation. Such criticisms were effectively silenced by the new military governor who gave strong endoresement to the University in March, 1966, and made it clear that future public attack would not be countenanced.

The conservative characteristics of the University, and their current "debate" relating, are listed in Table M.

* Eastern House of Assembly Debates, 1961, p. 239

TABLE M

All -University Innovations ~~Impinging~~ Impinging on Education:

Innovation	Current Debate Status
1. Gearing education priorities to national development needs.	No serious debate continues either in Nigeria or within the University.
2. Emphasis on Nigerian cultural content.	This has never been seriously debated, the only issue being how it can be accomplished.
3. Nigerianization of Faculty	This has never been seriously debated, although in our universities promotion has been slow due to reluctance of some colonial educators to leave. Some criticism of the university by students and prospective students for over-hasty Nigerianization leading to poor instruction was noted.
4. Broad or General Education	This appears no longer seriously debated, although discussion of the appropriate "balance" between breadth and specialization continues.
5. Service activities for all citizens.	This has never been a matter of debate and has received approval of the Nigerian press and of all respondents who noted this doctrine.
6. Non-elitist orientation of students	The desirability of such an orientation is not a subject of debate, although as late as 1965, the British expert on African Education, Prof. Carr-Saunders, continued to advance the position that no modification in University program of policy could affect the disposition toward exclusiveness.
7. Vocational Degree Programs.	Suitability of certain non academic University programs for the awarding of degrees has been debated by the University Council in 1966, probably reflecting continued concern among some publics.

8. American educational influence.	The respectability of American educational patterns and standards is a matter of continuing debate both within the University and within the nation, although the balance between "pro" and "con" appears to have shifted toward the former.
9. Flexible admission standards.	This continues to be a matter of concern to those in the educational establishment and has been a topic of debate in the professional press and at professional meetings.
10. University autonomy.	All universities in Nigeria are now autonomous without the former "special relationships" with London. No debate continues on this point.*
11. Rapid university expansion.	This remains a matter of concern to some respondents within the educational establishment but merited little or no unfavorable attention in the public press surveyed during this study.

The Faculty of Education as an Innovation. No serious debate appears to exist on the desirability of a Faculty of Education within the University. Similar faculties now exist at all other Nigerian universities. All respondents within the University indicated they favoured the existence of such a Faculty.

Specific College of Education Innovations:

Innovation	Current Debate Status
1. Professional degree program in Education	Although this was a matter of serious debate at the time of the Ashby Report, the idea appears to be no longer a matter of debate within the Ministry, the press, the educational establishment, or the University. Debate continues within the University as to the appropriate balance between professional and teaching field courses within the program.

* The autonomy of the University was a matter of particular pride for those speaking on the University of Nigeria Law, 1961. Eastern House of Assembly Debates, 1961.

2. Degrees in Vocational Teacher Education.	The suitability of such degrees has been debated by the University Council in 1966 but does not appear to have been debated in the public media. There appears to be no question about the desirability of special non-degree programs for vocational teachers.
3. Degrees in Physical Education	The suitability of such degrees has been debated by the University Council and is questioned by some persons in the educational establishment and the Ministries. It was not found to be a matter of debate in the public press.
4. Institute of Education as a partnership organization comprising College, Ministry and Training Colleges.	This has been clearly accepted by all concerned, although programs have not won enthusiastic participation.
5. Need for Curriculum Reconstruction.	There is no public or professional debate on the general principle, although professional concern is now expressed by some school people about danger of a new imbalance in the direction of science.
6. Secular, rationalized education.	This is a matter of continuing public concern and debate revealed by debated in the Eastern House of Assembly, by recommendations and reservations in conference reports, by demonstrations of parents, by comments of some respondents (notably clergy), by the public press, and by pamphleteering by the Church.

In considering the extent to which the action and belief patterns incorporated in the University and its College of Education have become approved within Eastern Nigeria, we found that most recognized patterns appeared widely accepted. As measured by this index the organization would thus be considered to have achieved considerable institutionality. Again it must be emphasized that this is not to suggest linear casual relationship. Forces operating quite apart from the University unquestionably have influenced the attitudes of many publics with which the University and its College of Education are concerned. Neither is this to say that all innovations proposed by the organizations have won even verbal acceptance. It would appear that the principal acknowledged innovations of the University which have not won full acceptance are (1) its lower admission requirements and (2) its policy of granting degrees in some fields which are judged by members of certain publics to lack "academic" or "intellectual" content, eg., physical education, some aspect of vocational education, and secretarial studies. Responses of those querried also indicated there is not full concensus on the appropriate "mix" between general and specialized education in a university program. In terms of College doctrine and program with respect to Nigerian education at large, it is clear that such notions as reconstructing curriculum to place increased emphasis on science and technology and to find place for Nigerian cultural content are widely supported. It is equally clear that no comparable consensus yet exists concerning the desirability of state control or direct state management of the entire school system.

Institutionality as Indicated by the Criterion of Autonomy

One characteristic of an institutionalized organization is that it is regularly accorded a high degree of autonomy. As "an organization within an organization", the College of Education at the University may be granted or denied autonomy in either of two systems of which it is a part: (1) within the larger organization (that is, the University, its statutes, and its policies), or (2) within the educational system (that is, the system composed of educational laws and regulations, the Ministry of Education, schools, and Voluntary Agencies.) As complete freedom of action by a ~~consistent~~ constituent unit of a system or organization is rarely possible, usable indices of autonomy appropriately embody some concept of reasonableness in terms of requirements for system maintenance. For example, in considering the autonomy granted a College of Education, one must recognize that its actions in certain spheres (for example "admissions practices") might actually preclude either goal-achievement or institutionalization of the University as a whole. Employing this modifying concept of reasonableness one may still suggest the following indices.

The degree of institutionality may be judged by the extent to which:

1. The freedoms granted the organization are equal to those granted to comparable or competing units.

2. De facto limits placed on activities are made by expertly qualified bodies or bodies with legal jurisdiction and responsibility.

3. Such limitations as are imposed do not impede or preclude the implementation of doctrine through program.

4. Limitations on action are made by bodies in which the organization itself shares in establishing these limitations.

5A Limitations on the scope of autonomy are not discriminatory in the sense of singling out the particular organization in question.

5B The micro-organization (The College of Education) does not suffer any limitations on autonomy which do not apply to the larger organization (The University).

If these general indices are considered seriatim, the degree of institutionality may be judged in aggregate before consideration is given to freedoms or restraints in terms of specific functions which a College of Education appropriately performs in a university.

1. Equal autonomy with comparable or competing bodies. Within the University the Faculty (College) of Education is new one of seven faculties. As such it enjoys the same de jure and de facto status as other faculties. It is represented on the major decision making bodies of the university and as a faculty has at no time been singled out for discriminatory treatment. Although its proposed Masters degree program was rejected by the University Senate, this was done, to all appearances, by applying previously agreed upon criteria which would not by their nature automatically discriminate against a college of education. At the same time it must be recognized that this autonomy, particularly in the matter of granting degrees, is tenuous. One of the first decisions of the new "non-political" University (Board of Governors) appointed in 1966 Council was that it would re-examine the appropriateness of granting degrees in such fields as physical education and vocational education. This restriction on degree granting power appears more likely to come into effect if, as remains possible, graduates in physical education are not placed on a salary scale set up for degree holders. In this case it appears possible the implications of such salary action for the status of other University degrees might

influence the University decision.

Within Nigeria at large, the Faculty (College) of Education at the University of Nigeria has been one of four University faculties granting certificates and degrees in Education, engaging in research, and offering services to schools. During the research survey in 1961, the College was restricted from visiting certain areas in Benue province in Northern Nigeria which it wished to visit because of their proximity to the University. This restriction, however, was clearly due to political disturbances occuring in the area, and the Northern Nigerian Ministry of Education has welcomed College work with schools, provided only that the Ministry had prior knowledge of extensive studies. Political differences and recent profound political upheaval have precluded research in Western Nigeria.

The original diploma program of the College was at first not recognized for accreditation or salary scale by the Ministries of Education, largely because it was inappropriately designed and did not pass through the commonly accepted consultative procedures. Action on the part of at least three of the Ministries was not discriminatory. A Music Education Certificate, offered by the College of Music at the University rather than the College of Education, was refused accreditation. Degree programs in Education have been not only recognized but given preferred salary status by the Ministries. The College of Education, which produces only for agencies supported largely out of public funds and for positions with fixed salary schedules, has faced more visible external restraints than other faculties within the university. It may nonetheless be that other other faculties which have thus far paid little attention to meeting external expectations may in fact find they are operating under greater

restraints, for they operate without administrative machinery for influencing the salary treatment to be accorded their graduates. Failure of their graduates to secure employment or receive salary recognition comparable to that granted graduates of other universities may thus indicate a lesser degree of institutionality as measured by other indices.

2. Expert or de jure determination of the limits of autonomy. Unofficial bodies (particularly those Voluntary Agencies which control much of the market for graduates in Education) could seriously limit the program of the College of Education. In fact, such limitation has not occured; for all Education graduates appear to have found employment without difficulty. Thus far the College has operated in an environment in need of more secondary school teachers and teacher training college tutors. Although misgivings on the basis of alleged atheism and secularism of lecturers in the College were voiced by a few Cahtolic school authorities, a considerable number of graduates (18) were employed in Catholic mission schools, a number of these in positions of authority. If one examines the distribution of students and employment of graduates, however, it is clear that neither accurately reflects the religious balance in Eastern Nigeria. This indicates that a restraint on University doctrine or program could be exercised unofficially through the Church by means of boycott. Up until the time of the study there appears no real reason to believe this is in fact the case. The Catholic Church supports a number of students in the College of Education, and the Auxiliary Bishop of Onitsha serves as a Member of the Executive Board of the Institute. Those teachers entering government schools [redacted] are employed

by the Public Service Commission of Eastern Nigeria. The Commission suspended interviews for jobs in education until an official recommendation from the Ministry of Education concerning recognition of the B.A. (Education) degree was received. As the Ministry reported favorably on the degree, the Commission proceeded to interview and accept applicants possessing it. Thus neither Church nor Public Service Commission has thus far imposed de facto limitations on College doctrine or program.

3. Limitations preventing translations of doctrine into program. Elsewhere in this study a number of limitations placed upon the program by which the College wished to interpret its doctrine have been mentioned. These limitations arose both within the University and from external forces. Internally, limitations on autonomy prevented (1) hiring staff in areas in which they were needed, (2) using preferred methods to select students, (3) establishing of an advisory committee for the College, (4) enabling Education students to secure courses and experiences appropriate in teaching fields, and (5) providing demonstration and laboratory experiences to make instruction meaningful. Externally, the only serious limitations were those placed upon the instructional programs of the College by the Ministry and the consultative committees. The diploma program originally proposed had to be modified considerably in the direction of deleting professional work and increasing academic course work. Entry qualifications for this program were also modified by the Ministries. Although no de jure limitations were placed upon the in-service program for unqualified teachers, de facto limitations led to abandoning the program when no assurance was given that successful completing of courses

at the University would certify these teachers. The degrees of freedom and restraint exercised in terms of the functions ordinarily performed by a College of Education are considered later in this chapter in greater detail.

4. Representation on bodies setting limits. Within the University, original limitations imposed on the autonomy of the College of Education by the University Council in hiring faculty, determining admissions qualifications for initial (non-degree) students, and initiating programs were made without direct or indirect representation of the College. The composition of the University Council has since been changed to include faculty representation through members elected by the University Senate (on which the College is represented). Other limits placed upon the College by the University (such as those on methods of selecting degree students, or offering post-graduate courses) were set by bodies on which the College was represented. On the other hand, the autonomy of other Department in the university enabled them to restrict the development of degree programs in Education by excluding Education students from courses, field trips, and tutorials suitable to their careers. Outside the University, the College was represented on the consultative committees which approved requirements for all programs in professional education. It was also involved on a partnership basis with the Eastern Nigeria Ministry in determining the program and salary recognition for the Nigerian Certificate of Education programs for Vocational Teachers. The College expected this to set a precedent for future programs.

5. Discriminatory Restrictions. At no time did the University place restrictions on the College of Education which did not apply equally to

other academic units. Similarly, the procedures expected of the College by the ministries did not differ from those expected of the corresponding colleges at other universities. Although the College of Education was perhaps more aware of externally imposed controls exercised through the power of Ministries over salary schedules (because all its products went into the government supported educational system), these limitations arose from the nature of the employment market for its graduates and not from discrimination implying lack of institutionality.

Although these indices are useful in determining the degree of institutionality achieved, more specific data can be marshalled concerning freedoms and restraints in respect to functions associated with the work of a College of Education. These areas of restraint and freedom can be considered both within the educational system and within the university.

A. Areas of Freedom and Restraint within the University

The following points at which restraints and freedom can be set by a total university, further suggest the degree of autonomy now provided the College of Education.

1. Freedom to set instructional program. In the early days there was considerable interference from the University Council in proposing both programs and the content of programs. This interference no longer prevails, although the new University Council appointed by the Military Government has indicated its interest in examing degree programs in Physical Education, Vocational Education and Home Economics. Education students as all other students are required by all University policy to take General Studies courses. Courses specifically in Education are prerogatives of the College, but as all students do at least half of their work outside the College, restraints may be imposed by other departments. Thus 53 out of 88 Education graduates reported their inability to take courses or engage in activities which should have been part of their instructional program. (Education faculty reported this was now a diminishing problem within the University.) Thus far the College has not developed effective interdepartmental or all-university machinery to assure its freedom and support from others within the University. The University Senate rejected a proposal of the College to establish a Master's degree program apparently on the basis of previously accepted all-university criteria.

2. Freedom to set standards and processes of admission. The College of Education is bound by the admission requirements of the University at large for all degree students. These standards are determined by the Entrance

Board of the University, upon which the College is represented. The College was at first allowed to interview its applicants, but this privilege was withdrawn following charges of irregularity in promising admission to students before final action by the Entrance Board. The Department of Vocational Education was permitted to use selection tests to select within limits already set by the broad University Policy. This Department was further given autonomy in admitting students by other procedures for the Nigerian Certificate of Education (Vocational) program. The office of the Registrar has supported the College in rejecting all pressures for admission exerted by Federal and Regional Ministers, some of whom have been [illegible] personally

3. Freedom to define staff positions and employ faculty. Early limitations on the freedom of the College to define staff positions or employ faculty have been described in detail elsewhere. Since October, 1964, the College has officially been free to define faculty positions needed and to establish priorities amongst these, although members of the College felt some restraints on its right to establish priorities were still exercised. The elimination of the Office of Secretary to the Council in 1966 led to transferring both procedures and de facto power of decision in faculty selection to the College.

4. Budget determination. Faculty Budgets are subject to the same processes of approval as budgets of other academic units within the university. Officially the College possesses autonomy to operate within the line items of the budget, but until the dismissal of the Bursar in 1966, the later exercised de facto veto over academic disbursements within line items. Recognizing that the University financial operations were such as to

preclude effective program development, Ford Foundation in making a grant for the operation of the Institute of Education offered to establish a separate bank account for handling the fund, an offer which the College rejected as implying lack of confidence in total university operations.

5. Physical plant development and allocations. The College had no voice in the design or assignment of the original buildings allocated to carry out its programs. Neither the Harden College of Education Building nor the Physical Education Building were designed with program considerations uppermost. With the planning of the Vocational Education Building in 1965-1966, however, faculty involvement in building development was established. Within its overall space allocations, the College is allowed to make specific assignments, subject only to overall supervision by a University Space Allocations Office.

6. Freedom in service activities. The off-campus services rendered to Eastern Nigeria in the field of education were originally within the hands of the College of Education. With the creation of a Continuing Education Service, the responsibility for extra-mural functions of the university was divided. At present the College of Education is assisted in operating on-campus conferences and providing off-campus services by the Extra-Mural Department which is able to provide both expertise in conference, seminar and workshop management and outstanding conference physical facilities. The University facilities are made available only to conferences involving sponsorship by or approval of the "appropriate" University instructional unit. In point of fact, however, the facilities tend to encroach upon the College of Education's intended sphere of service by awarding conferences

in some areas to persons within its own service (e.g., in Adult Education) or in some teaching fields (e.g. Science) without involving the College or the Institute of Education. No attempt has been made upon political or doctrinal grounds to limit conferences sponsored by the College.

7. Freedom to organize internally as it wishes. The internal organization of any Faculty in the University is governed by the University Law and its statutes. In this respect, the Faculty of Education is limited in its autonomy in an absolute sense but has equal autonomy with comparable bodies in the University. Within the limits thus established, the College and Institute have the freedom to organize as they wish.

8. Freedom to engage in and promote research. The College and Institute of Education have greater de facto freedom to engage in research than other departments because of financial subsidization providing by the Ford Foundation grant to the Institute. No external restraints exist in the use of these funds. In respect to the use of University funds, the College is subject to the same general assessment of research projects by an All-University Research Committee as are other academic units in the University.

9. Freedom to set and alter doctrine. No restrictions have been placed upon the freedom of the College to determine the educational doctrine it considers desirable. When Dr. Fafunwa extended his interpretation of "doctrine" to issues relating to freedom of access to information, a political issue in Eastern Nigeria, a University administrator objected to the use of the College office in this matter.

In summary, it is clear that within the university the College and Institute of Education possess the same de jure autonomy as other academic

units. At the same time its attempts to put into effect programs which it, or its leadership, consider germane to establishing innovations in education have been limited by de facto restraints from University authorities on strategic occasions. The more important de facto limitations upon program development in the 1960-1966 period were (1) the initiation of the original certificate program without College faculty participation, (2) an unwillingness to permit job descriptions or solicit faculty approval before selecting new staff prior to 1964, (3) an unwillingness to permit the College to use supplementary selection procedures they judged important in the selection of degree candidates since 1963 (except in Vocational Education), (4) a limiting conception by the Extra-Mural Department of the role of a College and Institute of Education in the general sphere of Continuing Education, (5) restrictions on the academic programs of Education students imposed by other University Departments (now removed in many of them), (6) failure to involve faculty participation in the design of the College facilities until the erection of the Vocational Education building in 1966; and (7) rejection in 1966 of a College request to offer a Master's Degree program in education. However, if one employs, as a measure of institutionality the extent to which the College and Institute enjoyed the same autonomy or had access to the same procedures for decision or persuasion as other academic units within the University, they must be judged largely "autonomous" within this sphere of operation.

B. Areas of Freedom and Restraint in the Educational Environment.

1. Program accreditation. Certainly a significant cue to the degree of institutionality of an organization would be the extent to which its programs were accredited in accordance with its recommendations. In the early days of the College considerable difficulty was encountered in securing accreditation for the proposed diploma program, and the award of the Nigerian Certificate of Education (a new "status" certificate) was witheld from it. A suitable salary scale for the program was finally accepted by three of the Nigerian governments. The B.A. (Education) degree was later granted accreditation and a higher salary scale than that accorded to traditional Honours degrees in single subjects. The recommendation of the Ministry of Education to this effect was accepted by the Eastern Nigeria Public Service Commission as a basis for hiring. The Nigerian Certificate of Education and its attached salary scale was agreed to in advance by the Department of Vocational Education and the Eastern Nigeria Ministry of Education when a certificate program in that department was launched. A request carried to the Joint Consultative Committee by the College of Education on behalf of the University Music Department for recognition of a music diploma program was rejected, and it seemed unlikely that a home economics program carried on outside the College of Education would receive degree recognition in awarding salaries. The Eastern Nigeria Ministry of Education refused to give automatic certification to those students at the Nigeria Union of Teachers--University of Nigeria Long Vacation Program who were recommended for certification by the College. It was thus clear that although great progress had been made in bridging differences between the College and the Ministry of Education, autonomy

in launching programs was still limited by uncertain accreditation and salary recognition.

2. Research, service, and curriculum development activities. The doctrine of the College of Education emphasized work off the campus of the university. No restraints were imposed by Government upon research which the College wished to conduct except very briefly during political disturbances in 1961 in the Tiv area. The only extensive field research programs carried on by the College after 1961 were studies conducted by students and the Ministry raised no objections to these (of which there were over one hundred conducted). By 1965 the Institute of Education provided a mechanism for dividing amicably Ministry and Faculty responsibilities in the domain of in-service activities. In the area of curriculum change, set syllabi seriously limited the ability of the College to promote change at the rate it wished. Primary syllabi were set by the Ministry of Education and an attempt by the Institute of Education to reopen consideration of the syllabus shortly after the Ministry had revised it in 1965 met with strong Ministry opposition. As the examinations and syllabi of the West African Examination Council completely dominated the secondary school curriculum, changes in curricula at this level could only be worked out gradually through College participation on the panels which set, reviewed, and revised them.

3. Recruitment, subvention, and subsequent employment of students. The extent to which official approval of programs had been achieved by 1965-1966 is indicated above. It has also been suggested above that autonomy as a criterion of institutionality requires that unofficial as well as official

bodies "legitimize" the organization. It was clear from interviews with some members of the Catholic Church, and with some Catholic graduate reporting on attitudes of clergy, that suspicion of the College and Institute of Education exists among some members of the Catholic hierarchy in Nigeria. This concern revealed itself during interviews by references to "its materialistic emphasis," "lecturers who go out of their way to preach Atheism, quoting America say, as the yardstick for beliefs", or "the influence of the Faculty on what has happened to Religion, which is not for the good of the country." Despite these concerns about secularism and atheism in the faculty, eighteen graduates were employed by the Catholic Church for its schools. If one considers the religious distribution of students or the placement of university graduates, it is clear that neither reflects the numerical preponderance of Catholic Church in Education in the Region. In a Region which is approximately two-thirds Catholic, the number of Education graduates employed in protestant schools was roughly double the number employed in Catholic schools.

It is difficult to judge if the lack of congruence between placement and religious composition of the Region reflected general Church reservations about the College, a preference of the Church for more traditional subject-matter honours degrees, some bias through the selection process as operated by the College, or an indirect effect of the large number of Irish fathers still in the prestige positions in Catholic schools (for example, serving as principals). If in effect Catholics are tending to avoid the program, this suggests serious limitations in the practical effectiveness of the College particularly in the direction of long-run education reconstruction. It

appears clear that (1) the leadership assumed by the Institute of Education in encouraging public School Board legislation to supervise all primary schools, and (2) the statements of College leadership supporting public operation of all schools supported by public funds were threatening further estrangement which could result in restraint on program by discouraging able students from opting for the College or limiting employment of its graduates. The fact that such possibilities had not altered College doctrine or statements indicated they were not yet restraints on autonomy.

Effective and potential restraints upon the autonomy of the colleges still existing in 1966 were those imposed by the need to use formal legitimization channels in proposing and developing programs, the limits imposed by set syllabi and examinations which controlled the content and to a large extent the methodology of the schools (which could be altered also only by an elaborate process of consultation and approval), and the potential limits which might be placed upon College effectiveness through alienation of influential school people in the Catholic Educational system.

Institutionality as Revealed by the Criterion of Innovative Thrust

The term innovation is ambiguous in many contexts in that it is used in both process senses and ends senses. Similarly, when we speak of the institutionalization of innovation, we may have reference to either instating certain products or to instating a process. If a new organization has become prized by those in its environment, it may be referred to as being institutionalized and no ambiguity arises. If we speak of institutionalizing innovative organizations, however, it is not clear whether we are speaking of institutionalizing an organization which itself embodies new norms or institutionalizing an organization which continues to produce new norms for action. Where higher education is concerned we normally assume a contributory as well as a conservative social function; that is, institutionalizing a university might (at least in the pragmatic American idiom) be expected to imply instating a continuing process of innovation as well as specific predetermined innovations. For purposes of discussion we might refer to the continuing function as the innovative thrust of the organization. While it is not certain that any particular pattern of institutionalization can ~~assume~~ innovative thrust, it would appear that some institutionalizations permit or encourage further innovation whereas in others innovation withers. If we define the institutionalization of an innovative organization so as to include innovative thrust, it would appear prima facie that this is a dimension for which qualities of leadership are central considerations. Ultimately ideas are produced by men.

The obvious cue as to whether an organization possesses innovative thrust is the extent to which its program and doctrine have continued to

grow and branch out beyond innovations originally foreseen. As this study occurred only five years after the opening of the University, and only three years after MSU advisory personnel for the College of Education ended their assistance (except in specialized fields of Vocational and Physical Education), it would not be surprising to find that the intervening period had been devoted entirely to instating or consolidating earlier innovations. When Dr. Fafunwa was asked by the author what he considered to be the distinctive or innovative elements in the philosophy or program of the Faculty of Education, he laughed and replied, "You ought to know. You were the one that started them." To the extent that many of his efforts have been devoted to instating programs which were only nascent when he assumed administrative leadership, this is true. But it is equally instructive to see wherein new and then (1962) unforeseen elements have been generated.

The most obvious new program development has been in the direction of introducing science into elementary schools in Nigeria and Africa. During the summer of 1961 it had been possible to secure permission from the University for Dr. Fafunwa to represent it at the Endicott House Conference on African Education held in Cambridge, Massachusetts. There it was agreed that African education needed fundamental rethinking, particularly in the fields of science, mathematics, and the social studies. Although the College of Education had already referred to science education as a priority area, this was pious hope rather than anticipation until Dr. Fafunwa assumed leadership in developing such a program after he took over as Head of the College. Under his leadership this concern with science took on a unique dimension through emphasis upon the elementary school.

Upon receiving its invitation to the United Nations Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of the Less Developed Areas, the Government of Nigeria asked the Universities to submit papers on the basis of which representatives would be picked by UNESCO for attendance at the conference. Dr. Fafunwa submitted a paper which urged a crash program in elementary science, arguing that "the first point of attack should be at the elementary level. We should introduce science right from the first year at school". On the basis of this paper he was chosen a Nigerian representative. Upon returning from Geneva, he established a University committee to develop a proposal for carrying out such a program. On the basis of this proposal a request was made to Ford Foundation which made an initial grant of £ 5000, (supplemented by £ 12,000 the following year). These two grants it was possible to organize two conference-workshops on the teaching of science. These two conferences have been described briefly by Dr. Fafunwa and Mr. Savage as follows:*

> From the 27th December 1963 to January 10, 1964 a conference was held at Nsukka to consider the problems of teaching Science in Nigerian Primary Schools. The participants came from all over Nigeria, some coming from the United States. There was a wide range of types of people represented--delegates from the various ministries, professional research scientists and educators, primary school teachers, inspectors and secondary school teachers. In short anyone who might have interests and experience in either science or education was invited.
>
> Apparatus was designed, science units planned, and philosophical arguments ranged late into the night. Experimental classes where held, rough drafts of teachers' manuals were written. Plans for the future were made and individuals promised to continue the work when they returned home after the conference.
>
> These promises were kept and after the conference materials were tested in schools in many parts of the country.

> In August 1964 a second conference was held, similar to the earlier conference but larger. At this conference in the light of feed-back, existing units were critically re-examined, teachers' manuals written for several of the many new units, and old teachers' manuals re-written. Many new ideas were generated. Detailed plans for the future were made and there are new over 10 centres in different parts of Nigeria testing materials and continuing the work started at the University, which will remain the co-ordinating centre.
>
> The Workshop hopes to continue to grow, gaining momentum until it can finally affect in a small, but deep way, the learning process of most elementary school children in Nigeria.

Educational Services Incorporated (which has assumed much leadership for curriculum revision in Africa) decided that the way to promote science education in Africa was by establishing science teaching centres on that continent. Dr. Fafunwa was the only African who had become an obvious choice for leadership in such a venture. Mr. Savage was sent over to establish a center which was to be officially attached to the Institute of Education at Nsukka. At a subsequent conferrence at Kano in Northern Nigeria* the Nigerian delegates recommended establishing similar centers for elementary science teaching at all Nigerian universities, further recommending that Nsukka be the coordinating centre for Nigeria as a whole. In 1965 Dr. Fafunwa led a delegation to twelve Nigerian educators

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* Fafunwa, A.B. and Miko Savage. Elementary Science Workshop, Nsukka, p. 2.

* At this first All-African Conference on Elementary Science in Africa, organized by Educational Services Incorporated, Dr. Fafunwa headed a delegation of four representatives from the University of Nigeria. As the Nsukka Project was, at this time, the only on-going elementary science project in Africa, the delegation was invited to engage in demonstration teaching with Norther children as a portion of the Conference program.

to a six week conference on African Elementary Science Education held at Entebbe, Uganda. There teaching units developed in the Nsukka workshops were presented for possible experimental use by local science centres elsewhere in Africa. A further workshop, of which Dr. Fafunwa was co-chairman, was conducted in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, in 1966.

The future of this program as innovation appears particularly promising. In it, for the first time, Dr. Fafunwa has drawn upon the total resources of the University, members from the Faculties of Science and Agriculture being used extensively. He has managed since 1965 to develop the nucleus of a staff concerned with and trained in science education, first through secondment of one expert by Educational Services Incorporated and, more recently, by direct hire of a young science education specialist. He has, further, linked his program normatively to a top stated priority of the Ministry of Education in Eastern Nigeria. The Ministry has reciprocated, requesting that research in elementary science instruction supported by Ford, be attached to the University Institute of Education. Finally, inasmuch as the project has developed actual teaching materials and has involved classroom teachers in the field, it has made possible the first significant field experimentation carried on by the Institute of Education.

A second story of continuing innovation can be told in respect to mathematics education. When University College, Ibadan "neglected" to invite a representative from the University of Nigeria to the first conference on the "New Mathematics" organized by Ibadan under Educational Services Incorporated auspices, Dr. Fafunwa insisted through the sponsoring organization that the University of Nigeria be represented. Dr. Ukeje and Miss Crook were consequently invited to attend the conference. From

the time of this original participation in 1962, Dr. Ukeje has become a core member in the annual Entebbe workshops which are adapting the "New Mathematics" for African schools. He has organized at the Institute of Education workshops for teachers of mathematics in Teacher Training Colleges. They were sponsored jointly by the Ministry of Education, E.S.I. and the Institute. This program, like the elementary science program, has developed actual teaching materials which have been tried out in local schools, and Dr. Ukeje has been asked to prepare the text materials for the New Mathematics for one of the regions of Nigeria.

A third instance suggesting innovative thrust occured in 1966 and concerned the Institute of Education itself. After the first burst of enthusiasm, it had become apparent that bringing representatives of the Teacher Training Colleges to the Institute in Nsukka was not meeting with the success anticipated. Consequently, at the 1966 annual conference, Dr. Fafunwa proposed two further innovations which would, in effect, restructure the service program of the Institute by moving Institute activities into the field. The first, and simpler of these, was to be by means of a mobile library van servicing teacher training colleges. The second, and more fundamental, was by "zoning" the Institute into six districts within which Institute work, curriculum improvement, and in service training would be centered. Both proposals were approved by Institute membership and will be among innovation on trial during the coming year.

Perhaps the major indication of continuing innovation is, however, the projection of the Institute of Education into the area of policy conflict about control of education. This has occurred in the critical

and highly sensitive area of public regulation of church schools receiving public support. This venture of the Institute into the arena of helping shape policy has been described in detail in Chapter V and recapitulated briefly in this chapter. Although this is a development unquestionably consistent with early doctrine concerning educational reconstruction, it is a type of activity which goes far beyond those undertaken earlier in the direction of that reconstruction.

It is clear that under the leadership of Dr. Fafunwa, innovative thrust (which had been early presaged by the Nigeria Union of Teachers program which he was instrumental in launching) has been a feature of the organization. The College is little likely to become moribund.

Summary of Institutionalized Status

Any attempt to assess institutionality runs into the immediate problem that no yardstick existed by which it was possible to compare or measure the institutionalized status of the College of Education. Lacking such a yardstick, only a judgmental assessment can be made. By almost any of the indices which have been employed in this study to determine the status of the University and of the College of Education among those who comprise the educational establishment in Eastern Nigeria a considerable degree of institutionality appears to exist. Unfortunately, due to the political unheavals in Nigeria it was impossible to sample opinion in areas of the nation other than Eastern Nigeria and the Federal District, although it may be presumed that for political and tribal reasons if no others the organizations were not nearly as well institutionalized elsewhere. Similarly, it would appear that the major innovations of the University and its College of Education, whether doctrinal or programmatic, have been largely institutionalized. The chief possible exception to this latter generalization would appear to be the University policy with respect to a lower entry point into degree programs.

An interesting question remains to be answered, however. Are there any particular publics of the organizations which have not come to accept the University and its College of Education? The data presented earlier in this study and the interviews and questionnaire studies completed indicate that the College and its programs appear to be well accepted by the Ministry of Education of Eastern Nigeria, the Ministry of the Federal Republic, the principals and education secretaries of Eastern Nigeria, the graduates of the University, its students, and prospective University students. It is also

important to ask, however, if there are any publics distinguished not by virtue of occupation but by other characteristics which tend to reject the University. Three such publics would appear likely to have special views. Some attention has already been paid to the acceptance of the University by graduates of other institutions now serving as employers in Eastern Nigeria. Two other non-functional distinctions between publics existing within Eastern Nigeria and the Federal District (the areas it was possibel to survey) came immediately to mind as possibly affecting institutionality: namely , (1) religious affiliation, and (2) tribal affiliation. The publicized position of the College and Institute of Education in favor of public regulations or even ownership of schools ran directly counter to official Catholic policy, and the easy identification of the University with the Ibo people might suggest that members of other tribes would tend to reject the organizations. Tabulations of only certain of the publics which were surveyed have been made in these regards, but the results are of considerable interest.

It was possible to identify a large portion of the principals of schools by their religion. The reactions of these principals to the College and Institute of Education, categorized by their religious affiliation, indicates that there was a greater degree of acceptance among Protestant than among Catholic principals and education secretaries. Asked to state their overall satisfaction with the College and Institute, the principals and education secretaries responded as follows:

	Catholic Respondents	Protestant Respondents
Very satisfied	9	14
Fairly satisfied	11	12
Somewhat disappointed	4	1
No response	17	11

As all Catholic respondents who indicated disappointment were those serving in Catholic rather than private or community schools, and as several of those indicating disappointment were in prestigious positions in the Catholic education hierarchy, the degree of institutionality with the Catholic Voluntary Agencies appears to be relatively lower than with the protestants. Among graduates of the College of Education there was a less marked difference of reaction, although even within this group a slightly larger proportion of Protestant respondents indicated themselves to be "quite" or "very" satisfied with the University than was true of Catholic respondents.

It was also possible to distinguish between most respondents who were graduates of the College of Education by their tribe, although the overwhelming proportion of the students were Ibo.

	Ibos	Yorubas	Efiks	Others	Total Non-Ibo
Very Satisfied	27	6	2	4	12
Fairly Satisfied	38	4	2	3	9

The remarkable feature of these limited results is that the organization, identified in so many eyes with the Ibos, received a higher degree of approval from its graduates who were non-Ibo tan it did from its graduates who were Ibo: Whether this was a consequence of the Ibo's tendency to be outspoken and critical or a result of some characteristics of the organization itself, it is impossible to judge.

CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

When Edo Okoye praised Babs Fafunwa by using the encomium, "He has done the right thing at the right time and in the right place," he could also be telling the story of the institutionalization of the College of Education at Nsukka. But a statement may be true and yet say very little; it may be, as we are wont to observe, be true only in a trivial sense. If all we could say about the College of Education at this ~~junction~~ juncture is that it was the right thing, at the right time and in the right place, this would be a trivial truth. The conceptual problem in transforming this trivial truth into a significant one is that of disagregating such gross concepts as "the right thing" and "the right time" and "the right place" so that experience can be codified in such a way as to provide insight into other actions in other environments and thus guide human behaviour. This study attempted to explore in a single instance the very broad hypothesis that <u>institutionality will result if the leadership, doctrine and program</u>

of an innovative organization realistically take account of, adjust to, balance and reorganize the significant elements in a related environment so these are marshalled in support of the organization and its innovations. If one wished to argue that this merely shifts the burden of ambiguity or vagueness to realistically, he would in one sense be right. But since leadership as process is employment of strategies and tactics which accomplish ends, we can gain corroboration if not verification for ~~the~~ certain explanatory relationships which appear to have held in this instance.

The preceding chapter has examined the extent to which institutionality ~~or~~ of organization and innovations had been achieved by 1965-1966. As this is merely five years after the first actions were taken in the College of Education to introduce innovations, it is far too early to speak with assurance concerning the degree of institutionality achieved. During the time the data of this study was being collected and analyzed, Nigeria underwent two military coups, each of which had strong tribal overtones and cut far more deeply into the social fabric than most African military coups to date. Any conclusions concerning the institutionality of the University of Nigeria, the College of Education, or the innovations they attempted to introduce must thus be

predicated on the assumption that Eastern Nigeria will in the future continue to have the power to set its own educational policy with considerable discretion. If this proves true, the publics we questioned will likely continue to be the significant "institutionalizing" publics for the College of Education; and the tentative conclusions concerning institutionalized status appear valid.

The Nigerian Environment: Factors Affecting Educational Innovation

The most important characteristic of the environment into which the University of Nigeria and its College of Education were born was that this was already a transitional environment in which old and new values were competing. In a very real sense the University rode to a safe shore on the crest of a wave of new values. Among the features of this environment upon which the University could, and did, capitalize were the following:

The Ibo Culture:

> The University was essentially an Ibo institution and was conceived of, executed by, and institutionalized among a tribe that was known for its receptivity to change. This tribe prides itself on being dynamic, pushful, the "go-ahead people." If this tribe also takes pride in its cultural roots, these "roots" prove remarkably amenable to adaptation. Ibos move readily, grasp important positions by

virtue of education and drive, but also evidence great tribal loyalty when Ibos or Ibo institutions are under attack. They are perfect examples of pragmatists, willing to let successful new experiences alter inherited practices.

Among the characteristic institutions of modernity which the Ibo most readily accepted was its educational system, viewed as a practical means to achieve upward mobility and material rewards within the capitalistic economic structure. Ibso view economic well-being and education as interrelated. Education is a means to economic advancement. The Ibos find the accumulation of wealth through industry or commerce commendable. The Ibo is, however, expected to extend the benefits he derives to his family, village, and clan groups through generosity (often leading to "corruption" and "nepotism" or "favoritism" for those standing in primary group relations to him.) Obligations are frequently repaid by supporting others in their schooling.

The Ibos are also an essentially democratic tribe. Individuals are expected to achieve, or to vindicate their positions by achievement. There is a feeling that all Ibos should have a chance to get ahead, this feeling also extending to groups which in the past had been denigrated by caste status. It is also felt, however, that the Ibo "who gets ahead" should not cut himself off from his family or his people.

The Educational System:

The most obvious feature of the educational system at the point of Nigerian independence and the birth of the University was the value placed upon formal education. It was seen as the major means of upward mobility. Investment in the education of a promising member of the family or village was seen as a sound investment which would be repaid with large dividends by the benefitted youngster. Past experience had revealed that youngsters who received secondary or higher education could repay family, village, and clan many times over. By 1960 the faith in primary education,

without further education to top it off, was rapidly waning as it had been found that youngsters who received only this much education could not make it "pay off." Demand was consequently mounting for more and more opportunities for children to attend more advanced schools. This meant more secondary schools, and an interest in such new institutions as "technical schools."

In the 1950's there had been a primary school explosion in Eastern Nigeria. By the late 1950's and early 1960's the pressures had developed for a comparable secondary school and university explosion. Families and villages saw provision of this education as necessary if their sons were to realize the investment already made in them. Alert leaders saw secondary schools as profitable commercial enterprises and strategic means to gain or assure political support. If a secondary school could be founded, it was certain to get enough students. It could become a profitable commercial operation if government support were granted. This support was largely contingent upon its securing sufficient graduate teachers. Its long term success would depend also upon its ability to prove it was a "good" school. This could be done by a good "pass-failure ratio" on West African School Certificate Examinations, which alone determined the award of a high school certificate. As schools had few instructional facilities other than textbooks and teachers, securing a cadre of well-qualified teachers and avoiding teacher turn-over was urgent. There was thus a market for the "professional" teacher who could be presumed committed to remaining in teaching. As teaching was a relatively low-prestige occupation, such people were rare. Most teachers constantly sought other employment in government or industry.

The educational system which the Nigerians had inherited and which had during the colonial period led to preferment and financial reward was the British education system in its colonial variant. Equivalence with British education was judged the means to assure the quality of products. The Oxbridge standard (and its overseas counterpart of the London standard) were considered at least as important and as solid in University education as the Sterling standard was

in currency. At the secondary school level, the Cambridge Certificate and its local version (the West African School Certificate) attested to excellence.

When British education was transferred to Africa every attempt was made to assure the maintenance of standards. The graduates of African universities who were to be considered the Pound Sterlings of the Educational system were assayed and stamped with the University of London degree; the Half Crowns were assayed and stamped with the insignia of the Cambridge Higher School Certificate; the Shillings were weighed and stamped with the insignia of the Cambridge School Certificate or the West African School Certificate issued by its West African "mint," the West African Examinations Council. There was also an attempt to avoid counterfeiting the coppers of the realm through common Region-wide examinations for teachers and primary school leavers. Other coins of the educational realm were the Certificates of the City and Guilds of London and of the Royal Institute of Accountants, and the General Certificate of Education of London University. Final examinations alone determined whether or not candidates possessed the right kind and amount of "paper," "silver," or "copper."

Closely associated with the concept of educational standards were three other features of the system. The first was the educational ladder. It was presumed inappropriate for any student to go to any higher rung until he had climbed each rung below it. To use the previous metaphor, coppers became shillings by one process; shillings became ha'crowns by another; ha'crowns became quids by a third. Sequential performance of operations was crucial. This gave sanctity to such institutions as the "Sixth Form." The second related feature was the salary schedule. Government paid its employees on salary schedules determined largely by educational qualifications and longevity. As government was likewise the employer of a sizeable proportion of personnel in the wage economy, achieved educational qualifications (certificates, diplomas, degrees) to all practical purposes determined salary. This was presumed to assure quality and minimize danger of preferment through corruption or nepotism. A third related feature was "intellectual

discipline." This could be developed when the individual achieved a high degree of physical and mental maturity. If coppers and shillings could be produced largely by process of absorption (rote memorization), ha'crowns and pounds were to be produced by a process of immersion in depth. This meant that those who had been immersed for a period of three years in the vat of a single subject acquired thereby the intellectual and dispositional discipline to assume positions of authority and judgment in a wide variety of fields.

During the 1950's an increasing number of Nigerians went to American for higher education. Upon their return they found the currency of their American degrees of questioned value. They were defensive of the education they had received and critical of the British colonial education they returned to find. Their defense and their attack were premised upon the "practicality" and "vocational orientation" of American education, which were presumed to explain American technological advance and leadership in the modern world. Although some British colonial educators continued to deride American mass education as "education for mediocrity," Nigerian educators schooled in America were able to use forces favoring "technological advance" and opposed to "colonialism" to strengthen their plea for educational reconstruction. Their claims were strengthened by the fact that Nigerian leaders such as Azikiwe (among the Ibos in particular) and Eyo Ita (among the Ibibios) were American educated and vehement in their support of American pragmatic education. The ability of the American government and the American foundations to promise the bulk of external educational aid following independence strengthened the position of those who favored American-type experiments and who stressed the investment value rather than consumer value of education. This latter was presumed by many Nigerians to imply a close correlation between educational content and the specific skills required for economic development. Many Nigerians who were not American educated came to accept these latter conclusions.

Religion:

Eastern Nigeria, and the Ibos, are overwhelmingly Christian. The Catholic Church is the predominant church in Eastern Nigeria. As the Christian missions had brought Education to the Region, religion and education are associated in the minds of many with modernization and westernization. Religious feelings run strong. Inter-church rivalry has led to competitive duplication of school facilities. As a result of the early Church dominance in Education, the Irish fathers have played an important part in shaping Nigerian education. In general, their emphasis has been on European "games," orthodox but solid academic work, and character training through discipline and religious instruction. The Church receives Government support to run schools, holds to the doctrine that it must control the content of religious instruction in them, views the Church schools as Church property and opposes extension of government control in operating schools.

Demographic Change:

Eastern Nigeria is undergoing a population explosion as a result of a high birth rate and low infant mortality rate. As land tenure prohibits movement of this population into relatively unpopulated areas within Eastern Nigeria or other Regions, there is limited ability to absorb this population. The few rural government land-settlement schemes are exhorbitantly expensive. In some rural areas of Owerri Province (the central Ibo province), population exceeded 1,200 persons per square mile. This led both to fantastic pressure on the schools and exodus from rural areas into the towns where youth seek work in wage-employment or commerce. Both urban unemployment and rural underemployment are mounting rapidly. There is a prevailing belief among many educated persons that appropriate education could do much to remedy this situation.

Government and Politics:

The University of Nigeria was created by law of the Eastern Region of Nigeria some five years prior to independence. It was opened in October, 1960 to coincide with the extensive independence ceremonies. It was in part designed to stand as a visible and "living" monument to independence. It was appropriately believed to be the creation of the architect of independence, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, leader of one of the nationalist parties, sometime premier of Eastern Nigeria, and first Governor General of Nigeria, It was the first regional higher education institution in Nigeria, earlier higher educational institutions (University College, Ibadan, the Nigeria College of Arts Science, and Technology; and Yaba Institute having been Federal responsibilities).

Eastern Nigeria was one of three political Regions (states) in the Federation of Nigeria. The constitution provided the Region with control over primary and secondary education. The University of Nigeria was not placed under the control of the Ministry of Education but within the premier's office. By a de facto arrangement little control was exercised over the University from this office, its affairs being largely left at first to Dr. Azikiwe.

The balance of power in Nigerian politics underwent considerable change in the period covered by this study. During the first two years of the existence of the University, Federal government was in the hands of an Ibo-Hausa coalition with Easterners playing an important part in this government. Within Eastern Nigeria there had long been some opposition to the control of Dr. Azikiwe, even within his own party. Following his move to the "non-political" office of Governor General, practical control in Eastern Nigeria was shifted to Dr. Michael Okpara, the new premier. This also meant a shift in the focus of power from a group which had been dominant ("the Onitsha Ibos") to other Ibos. As Dr. Azikiwe, and especially his lieutenant at the University (Mr. B. N. Chukwudebe) were associated with the Onitsha Ibos, this meant that the immediate political base of the University and its ultimate financial and legal (political) base were dividing.

Employment within the large government sector of the economy was controlled largely by civil service commissions. Non-government employment in the educational system was in the hands of voluntary agencies (for church schools) and private proprietors and principals (for private schools). As all approved secondary schools and teacher training colleges, and most primary schools, were supported in part by government funds, they had to meet Ministry standards; and teachers were paid on salaries determined by the Ministry. All qualifications required approval by Regional ministries. To provide some degree of uniformity within the entire Federation, a joint consultative machinery had been established for approving training qualifications and new programs.

During the period 1960-1966 Nigeria moved from great enthusiasm for national unity to disastrous political and tribal strife. This was first augmented by a census which shifted power to the poorly educated Northernors (Hausa-Fulani), particularly at the expense of the Easterners (Igbo-Ibibio-Ijaw peoples). Tribal hostilities were accentuated by intra-tribal and intra-party hostilities, particularly those leading to the imprisonment of Chief Opposition Leader Awolowa for alleged treason. Hostility mounted step by step: the Federal Census which cost the Ibos power; the Federal election based on that census which further decreased their power; the West Regional elections which led to chaos in that Region; a military coup by Southern officers in January, 1966.

Side by side with the political shifts and countershifts in power, was a relatively stable civil service which carried on the day-to-day operations in the Ministry of Education. British tradition had largely isolated it from political pressures. The professional branch of the Ministry largely determined educational programs, subject only to major shifts in Government policy and budgetary limitations. From 1962-1966 educational policy appears to have been shaped by close coordination between Dr. Imoke (Minister), Mr. Akpan (Chief Secretary), and Mr. Ejiogu (Chief Inspector). All were committed to a planning approach to education, to greater public control over church schools, to an increased emphasis on vocational preparation (including "more comprehensive" schools), and to establishing close linkages with the University.

The Economic System:

Nigeria possesses a dual economy. A large portion of the population is engaged in agriculture. While some crops enter the exchange economy, the vast bulk of enterprise is largely of a subsistence nature. Approximately 15% of the population in the wage economy, many employed by government. School teaching is a chief occupation in the wage economy, probably being exceeded in percentage of employed persons only by the construction industries, if there. In 1960 there were approximately forty-six thousand teachers in Eastern Nigeria alone. Although much of the expense of education is borne by local contribution and school fees, 40% of the budget of Eastern Nigeria was devoted to education in 1960.

It was the intent of the Nigerian governments and the Nigerian elites to change this predominantly subsistence economy as rapidly as possible into an exchange economy and to accentuate its modern sector. This meant emphasis on the wage sector of the economy, and education was presumed a prerequisite to most preferred jobs in the wage sector. The means envisaged to modernize the economy were development of industry, the modernization of agriculture, exploitation of oil and other natural resources, and development of an infra-structure to support these. It was thought this could be achieved best through rational, economic planning. Economic planners accepted the manpower analysis approach, typified by Harbison in Nigeria, as an important ingredient in this economic strategy. It was generally believed that serious actual or potential deficits of middle-level and high-level manpower existed. These were to be met largely by means of orienting the educational system to produce persons in the right quantities by broad sector and level descriptions to meet set targets. Economists' projections did not necessarily jibe with expectations of Ibos, almost all of whom wished to have more and more members of their families find wage-earning employment. Both economic manpower planning and private aspirations (which were politically important) coincided in suggesting rapid educational expansion. They parted company primarily in terms of primary education: many

parents, communities, and churches wished further expansion of primary schools (a problem made more difficult by the population explosion); manpower planners stressed the need for greater emphasis on secondary and higher education. Many educators looked for an even closer congruence between economic development and education, seeking this in expansion of vocational schools.

The Ashby Report:

The forces of political independence, the drive for economic development, and educational thought were welded into one by the Ashby Report and a series of government planning documents which followed upon it. The Ashby Commission (The Commission on Post-School Certificate and Higher Education in Nigeria) was comprised of three British, three American and three Nigerian educators. Chaired by a prestigious scientist, educational administrator, and expert on overseas education (from a prestige university), this commission a month before independence, presented to the Government of Nigeria recommendations which became the basis for most subsequent educational planning in Nigeria. Based on expert studies of teacher training, secondary education, and manpower needs, this document pointed the way for future Regional and National plans. The document deliberately eschewed planning within known financial resources and instead based recommendations on projected future needs. It urged rapid expansion in facilities to prepare well-qualified teachers (needed to produce all other qualified manpower), vast increases in middle-level and high-level manpower pools, technical training, university diversity coordinated by a National Universities Commission, and a continuous planning approach to higher education and manpower development. This document served as a basis of legitimization for many educational proposals and plans in the period following independence.

This environment included both forces which could be potentially mobilized behind educational innovation and barriers which would limit the directions of change and the processes by which change might proceed. This was true both in respect to programs designed to produce or upgrade teachers and to attempts at reconstructing Nigerian education more broadly. The most important freedoms and forces available to the College of Education in gaining institutionality were the following:

Within the Ibo Culture Pattern:

1. The Ibos as a tribe were receptive to change and prided themselves on their willingness to change, to be dynamic, to be modern.

2. The Ibos had demonstrated their fatih in education by devoting a very large percentage of their resources to education as personal investment.

3. The Ibos were essentially utlitarian or pragmatic and accepted things that "paid off." They were interested in the material benefits of westernization.

4. The Ibos were tribalistic in the sense of having an acute pride in Ibo ability to achieve and in Ibo achievements.

5. The Ibos were essentially a democratic tribe believing (1) that individuals should be free to move ahead by demonstrated achievements but (2) that when they moved ahead they should retain ties with the ordinary people.

Within the Political Situation:

1. The Nigerian intellectual saw a parallel between political freedom and intellectual and cultural freedom. He felt that having attained political independence, other types of change were equally possible.

2. Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe was looked to in Eastern Nigeria as the architect of Nigerian independence. The charisma he had attained in the political arena could be extended to other arenas as well.

3. Nigerian political parties have become increasingly tribal parties, and the major Regions of Nigeria are largely one-party states. This has tended to solidify Regional and tribal support behind projects undertaken within Regions. The following two additional factors required skill in maintaining a viable base.

4. An earlier period of internal struggle within the N.C.N.C. had been coupled with clan or local loyalties to leave a residue of resentment within the party. This pitted "Onitsha Ibos," judged by many to have been favoured by Dr. Azikiwe, against "Non-Onitsha Ibos." (Fortunately such groups were balanced within the College of Education.)

5. Dr. Azikiwe's move from Premier of Eastern Nigeria to Governor General of Nigeria began a general shift in political power in Eastern Nigeria from Azikiwe to Okpara. For the first three years of the University, however, his influence remained sufficient to avoid direct, overt attack upon innovations. Each succeeding crisis--the Federal Census, the Federal election, and the West Region election underscored Azikiwe's inability to protect the interests of the Eastern Nigerians and enhanced the power of Okpara.

Within the Educational System:

1. For many Nigerians (and Ibos in particular) education had "paid off." They held positions of relative prestige, power, and wealth in the Federation. Other Nigerians sought in increasing numbers to follow their education path to success.

2. The primary school explosion of the 1950's was being followed by a secondary school explosion in the 1960's. This explosion demanded both teachers and educational places for secondary school leavers.

3. In addition to regular secondary school leavers, a vast reservoir of self-educated Nigerians had developed. These Nigerians had taken examinations following study by correspondence courses. Thousands considered themselves qualified for university education.

4. Primary (and increasingly academic secondary school) education was no longer proving a paying investment. There was demand (1) for higher education to realize the investment already made in young persons and (2) for newer (e.g., "vocational") types of secondary schools which would make future investments profitable. The flood of uprooted and unemployed young persons concerned politicans and provided a ferment for educational change.

5. There was a tradition of university autonomy, the principle that universities should be able to set their programs without dictation from outside sources.

6. Outside assistance, which during the colonial period had come overwhelmingly from Britian was increasingly international, a major portion coming from the United States and Unesco.

7. The earlier hegemony of British educated personnel in Nigeria had gradually been broken by the return of American educated persons and, to a lesser extent, those educated in Germany and other countries.

8. Secondary, technical, and commercial education had become an important commercial enterprise which could pay off well both in economic returns and in winning political support for proprietors. It became customary for politicians to sponsor or serve as proprietors for secondary schools in their constituencies. Graduate teachers were required to qualify these schools for government support or assure that a sufficient number of their students were successful in school examinations.

Within the Economic Situation:

1. The Nigerian government was committed to expanding the modern portion of the economy and had determined that planning was the means to achieve this end.

2. It was a generally accepted belief that manpower planning, which involved the restructuring of education specifically to attain manpower targets, was an essential ingredient of economic planning. As the need for capital was also recognized, any economies in producing this manpower were seen as desirable.

3. The demographic revolution produced a great many young people per productive adult, thus augmenting the need for educational planning and economy.

4. The demographic revolution also suggested that in order to maintain even existing standards of per capita income, radical modernization of agriculture would be necessary.

5. The discovery of the extent of the oil deposits in Eastern Nigeria increased the confidence of many in the Region in its ability to move rapidly into a modern economy. By 1965 Nigeria was the second largest oil-producing nation in Africa.

In the Ashby Report:

1. The Ashby Report and the series of planning documents which followed it emphasized the need for a planned approach to educational expansion and for departure from previous priorities.

2. The report made explicit for the first time in Nigerian thinking the relationship between education and national (as contrasted with personal) economic advance.

3. The report underscored the judgment that improving the quality of teaching and the reservoir of well-qualified teachers was a necessary precondition for sound educational advance at post-secondary levels.

If these forces were readily available for mobilization in support of educational change, there were also potential resistances which could block, delay, or alter the direction of educational change. These had to be taken into account in any rational calculus by leadership in developing doctrine and programs if institutionality were to be achieved. Among these were the following:

1. If Ibos respected education in its utilitarian sense it was chiefly in this sense that they did respect it. They were convinced of the economic rewards which flowed from previously existing types of university education and did not wish to change from these without proof that new forms would pay off equally well.

2. The system which had previously paid off was an essentially elitist system inherited from Britian, in which a small intellectual elite was selected from a broad base of those provided basic education. Elites who had secured power through the system frequently wished to preserve their prerogatives by preserving the system.

3. The inherited system placed a premium on purely "academic" subjects, whose disciplinary quality was presumed to stand the person in good stead for a wide variety of top-level prestigious occupations.

4. The inherited system distinguished sharply between education and training, relegating training to separate institutions which ordinarily led to diplomas and certificates rather than to degrees.

5. There was a suspicion of American degrees, both because American institutions frequently admitted students not judged eligible for British or African universities and because many of the Nigerians first educated in America attended Southern Negro colleges, most of which had limited academic qualifications and reputations.

6. There was great allegiance to maintaining the standards of the system. This allegiance extended to the particular schemes used to maintain standards. These were (1) "special relationships" and "external examiners" whereby an established university assessed the new university and saw that comparable quality of work was demanded and, (2) reliance on final examination administered by an outside body to assure that equal quality was maintained between products of different primary, secondary and teacher training institutions.

7. There was respect for university education "in depth," exemplified in the University of London single-subject honours degree, which was believed to guarantee intellectual discipline capable of transfer to many occupations.

8. The school syllabus, which was the basis for examinations which were the sole determinants of success in secondary school, controlled the academic life of the secondary school. Subject matter not included in it was considered by students, teachers, and principals to be extraneous. This syllabus was also a "contract" with between the school and the examining body, the process of modifying the examination thus ordinarily requiring five to six years.

9. Many Nigerians believed that exact imitation of the British system was the means of assuring equivalence. In both curricular content and educational ladder the attempt was made to adhere as closely as possible to British practice (e.g., "Sixth Forms").

10. Rapid expansion had led to a lowering of quality in both primary education and teacher training and to the proliferation of teacher qualifications. Numerous salary schedules had been set up to reward various qualifications. An elaborate consultative machinery had been established to protect the system and avoid further complication or dilution of quality.

11. The Ministries of Education were bureaucratic organizations with slow communication systems and elaborate checks and balances. Line relationships were ordinarily maintained, and change frequently required approval from both administrative and professional branches of Ministries.

12. Education had been developed by the churches which saw schools as a means of propagating and maintaining the fatih. Any threats to religious instruction in the schools, any fears of over-secularization, or any suggestion of government control, "Nationalization," or reassignment of students was seen as an attack on religious prerogative.

13. Those who had risen to the top of the government educational hierarchy were those who had succeed in the system and were disposed to accept it. The first generation of Nigerian education officials had served their apprenticeship and gained their preferment under the last generations of colonial education officers and often reflected similar views, albeit with greater ambivalence.

The composite effect of these readinesses and resistances made it relatively easy to develop those portions of the College commitment which were directed at producing new teachers for the educational system, or upgrading teachers already in the system, although innovative University programs did require vindication by graduates, achievement on civil service examinations, acceptance for post-graduate study abroad, success on the job market, and suitable salary recognition. As University graduates achieved remarkably well on Civil Service Examinations, were admitted to prestige foreign universities without difficulty, and acquired a number of graduate scholarships (including a first Rhodes scholar in 1966), and as Education students encountered no difficulty in securing positions (including prestige positions) and were accorded a preferential salary scale, institutionality of these programs appeared high. At the same time, it must be remembered that doctrine in Education aimed at making fundamental alterations in the wider educational system, and such changes would encounter more of the resistances mentioned above. THE IMPORTANCE OF RECOGNIZING THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN DOCTRINE RELATED TO TEACHER TRAINING AND DOCTRINE RELATED TO DIRECT EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

IS GREAT, FOR THE MAJOR INNOVATIONS OF THE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION THUS FAR HAVE BEEN IN THE UNIVERSITY PROGRAMS FOR THE PRODUCTION OF TEACHERS RATHER THAN IN ATTEMPTS TO ALTER DIRECTLY THE WIDER EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM. THEY HAVE THUS BEEN IN THE AREA OF LEAST RESTRAINT. Leaving qualitative dimensions of programs entirely aside, the College of Education has probably accomplished roughly what was possible; it was not yet accomplished what was most difficult or "impossible." The first major venture in the latter domain had to do with the public control of primary schools, and it has yet to be actually implemented in practice.

Leadership

The first important factor to recognize about leadership in the University is that it was able to establish and make clear to relevant publics the normative linkages which existed between University doctrine and emergent values in the Nigerian environment and the functional linkages which existed between University program and the demands of individuals and other social units in the environment. This it was able to do because the shield provided by the charisma and authority of Dr. Azikiwe protected innovative units within the

University from opposition to innovation which existed among many members of the staff, and because this same shield of charisma and authority protected the University from overt external opposition in Eastern Nigeria ~~and~~ during its infancy and assured it the legal and financial support necessary to get programs underway. By the time this shield was withdrawn by the military coup it had been possible to secure both internal support within the University and external support of forces which earlier were critical outside the University. These two overriding considerations ~~affecting~~ relating to University leadership require amplification to make them meaningful.

From the standpoint of institutionalizing innovation probably the most important achievement of Dr. Johnson during his four years of tenure as first Vice Chancellor of the University was to keep before the University academic community the idea that the University Council was in control of the major "directional" policies of the University, as it was the Council's legal prerogative to be., and to persuade the Council of the desirability of certain major innovations. In doing this he had to forego or bypass customary academic prerogatives concerning involvement of academicians in setting program and establishing basic academic policy. But by doing it, he was also able to preserve intact

from [redacted] academic opposition the three major program innovations of the University of Nigeria: the General Studies program; priority and degree status for vocational fields (including Education); and an "open door" policy favoring rapid expansion. By the time an academic decision-making structure which encouraged academic involvement in setting major policy was established the situation had changed in a number of important respects:

1. The post-University success of the early graduates appeared assured. (The General Studies program was given credit for notable success on Civil Service examinations.)

2. The academic balance of the staff had shifted markedly toward the vocational fields.

3. Programs had been worked out which took account of the three great innovations and which appeared to be operating smoothly within the limits they imposed.

4. A new organization had been worked out with Nigerians whereby Nigerian academic competence would be brought to bear in ways that encouraged genuine deliberation on academic decisions.

These changes protected and in large measure instated the innovations which had been attempted. If this strategy protected these major innovations, it also gave away something particularly through acquiring for the University (1) a backlog of poorly qualified or poorly distributed staff which needed winnowing and (2) a reputation for "political" or "tribal" involvement in the affairs, and particularly the administration, of the University. In

employing this policy, Dr. Johnson sacrificed much personal faculty support; for these policies were suspect by many, and the involvement of the Council in academic affairs of the University was criticized by almost all as a violation of academic precedent and principle.

Beginning with the 1963-1964 session, Dr. Johnson and William Hawley began developing an academic structure which would involve faculty effectively in the establishment of all-University academic policy and provide a workable administrative hierarchy for carrying out policies. This new structure was approved in the spring of that year and implemented by the new Vice-Chancellor, Glen Taggart, beginning with the 1964-1965 academic year. From that time on faculty involvement in selecting new staff, in determining academic policy, and in applying faculty competence to other University matters became the rule. Under the new structure, close working relations and a high degree of mutual confidence between the new Vice-Chancellor and the academic staff developed. The new decision making machinery operated smoothly and although faculty now had effective control of academic programs, the earlier fundamental decisions in favor of general education, professional programs, priorities

based on national need, continuing education for all categories of citizens, and flexible admission standards were not challenged by the faculty. By similar processes of involvement and direct consultation, Dr. Taggart was able to gain the confidence of the student body. Consequently, when the military coup removed the shield Dr. Azikiwe had previously provided the University, the faculty already viewed the achievements of the University as "their own" and made no serious attempt to alter them.

Dr. Azikiwe had initiated the practical orientation of the University. Dr. Johnson had assured his support for other innovations which flowed from this, including the General studies program. Dr. Johnson and William Hawley had developed an administrative structure whereby academic affairs were transferred systematically to the Faculty. Dr. Taggart was able to use this machinery so effectively that faculty felt wedded to the innovations of the University and responsible for the University. Even when some of their number expressed resentment toward the American role in the University, this resentment was directed (as by Dr. Oyolu) not at program or doctrine, but at personnel. This resentment, expressed by "friends" of American education who had been with the University since its first years, was aimed primarily

at (1) policies which were believed to have been politically motivated (as in first sending almost exclusively American Negroes), (2) being guided by or yielding to expediency rather than "academic principle," or (3) failing to provide sufficient advisers of "established scholarly eminence," which did not appear a particular MSU policy. These concerns were not identifiable or identified by publics outside the University, or by graduates. Within the University American competence was generally accredited with having made possible such innovative dimensions of programs as General Studies and Continuing Education, and in general any frustrations concerning MSU did not appear to diminish institutionality of fundamental doctrine and program which appeared established within the "institution."

The problem of winning faculty support for doctrine never existed within the College of Education. Senior Nigerian faculty in Education (following one transferral to the College of Religion) had all been educated in America, were committed to a doctrine of pragmatic vocational education, broad education, cultural determination of curricular content, and the legitimacy of reconstructing educational patterns to achieve societal goals. All were familiar with American administrative theory which placed emphasis upon faculty involvement in setting policy and determining programs. Although members varied in degree

of professional competence, they were in a position both to participate in planning programs and carrying programs into effect. It was further possible to secure the appointment of an able and imaginative leader (Dr. A. B. Fafunwa) to succeed me as Head of the College of Education. This appointment assured continuity of doctrine and program. Even before that time, however, faculty had participated in planning the summer research program, the off-campus teaching program, the Nigerian Union of Teachers long vacation programs, the Degree program in education, the Institute of Education, and the joint sponsorship plan for the Advanced Teacher Training College. In short, they had participated in planning and approving all basic policy and programs. With the exception of the off-campus teaching program, these were carried on in the ensuing years. Furthermore, faculty members possessed special competence which has enabled them subsequently to assume leadership in the new mathematics and new science programs for Nigeria (and Africa).

Prior to 1963-1964, the program in Vocational Education made little progress beyond the paper stage, due to difficulties of staff recruitment, diversion of the American advisor to other duties within the University, and lack of instructional facilities. Beginning that

the academic year a new adviser working exclusively in vocational education and a new Nigerian Head of the Department of Vocational Education were able to establish a working relationship with the Ministry of Education which resulted in the development of a vocational education program for the University geared to a proposed new comprehensive junior secondary school program in Eastern Nigeria. With the assistance of a Ford Grant and the recruitment of professionally competent direct-hire American personnel it was possible to get Vocational Education seriously underway, particularly in the industrial fields, by 1964-1965. It remains to be seen whether concurrent change of leadership personnel within the Department and within the Ministry will adversely affect this program.

The change in overall College leadership from an American adviser to a Nigerian, Dr. Fafunwa, permitted the latter to assume a prominent leadership position in the Ikoku Education Conference that year. Increasingly top Nigerian leaders in the College have played a part in shaping educational policy in Eastern Nigeria, Although Dr. Fafunwa lacked the ascriptive characteristics (tribe, religion, birth place) which would have made him an appealing leader in Eastern Nigeria, he appeared able by

virtue of professional competence to command the respect of educators throughout the Region to an outstanding degree. Other senior Nigerian leaders in the College were less well known or less well respected and newer members have not yet had occasion to make their mark.

The Doctrine of the University and the College: Saying the Right Thing

The doctrine of an organization need not be explicit or public. The fact thatthe doctrine of the University of Nigeria and its College of Education was made public proved one of the strongest factors in its institutionalization. This was primarily because of the prima facie "validity" of this doctrine in the environment just described. The doctrine of the University, and to some extent the doctrine of the College of Education where it extended beyond that of the entire University, were deliberate appeals to the emergent values in the environment and were addressed specifically to "demand" factors as the Nigerians visualized these. As a doctrine it met the criteria required to enlist support for and to direct innovation. This doctrine was enunicated repeatedly even during periods when in point of fact existing program was inconsistent with it (as, for example, during 1960-1961 when the University program was basically

that of a liberal arts college). Consideration of the qualities of the doctrine of the University reveal its strength in eliciting support:

First, it was a doctrine which could be readily translated into slogans which had appeal. It would in the early period be difficult to find any coherent, systematic statement of the doctrine of the University. (Even for purposes of this study it has been necessary to collate doctrine from a wide variety of disparate statements.) Rather the doctrine was regularly enunciated as a slogan system. These slogans could be readily remembered:

"meeting the needs of Nigeria"

"practical education"

"vocational fields"

"an independent and autonomous university"

"built on Nigerian content"

"an international (as contrasted with British university"

"broad education"

"democratic education"

"no gap between town and gown"

"expanding educational opportunity"

"educational engineers, not technicians"

"professionalization of teaching"

"scientific education for the modern world"

"serving all the people"

"the dignity of labour"

"the dignity of Man"

"education for an independent Nigeria"

"dynamic"

"anti-colonial"

"a Nigerian University for Nigerians"

"cutting the colonial apronstrings"

"education for economic development"

"Nigerianization"

"pioneers"

A doctrine which could be reduced to such slogans was readily grasped by an increasingly wide number of people. It accorded well with other values, slogans, and forces which were operating in Southern Nigeria at the time. Furthermore, such slogans were sufficiently vague that they attracted support from a wide variety of persons whose particular interpretation of their meaning might have differed from the specific interpretation given them by the University. In short, they met the criteria of all good educational slogans; they were attractive in the time and place, they appeared relevant to pressing concerns, they were ambiguous or vague enough

not to narrow their appeal, and yet they could be interpreted into a program. Many of these were the same slogans which were appearing in the public press in numerous other contexts; the University attached them to itself and to its programs by public pronouncements of doctrine, by using its first students as diffusion agents in propounding its doctrine throughout southern Nigeria, and by involving in its program and on its campus as great a proportion of the public in its program as possible. Every occasion was used to make explicit the doctrine of the University and to relate it to emerging values.

Second, it is clear that this doctrine promised something tangible to almost all major publics concerned with education. Government was centrally concerned with economic development and was convinced that considerable pools of high-level manpower, particularly in agriculture and science were required to achieve development. The schools facing rapid expansion were in crying need of teachers. Schools and Ministry were even more concerned about the need for science and vocational teachers, as they foresaw science streams, technical wings, or comprehensive schools. A vast reservoir of potential university students, who had secured paper qualifications, had been pounding on the doors of universities. Many had

applied but few had been chosen. Teachers in schools caught on unpalatable salary schedules saw the University opening the door of opportunity to enhanced pay and prestige, saw a new change to turn to profit the long nights spent over correspondence lessons for the paper qualification. Intellectual leaders and elites saw the University asa potential vindication of the indigenous African culture and the African intellectual.

Third, this was a doctrine which was easy to legitimize by other public pronouncements. A period of independence has its own rhetoric of independence, and this rhetoric appeared everywhere. Equally important from the standpoint of University doctrine, the major government documents of the period surrounding independence were planning documents: they were documents "looking ahead." Almost without exception these rested upon conceptions of economic developmentand stressed the fundamental obligation to bend allnational efforts toward achieving such development. Non-developmental activities were to be curtailed; developmental activities were to be expanded. Production of manpower to meet the targets of the development plans was seen as sound economic investment. These documents placed stress on education geared to such development. This kind of rationale for University doctrine was madeeven more explicit in the report of the Ashby Commission which

unabashedly based its recommendations for expansion and reconstruction of higher education (and teacher training) upon manpower projections and a continuous program of manpower forecasting and assessment. Its emphasis was on new departures which would both expand output and produce manpower in the areas of greatest need. The language it used and the programs it expounded to professionalize teaching were precursors of College doctrine. The report of the Ikoku Conference, the Educational Policy of Eastern Nigeria (1962), and the Development Plan, 1962-1968 reiterated the stress on vocationalism, science, and the rational planning of education to meet manpower needs. It would be difficult to overstres that most of the doctrine of the University was couched in language growing familiar in other public pronouncements. Other documents made explicit the values which the University could call upon to justify or legitimize its own doctrine.

Fourth, the development of the University of Nigeria enabled the right people to expound the doctrine. The chief spokesman for the University and the chief craftsman of its rhetoric was the architect of Nigerian independence, "Zik" of Africa. For the Americans, Dr. George Johnson proved an unusually effective public spokesman of doctrine. But more importantly, particularly in respect to the publics in education, there was

available a supporting cast of able Nigerians either initially committed to doctrine or open to such commitment. The senior members of the College -- Fafunwa, Okala, Ukpaby, and Ukeje -- had been committed to pragmatic education since their own return from America. Most of them were effective splkesmen in its behalf. Mr. Vincent Ike, soon Registrar of the University and hence its direct contact with the schools and such bodies as the West African Examinations Council, was a respected honours graduate from Ibadan. As Registrar and a person of unimpeachable personal integrity, he proved an effective defender of the integrity of the University and its doctrine, both with students and with the public at large. As he had been educated within the Ibadan tradition, and in the Arts, he was also able to express new doctrine and new aspirations in a language and context acceptable to those educated in the very different British tradition. There was, in brief, no shortage of Nigerian spokesman for a doctrine which claimed to emphasize not only Nigerian needs but also Nigerian "personality" and achievements.

Finally, it must be recognized that the doctrine was not sprung upon the nation de novo. For more than a decade prior to independence Dr. Azikiwe had coupled endorsement of practical education for the masses with condemnation of colonial education for a pampered elite.

He identified his own success with his American higher education and of American higher education with the doctrine he was espousing for Nigeria. But even before Azikiwe there had been a long tradition of reexamining African education and of urging a more practical approach (for example, in the Phelps-Stokes Reports). Suddenly the dynamics of Independence and the promise of economic development made the doctrine meaningful and immediate. The old system was no longer automatically paying off for job holders; to be as British as you could was not automatically a virtue in an "independent" Nigeria.

Related Strategies

Leadership in Education followed five principle strategies in gaining external support for its program. It was hoped these strategies would suffice until such time as the products of the University had proved their value to other units in the educational system or had gained sufficient power to support the University directly. These five strategies were:

I. Enunciating a doctrine which linked itself ostensibly and visibly to emergent values, slogans, and belief systems in the environment.

II. Establishing partnership or mutually supportive relationships with institutions which were already established within the educational environment.

III. Employing the recognized channels of legitimization at all points which approached barriers to innovation in the environment.

IV. Addressing its initial programs to filling (in sufficient quantity to make a sizable impression) those demand features which existed in the environment or meeting the "felt needs" of the educational publics.

V. Deferring implementation of those elements of its doctrine which would be most disruptive of the established education scheme (notably its doctrines of "educational reconstruction") until such time as it had produced a sizable number of members of the major educational publics (teachers and administrators) and had proved its worth to other units in the existing educational system.

This latter meant that the College of Education concentrated its major efforts and expended its major resources in producing teachers who, even though ready for change, would fit intothe present system rather than attempting to reorganize education "overnight" along more functional lines. If anything was done along the latter line, it was in trying to produce a body of graduates who would be change-prone and in trying to lay the groundwork for subsequent change through minor non-disruptive conferences, such as the one on comprehensive secondary schools and by preparing materials and methods which might become additions to the curriculum. Its first major essay into the arena of direct educational reconstruction came (1) in conjunction with the Ministry in developing curricula in Vocational

Education and (2) again in conjunction with the Ministry in organizing the Conference on School Boards (Public Control of Education). The effects of the latter conference are still unknown for the law emenating from the ensuring debate has not been put into effect by the new Military Government. The effect of these five strategies in terms of institutionalizing the organization itself and its teacher training program is thus an important part of the story of the first five years of the University.

Strategy I: Linking doctrine publicly to emergent values, slogans, and belief systems

The public doctrine, and the program which was worked out as interpretation of doctrine, seized onto the following elements in the Nigerian environment:

(1) the utilitarian-pragmatic values associated with "economic development." The University developed its fields of study and presumably allocated priorities on the basis of "needs" for development. It produced many teachers because many teachers were needed. It produced many agriculturalists because agriculture was the mainstay of the economy (and accordingly a principle plank in the Government policy). It concentrated on science, engineering, and business administration because scientists, engineers, entrepeneurs, and administrators were presumed essential for rapid economic development. By the 1965-1966 academic year, over seventy percent of student enrollment at the University was in agriculture, science, business administration, engineering, and education.

(2) the nationalist themes which accompanied independence. The University took pride in the fact that it was "not tied to colonial apronstrings" through "special relationships," that from its inception it granted its own degrees, that it drew its content from "the culture of Nigeria," that its staff was international "rather than only British," in short, that it was genuinely "Nigerian."

(3) the "dynamic" strain in the Ibo self image. The University took pride in the fact that it developed rapidly, that it was"a university in a hurry." If this ran counter to the British practice of gradual or deliberate development, it conformed perfectly to Ibo self-confidence and the image of the Southern Nigerian generally that he could really accomplish anything (and that in a mighty short time!) Within two years the University had grown as rapidly (in student enrollment) as Ibadan had in ten, and certainly far more rapidly in terms of numbers and variety of colleges and curricula.

(4) the democratic theme in Ibo culture. The University talked about developing democratic graduates who would not be afraid to work with their hands, who would be egalitarian and mix willingly with villagers, who would repudiate the gap between "town and gown." Its open-door policy confirmed to the Ibo image that anyone should have the chance to prove himself by demonstrating his abilities. The University invited "smelly, unwashed teachers from bush schools," "poultry farmers," semi-literate and illiterate chiefs and elders to attend its special classes and programs on the University campus--literally by the thousands. Certainly if "Zik worked his way through college in the coalmines of Pennsylvania," his University could produce graduates who would drink palmwine with villagers and don "knickers" to build a community school!

(5) the demand for university places. The University unabashedly admitted students at the West African School Certificate level, it admitted vast numbers who had achieved their qualifications by the bush lamp and correspondence course. It claimed they were as good or better than the privileged few who filtered up through the Sixth Forms. It capitalized on the explosive force which had been building up through the demand of thousands for a chance to"get ahead," to realize the investment in education already made by individuals, families, and villages.

(6) the demand for teachers. The College of Education degree program opened the second year of the University by offering admission to over one hundred applicants. The "juggernaut" pace of colonial education was ended. The College sought applicants who were willing to be "hallmarked TEACHER--who would accept a degree in Education that would mark them for the profession for life. In doing so, it accepted not only youngsters but those beyond thirty who had proved through years of service that they were in the profession to stay. It was not ashamed to have taken "those old men." It talked of a profession of teachers.

(7) the improvement of teaching. The College of Education advertised itself as devoted to improving teaching at all levels and in all areas, from "bush schools to the Advanced Teacher Training College." It gave specific attention to the lot and performance of the lowly primary school teacher. It coupled its activities with their teachers' union in doing this. It brought eighteen hundred of them onto the campus to help them gain the minimum qualification to retain employment. Beyond this, it developed special programs to meet "urgent concerns" of school men: notably "improving English teaching," Science instruction," and "the new mathematics."

(8) fitting Nigerian education to a new Nigeria. The College of Education developed as a core element in its doctrine "reconstructing Nigerian education." Insofar as this meant adding to the curriculum science, technology, and vocational courses presumed to lead to employment, this conformed with the beliefs and desires of all Nigerians, save only a few religious leaders who feared growing secularism and scientism. But in a society which looked upon science as the harbinger of a new day, the dissident voices were few. In a newly independent Nigeria to deny a doctrine which preached that education must be redesigned to reinforce the Nigerian's respect for himself and his own culture would be heresy.

Similar instances have been evidenced in this study to demonstrate the congruence between doctrine and other emerging values and forces in the Nigerian environment. As this doctrine, and its implementation, ran into initial resistances in the educational environment, such as concern of students about the economic value of new and different degrees, the danger of overproduction of graduates, the desirability of "depth" in training, the low quality of American education, the fear of debasing "standards," the concern for procedural requirements, and the malaise at upsetting the status quo, reliance merely upon congruence between slogans and programs and emergent forces and values in the external environment was not enough to assure institutionality. This led to the employment of concurrent strategies.

Strategy II: Establishing partnership and supportive linkages

One of the most important of the concurrent strategies was that of developing mutually supportive linkages with other organizations. (The need for establishing supportive linkages with other organizations already institutionalized was not clearly recognized when I arrived in Nigeria. I welcomed the invitation to join the Joint Consultative Committee not because I recognized the need for mutual support but because I saw this as means of learning about Nigerian education and ultimately as a channel for influencing the Nigerian educational system. The type of de facto control which the external system exercised over University programs was made clear, however, when the Reference Committee on Teacher Training withheld approval and salary recognition from the first diploma and certificate program proposed. It became clear that other organizations would view new departures, especailly if associated with the University of Nigeria or American education, with mistrust, and that great emphasis was placed on established procedures for legitimizing innovations. It was also clear that in matters such as the one at hand we were strangers with no friends in court. Between 1960 and 1962 we attempted to build support from other organizations and our publics by the following methods:

1. By eliminating one unauthorized program at the suggestion of the Reference Committees, and modifying entry qualifications and content of the second program to meet their suggestions.

2. By restructuring the Carnegie Seminar in Education so as to involve (to the extent that they would accept our invitation) the influential organizations which already were institutionalized and the influence-wielders in Nigerian education, rather than restricting it to a small, select group of educational planners, largely expatriate.

3. By tying all future new proposals, insofar as possible, to documents which had already been legitimized and which could in turn provide legitimization for new programs. In particular, we tied future proposals to the Ashby Report.

4. By supporting, to the best of our ability, the desire of the Eastern Nigeria Ministry of Education to launch its Advanced Teacher Training College under auspicious circumstances. We could do this only by taking a position counter to that held by Dr. Azikiwe and by his lieutenant, Mr. Chukwudebe (at the University). We attempted to secure University facilities for its originally housing and we did offer to "legitimize" its certificate with the imprimature of the University, to provide its exceptional candidates direct entry to the University programs at advanced levels, and to provide external examiner services which attached University prestige to the new organization.

5. By establishing an Institute of Education in such a way that the Ministry of Education assumed partnership and shared leadership functions with the University Faculty of Education, and by working out in advance with the Ministry the functions and program of the Institute so it would be supportive of the Ministry. Official membership was also given on its Board of Directors to the Catholic Church and Protestant Voluntary Agencies.

6. By requesting to join the Nigeria Union of Teachers, by proposing to it the major professional undertaking of its career (the upgrading of vast numbers of unqualified teacher-members through courses at the University), and by facilitating and largely carrying out in its name this upgrading program.

7. By accepting the good offices of the British Council in conducting courses for upgrading English teachers, thus attaching ourselves in co-sponsorship to an organization already institutionalized in Education and minimizing the threat of conflict between "British" and "American" units.

8. By supporting the Ministry of Education by giving leadership and professional legitimization (under University auspices) for a change in the educational law of the Region to provide closer government supervision and control of all primary schools.

9. By supporting the Ministry of Education in its attempt to implement the Eastern Nigeria Development Plan, 1962-1968, by developing jointly with the Ministry curricula for a new type of comprehensive junior secondary school and University curricula to provide teachers required if the stated emphasis on "technical education" was to occur.

10. By accepting membership on the various Regional Committees and the subject matter panels of the West African Examinations Council.

In addition to this, the College served to provide meeting facilities for professional organizations, especially of Eastern Nigeria, and nominally (and financially) joined three other West African universities in sponsoring the West African Journal of Education. An attempt to establish

formal ties with other organizations through a College Advisory Committee, representing organizations already institutionalized, was aborted by Mr. Chukwudebe of the central University administration. Although the College did involve other departments in its work with the Advanced Teachers Training College and in its development of Elementary Science Programs, it failed to establish mutually supportive organizational linkages within the University. This may in part have accounted for the failure of its proposal for a masters degree program, even though it did offer a companion proposal whereby other departments would benefit through a Post Graduate Certificate of Education course. The total effect of establishing these linkages was that such organizations as the Ministry of Education, the Nigeria Union of Teachers and the Advanced Teachers Training College became among the strongest supporters of the College and Institute of Education. As these were loci of power in the Nigerian educational system, such support was both a significant index of institutionality and a promise of institutionalization for future innovations of the organization.

Strategy III: Returning to approved channels for legitimizing programs

As the University did not have official contacts with the Ministries of Education as did other Nigerian universities (being located instead officially under the Premier of Eastern Nigeria and actually within the office of Dr. Azikiwe), it became particularly important to use the channels of legitimization that would overcome the barriers raised by separation and the disparagement which the Ministry personnel felt this implied. Following the abortive University Council venture into an unauthorized diploma program we used thereafter extensive caution in referring programs in advance to legitimizing bodies.

1. We carried our B.A. (Education) and B.Sc. (Education) program to the joint consultative machinery although as degree programs they were ostensibly beyond the purview of these committees.

2. We requested, unsuccessfully, that the University Council delay all announcements on the Institute of Education proposal until we had consulted with the Ministry and reached mutual agreement. Although this was not done, the Ministry was willing to consult and revise ex post facto.

3. A music program developed outside of the College was carried (unsuccessfully) to the Joint Consultative Committee.

4. The new vocational education programs (1963-1964) were developed in close consultation with the ministry, and program, purpose, content, accreditation and salaries were worked out with the Ministry before programs were launched.

5. Legitimization for the Nigeria Union of Teachers--University of Nigeria program for unqualified teachers was carried out initially by the Union of Teachers. Ministry endorsement of the program was recieved but accreditation arrangements concerning participants were never finalized to the satisfaction of the University.

Where advance consultation did take place, we found legitimization normally forthcoming. Requests for consultation or advice likewise created a new atmosphere of accord or partnership.

Strategy IV: By concentrating programs in the areas of greatest demand

Although the College ostensibly was as interested in the reform of the educational system as it was in the production of teachers and other educational personnel, it was to the latter function that attention was devoted because (1) this was the area where the demand factor was greatest, (2) this was the area in which there was least potential resistance, (3) programs of this type could support organizations already institutionalized, and (4) the production of such personnel (committed during their training to educational change and acquainted with the nature of potential changes) could permit moving ahead on broad educational change at a later date with greater support and

understanding within the system. The major innovative programs of teacher preparation through which the University hoped to institutionalize itself and its programs were specifically pointed toward meeting the following externally recognized needs:

1. To meet the general demand for secondary school teachers characterized by a professional commitment to remain in teaching.

   B.A. (Education) and B.Sc. (Education). This program was advertized as designed to produce a cadre of professionally trained teachers in a shorter period of time (by one year) than required by previous programs, a cadre of teachers who could teach more than one subject (thus better meeting staffing problems in schools), and a cadre of teachers designated by degree for the profession and not attractive outside it. In addition to legitimization by reference to demand, this program was specifically legitimized by reference to the Ashby Report and by formal consultative procedures. Although it was impossible (due to "academic" prerequisites) to provide balance in terms of those teaching fields in which teachers were in greatest demand, it was possible to produce a large number of teachers who met the clamour for those "professionally committed" to teaching.

2. To meet the general demand for vocational teachers.

   N.C.E. (Vocational Education) and E. Ed. (Vocational Education). After earlier false starts, these programs were worked out with the Ministry of Education to provide the teachers who would be required if Eastern Nigeria moved toward emphasizing technical education and agriculture as called for in

its Development Plan. There were already serious shortages of technical or vocational teachers at the time the program was effectively launched. From an earlier University program only partially launched in 1961, only one teacher had been graduated by December, 1965.

3. To assist teachers already in the profession faced with unemployment due to upgrading teaching requirements.

   Nigeria Union of Teachers Course. The long vacation courses for uncertified teachers were to provide these teachers with an opportunity to remain in the vocation by qualifying them for certification, either through honorary Grade III certificates or through certificates achieved by sitting external examinations. The course unquestionably assisted the Nigeria Union of Teachers as well as the University in establishing a "service" image.

4. To introduce science into the primary school.

   Elementary Science Workshops and Conferences. It has become a policy of Eastern Nigerian Government, in keeping with a general faith in science which is sweeping Africa, that science teaching should be introduced into schools early to eliminate superstition and provide the basis for that scientific thought "which will enable Africa to modernize rapidly." These workshops supplement an expressed policy and pilot project of the Eastern Nigerian government. Dr. Fafunwa has assumed much of the leadership for this type and level of instruction in Africa. A companion program in the new mathematics has been conducted by Dr. Ukeje and the two programs have been jointly sponsored by Ministry and University.

Strategy V. To defer disruptive elements involved in "educational reconstruction" until there was a support base in the field

The College of Education has entered into the arena of public debate on reorganizing Nigerian education at two points:

1. Public Regulation of Primary Schools. The need for stringent educational economies in primary education if the anticipated expansion of secondary and vocational education were to occur, plus the dissatisfaction of unpaid voluntary agency teachers resulting in periodic strikes, led to concern among the public, in the press, in professional circles (cf., the Ikoku Conference), in the Nigeria Union of Teachers, and in the Ministry for greater government supervision and control of primary schools. Into this environment, which was heatedly controversial, the Institute of Education moved in 1965 with its conference on Primary School Administration (School Boards). The recommendations of this conference supported the establishment of district school boards with considerable power of control over all primary schools, and a somewhat watered down version of this recommendation was passed into law that year.

2. Elimination of the Higher Schools in the Educational Ladder. Dr. Fafunwa has in the past few years been a vehement spokesman for eliminating the Sixth Form as a prerequisite for University entrance. In arguing this point he has been supporting practiced University of Nigeria policy. He has presented papers arguing his position in the journals and before the principal secondary school associations of Nigeria. He has recently received the support of the Institute of Education at the University of Ibadan, which has taken a similar position. In this policy, the University runs contrary to the wishes of a group of principals and proprietors of well-established prestige secondary schools which possess such forms, the Ministries of Education of Nigeria, and the recommendations of the Ashby Report.

Beyond these two policy moves the College has been largely satisfied with discussing general alternatives available in educational reconstruction and urging greater practicality, greater emphasis on African cultural content, increased or reoriented emphasis on science and mathematics and modern administrative and personnel procedures in schools.

Neither of the two major "reconstructions" have thus far been put into effect, although the first actual exists in law. The impact of these proposals upon institutionality of the organization itself remains unclear. It would appear the organization was sufficiently institutionalized prior to these "crusades" to withstand critism. The fact that the degree program has been institutionalized is indicated by increasing demand by applicants (amounting to several times the number of available places) and also by successful placement of graduates. Institutionality of the newer vocational programs has thus far been assured mainly through Ministry support, although a demand factor in the environment promises further institutionality. The support provided the Institute by the leadership of the Nigeria Union of Teachers indicates not institutionality of the program for upgrading unqualified teachers, which is currently in abeyance, but suggests increased institutionality of the organization. The status of the science and mathematics programs remains indeterminate, for these involve changes in the Nigerian schools which are more difficult to come by.

Conclusion

The University presented to Nigeria a doctrine which could be verbalized as an effective set of slogans which were readily linked to other values which had already gained acceptance in Nigeria. It presented these in an environment in which slogans attached to independence, economic development, and planning were the vocabulary of powerful elites. The environment was a transitional one in which forces associated with many forms of independence and change were increasingly dominant. The Ibo tribal culture which dominated the area in which change was to take place was one of the most receptive of African cultures to change. Ibos viewed themselves as dynamic and pushful and had already discovered the value of education as a major tool in both individual and group achievement of power, prestige, and material well-being. The University doctrine provided one bridge between emerging economic and nationalist slogans and the Ibo faith in education. It was able to do this more readily because the gap had already been partially bridged by over a decade in which a nationalist hero, Dr. Azikiwe, had preached the doctrine of pragmatic American education, because a highly "legitimate" Afro-Anglo-American Commission concurrently recommended bridging this gap in much the same way and using much

the same rationale as the University was to use, and because the University possessed viable Nigerian leadership which commanded respect, was genuinely committed to the doctrine, and was able to present the doctrine in the Nigerian idiom. The University also possessed sufficient supporting American leadership to provide the programmatic interpretations which doctrine needed, to tip the academic balance within the organization against academic conservatism, and ultimately to develop an organizational structure capable of maintaining doctrine and program. During the formative period during which doctrine was being shaped into program, the University was effectively protected against most outside restraints and against serious intenral disruption by the authority of Dr. Azikiwe who identified the innovations of the University with himself.

As the program in Education was specifically designed to meet the "needs" of the relevant publics in the Educational system, <u>as these publics themselves visualized these needs</u>, support for program began to develop. The major demands in the environment were the demand to provide a considerable quantity of professionally committed teachers for secondary schools and teacher training colleges and the demand to provide opportunities

for a large backlog of "qualified" applicants who sought university admission. These demands were met by a professional degree in Education with large enrollment.

Meanwhile further support was assidously cultivated by building mutually supportive relationships (linkages) with organizations in the educational system which were already institutionalized. Thus, when the shield of Dr. Azikiwe's influence proved ineffective with the Ministry or was ultimately withdrawn from the University, it was found that the programs and doctrine were sufficiently instated that neither was subject to serious attack. The academic staff which now essentially controlled academic matters had come to view these programs as its own and was little likely to abandon them willingly. The University as a whole had acquired a distinctive identity--an identity associated with practical, vocational preparation, committed to greater breadth of studies that had been the tradition, concerned with bridging the gap between town and gown, and dedication to serving (on campus and off-campus) the widest possible range of Nigerian citizens. The College of Education was fully committed to this policy, and in addition, to a policy of modifying the wider educational system along the similar lines of making education appropriate to the culture, an agent of deliberate change in that culture, and an instrument of economic development.

The considerable degree of institutionality suggested by this study, conducted scarcely five years after the opening of the University, must be considered tentative. There seems little reason to doubt that the organizations--the University, the College of Education, and the Institute of Education--whether they will survive, as organizations which continue to innovate, or even as organizations maintaining innovations within programs they have begun, cannot be certain. Within the College of Education, if there are any dangers to institutionality, these lie in the extent to which continuity of leadership is maintained. It will for some time be important that competence and commitment to innovative doctrine be maintained in strategic positions. The recruitment of an increasingly able young staff, comprised largely of graduates of the College itself who have gone on for furtherstudies (particularly in the United States) is a promising harbinger of future continuity. Until the present, however, the turnover of staff below the top seniority level has been rapid, and no member of the Faculty with the exception of Dr. Fafunwa had acquired a position of recognized educational leadership in Eastern Nigeria. One noted Eastern Nigeria secondary school principal qualified his statement that he was "ABSOLUTELY satisfied" with the Faculty of Education by the proviso "as long as Babs is there."

Probably both the ability of the College to continue its present innovations and ultimately to move more effectively into the realm of assisting in overall reconstruction of Nigerian education will depend in large part upon the esteem it earns from its graduates and in turn upon the esteem which the performance of its graduates earns for it. Certainly its graduates will be the primary diffusion agents for innovative norms or values of the College. Thus far, the first of them has been in the field less than eighteen months. Until they have made their mark, we can only say that the College appears to have acquired considerable institutionality derived largely from its membership in the total University which is better known and better understood. For the present, both University and College appear surprisingly well institutionalized considering the extent to which they have diverged from university norms previously existing in Nigeria. In interviewing hundreds of respondents connected with the educational system, one had the feeling that despite early skepticism and reservations about this new creation, more and more Eastern Nigerians were approaching the position of an influential principal who had received his own professional training in Education of Oxford. Asked his overall judgment of the University, he replied with that ultimate endorsement, "It is the kind of place I would like to send my son."

SUBSTANTIVE APPENDIX A: PLAN FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION, UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA. (UN/MSU/1/39) 21 February, 1961

- INTRODUCTION -

One of the most distinctive features of the land-grant philosophy of education is the important place it accords to the applied fields of learning. It is thus of extreme importance that those branches of the University of Nigeria which relate most immediately to meeting the pressing needs of Nigeria should be given careful attention and, indeed, a degree of priority. It is with the belief that the College of Education is of unusual importance as the first of these applied fields to be developed, that this report is presented. Undoubtedly other applied fields will be influenced in their development by the particular directions which this first applied college takes.

Those of us charged with developing a plan for the College of Education have been unusually fortunate in having a number of sources upon which we might draw in structuring a plan for its development. That further study will undoubtedly shed greater insights on the problems of education in Nigeria and West Africa goes without saying. Thus any plan presented at this time must be viewed as a tentative plan, subject to revision in the light of subsequent study and experience. The plan here presented rests, however, upon principles and ideas gathered from at least the following sources:

The general philosophy of the University, which lays its stress upon meeting the pressing problems of the society the University would serve rather than upon making invidious distinctions between the "academically respectable" and the "immediately serviceable." Thus this report is unabashedly based upon what appear to those of us who have had a chance to study Nigeria, and to consult with others whose knowledge is much deeper than our own, to rest upon those needs which are genuinely most pressing although they may not always be the needs which are most immediately apparent, or "academically respectable."

The possibility for consultations and investigations, made possible by the provision of consultant status in the plan of development of the University. While the exigencies of getting the University underway have precluded as thorough a study of the educational system and its cultural background as would ideally be desired, considerable investigation has been possible for those of us who were brought here to make studies and to recommend to the University.

3. The Carnegie Seminar on Education, which brought together outstanding school people of Nigeria, leaders of thought in related fields, and educational experts from the United States and the United Kingdom which was specifically oriented towards advancing suggestions for the College of Education of this University. Much of this report is based upon ideas garnered from or endorsed by the educational leaders brought together for the Seminar.

4. The appointment of the initial members of the College of Education faculty which has made it possible to check the ideas presented against the thinking of persons familiar with the Nigerian educational system and persons who will have the ultimate responsibility for placing a program into operation and modifying it in the light of ever-changing conditions. The very recent acquisition of faculty in education has, unfortunately, made full involvement of this faculty in the development of this plan infeasible, although the new faculty has served as sounding board and revision panel for an initial draft of this paper.

5. The College of Education is further fortunate in being able to chart its course at a time when the Ashby Commission on Education in Nigeria has presented its findings and has recommended many startling innovations in the educational system of the land. It will be noted that many of the recommendations of the Commission have been reviewed and incorporated into the plan here presented.

The report which follows divides the proposed work of the College of Education into three separate categories. The categorization used is not intended to imply that these categories of work can proceed discretely or that separate functions imply separate staffs or separate facilities. It should be pointed out that, in the initial phases of development, one of the functions frequently performed by Institutes of Education - almost as their supervision of standards in Teacher Training Colleges. It does not appear to us that the land-grant philosophy of education places stress on the use of the institution of learning as the agency for main training standards through rigorous supervision of schools (for example, Teacher Training Colleges). It is rather our hope that the aim of improving these schools might be more profitably pursued by informal sponsorship or through in-service activities with their staffs and administrations, in-service activities in which we might place our emphasis upon helping them to help themselves. The three functions which we do believe the College of Education should perform are the following:

1. Teaching.

2. Research.

3. Service.

It is difficult to place these three overlapping functions into any ladder of relative priority, inasmuch as each one contributes to the development and amplification of the other. However, for the immediate future it would seem to us that in the allocation of our resources, the highest priority should be placed upon teaching programs designed to produce educational leaders and teachers of outstanding quality. Research which helps structure these programs and which grows out of such programs and service programs which help school systems and teachers to educate themselves should be placed next highest on the priority list of the College of Education.

TEACHING PROGRAMS IN THE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

Colleges of Education, Institutes of Education, and Departments of Education have from time to time and from place to place offered a wide variety of patterns of teaching programs. There is no reason why the University of Nigeria should be bound by program patterns which have previously existed or which have previously been given priority at other institutions. As a matter of fact, the experimental mood in which this University was launched would seem to imply a belief that there were inadequacies in previously existing patterns, inadequacies which could only be remedied by fresh approaches growing out of careful study of the cultural backgrounds of education. The following types of programs are available and will probably ultimately form constituent elements of the College of Education program:

1. A full professional degree program in education (B.A. (Ed.)).

2. Short campus institutes and workshops for the upgrading of school personnel.

3. Certificate and diploma courses for upgrading persons but not carrying them to the full graduate level.

4. Extension courses and workshops offered throughout the length and breadth of Nigeria to help teachers in local communities deal with their particular problems.

5. Courses leading to post-graduate certificates in education, especially for those who have taken degrees in teaching fields rather than in education (P.G.C.E.).

6. Courses leading to masters degree in education (M.A. (Ed.)) for persons who have had previous professional training and experience and need further training for positions of top leadership.

7. International programs in education, involving co-ordination of foreign study experiences, particularly those involving comparative studies of other educational systems. Such programs may involve exchange of staff, provision for or participation in African Institutes, and co-ordination of activities through UNESCO.

8. Radio and television courses of instruction for school teachers.

Obviously the development of any such extensive teaching program cannot occur overnight. Consultations with many educational leaders, from this country and from abroad, and the recommendations of the Carnegie Seminar on Education, lead us to stress the following three principles in developing this teaching program.

(1) Careful phasing programs will be a major problem in order to assure the success of each program carried on. Such phasing will depend necessarily upon professional judgment as to the relative priority of needs, upon the availability of other resources for doing the job in the country, and upon the growth of other departments and programs within the University.

(2) Inasmuch as it is impossible for the University to attempt to provide training for all teachers in the country, we would do better to focus our sights upon training the kinds of teachers which we are uniquely qualified to train or for which there are uniquely pressing demands. The College of Education should thus focus its attention upon training teacher training college staff who will in turn train elementary teachers, upon training persons for positions on the professional education of Ministries of Education and Voluntary Agencies, upon training secondary school teachers and upon training a new cadre of educational administrators.

(3) The College of Education should focus its attention upon preparing persons for genuine positions of leadership, recognizing that the future of Nigerian education and the directions it shall take will depend largely upon the quality of leadership exerted within the profession.

In accordance with these three principles, the following program of priorities and time table are proposed.

(1) First priority should be accorded to the development of a degree program in education in the University. This program should draw its clientele largely from students who have had previous teaching experience. It should be designed to provide graduate teachers for the teachers training colleges and secondary schools. It should further provide a corps of persons qualified to exercise leadership through administrative posts or through positions in the ministries of education. Such a program received hearty endorsement from both the University of Nigeria Seminar on Education and from the Ashby Commission on Higher Education in Nigeria. This course should be inaugurated in October, 1961.

(2) High priority should be given to providing short Institutes and workshops for the upgrading of teachers already in the field. These workshops and institutes should be offered on a two to four week basis, concentrating on teachers who would be released for such short periods to attend these courses. Some such courses and workshops might be offered during the July vacation. The following five institutes and workshops along with dates for their inauguration are recommended as matters of urgency and importance:

(i) Institute on the Teaching of English as a Second Language. The Ashby Commission and all major professional consultative bodies have placed stress upon providing such institutes. Mr. Adeyefa was added to our staff partially to meet this demand, and other faculty members would likely be available. Such an institute should first be offered during July - August, 1961

(ii) Institute on the Teaching of Science in Secondary Schools and Teacher Training Colleges. One of the most obvious shortcomings of Nigerian education is in the field of the sciences. Dr. Ukeji has been added to our staff to work partially in this field. It appears probable that the National Science Foundation of the United States would be willing to recruit competent staff for offering such a summer institute and that I.C.A. would be willing to sponsor it. It also appears likely that, inasmuch as our own facilities will not be completed by summer, arrangement can be made for the University of Nigeria to employ the Nigerian College of Technology laboratories in Enugu for offering

such an institute. TIMING: Such an institute should first be offered during July-August, 1961, if I.C.A. and National Science Foundation aid is available.

(iii) Institute on School Administration: The administrator of the Nigerian school, despite the complexities of his problems and the tremendous need for instructional and curricular leadership, is largely untrained in administration and in leadership principles. No relevant current instruction is offered for those already involved in administration. The University of Nigeria should, with competent staff, immediately fill this tremendous gap in the Nigerian educational picture. Such an institute should be first offered during July and August or September and October of 1961. It might be possible to enlist foundation aid for the further development of such a program once it is underway.

(iv) An Institute for Educational Assistants. The Educational Assistants, who play such a large role in administering local area schools in Nigeria, are largely untrained for the role they must play. Short Institutes, under Dr. Ukpaby, to help them with their task, should commence in June or July, 1961.

(v) Center for Community Education. A College of Education is not concerned solely with the education of school teachers and administrators. It must likewise be concerned with the training of personnel who are engaged in community development and community education projects but are outside the formal school system. The creation of a center for the training of community and adult education leaders is urgent. Difficulties in planning and staffing this center, however, suggest that its inauguration be held off until July, 1962. At that time, it appears the University could enlist one of the world's foremost leaders in community development and might, hopefully, receive foundation or ICA support for inaugurating a program.

(3) Post Graduate Certificate of Education Courses: Both the Ashby Commission and our own Carnegie Seminar on Education recommended maintaining the present pattern of a subject matter degree followed by post graduate work in education as an alternate course for the training of teachers, especially for teachers in the higher forms of the secondary schools. The appropriate time for the inauguration of such courses would appear to be at that point where our original foundation students receive their degrees and form a core of students, whose background of University experience would be familiar to us. Students from other institutions would round out the core and would undoubtedly provide a sizeable enrollment when the program is inaugurated. It is therefore recommended that the College of Education offer its first P.G.C.E. course beginning in June or October, 1963.

(4) Center of International Study: This center should begin its work with enabling persons in leadership positions in Nigerian education to make comparative education tours of various countries, preceding such tours with orientation sessions. Such tours, which are a vital need for Nigeria today, should be organized and planned by the University but should be sponsored and supported by the Foundations, the I.C.A. and the Ministries of Education. Such tours must occur during those months when schools are in session in Europe, the near East, and America. I would suggest that a request be made to a foundation to provide support for such tour beginning in 1962. Other international study projects in education including exchange of teachers, might subsequently be developed and studies by this center.

(5) Certificate and Diploma Courses in Education: It has been a practice in Nigeria for the institutes of education to offer sub-graduate certificate and diploma courses for upgrading some teachers in the field. Such courses have been in the past offered in both Zaria and Ibadan. There has been an immediate response, in each of the regions, to implement the Ashby Commission recommendations in respect to establishing Grade I Teacher Training Colleges. These colleges, which will offer two or three year certificate programs for upgrading Grade II teachers to Grade I teachers, will largely obviate the need for the University of Nigeria to offer general certificate programs. It would be unfortunate for us to place ourselves at this particular point in our development in a place of competing with sub-university institutions in offering such programs when our resources are necessarily limited. We should, rather, watch the development of such institutions and their programs offering such help (and sponsorship, if the Ashby recommendations are followed) as appears desirable. In initiating our certificate programs this year we discovered that only three of the applicants who qualified by our admission examination were interested in a one-year certificate program and all but a handful of those who applied for the two-year certificate program have expressed a strong (even vehement) preference for transferring into a degree program in education. It is therefore recommended that the general certificate program we are now engaged in be studied as a pilot scheme to enable us to make recommendations for future action and that no new students be admitted to this program in October. It is further recommended that as many students as prove themselves intellectually competent to do a degree program by their work this first year be permitted to transfer into the degree program beginning in October. The point for re-inaugurating the general certificate programs should await developments in the Grade I Teacher Training Colleges and development of the degree program.

This temporary withdrawal from the general certificate programs should not exclude development of certificate programs in special fields as such special programs are required. It is, for example, recommended that the College offer a one-year certificate course in technical education to follow completion of work in the technical institutes. This course might first be offered in the academic year 1961.

(6) Extension Courses and Workshops: Extension courses and workshops should be offered by the University as needs are identified. Some such workshops should be offered during the next academic year to establish the principles that the University is interested in serving the needs of Nigerian education, wherever they may develop.

(7) Radio and Television Instruction: The College of Education should investigate the opportunities provided, especially by the Eastern Nigeria Broadcasting Company, for the use of the communication media in carrying our instruction to a wider clientele than can now be handled on the University campus. There is no reason to believe that such instruction, on a pilot basis, could not be provided sometime during the academic year 1961-1962.

(8) Service Courses for Other Departments: Any College or department is obligated to assist its fellow departments in the development of their programs. Long experience in American institutions would suggest that this activity is generally

accorded a lower priority than it deserves. The College of Education should stand ready to serve as an example in providing service courses of high quality for programs which impinge upon it now. Should the fields of Home Economics and Physical Education develop outside of the College of Education, it would be important that we be ready to offer the types of professional education courses these fields demand as soon as they are needed. It would be expected that the first demands in these fields will occur in Physical Education in the Academic year 1961-62.

Obviously, these eight types of instructional programs (even when inaugurated in keeping with the priorities and time table suggested) will place a heavy instructional load upon the staff of the College of Education. Some of the types of instruction can best be carried on during the months when teachers are usually free of duties. This means that adequate compensation for instructional staff, to cover the additional time they will be teaching during holidays, will have to be provided. While it might be possible to slow down the process of inaugurating these courses, it must be recognized that educational problems in Nigeria are pressing. It is believed that the schedule here proposed would not be unreasonable, if discretion were used in terms of numbers of short courses offered and if the enrollment were limited in the short courses and workshops which were offered. Appendix A gives a diagramatic representation of the offering of these types of courses and the proposed chronological development of the College instructional program during the next few years.

-RESEARCH FUNCTIONS IN THE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION-

The functions of a land-grant type of institution imply that this University will not limit its activities solely to teaching but will engage as well in research that lends itself to solving the problems of the society. While the first priority must be given, during the early years of the University, to turning out well-qualified teachers - a job which can be done through our teaching programs - this very job can best be performed only as it is supported by a sound research program. In order that this research program might have immediate effect upon education in a rapidly changing and developing society, however, it is suggested that the following principles guide our research development during the years immediately ahead:

(1) The College of Education should place its primary emphasis on action research as contrasted with rigidly experimental research. For the moment, the University can make its greatest contribution through research which takes place in schools and communities where projects are planned, put into operation and success and failures in terms of predicted results noted. This type of research frequently lacks rigid controls but may be of immeasurable value in a rapidly developing society and rapidly changing educational system.

(2) The College of Education should place its primary emphasis on applied research as contrasted with pure research. Although it is hoped that some day the University will contribute to pushing back the frontiers of knowledge in basic areas, for the moment research efforts should be focused on problems which are of immediate interest and relevance in terms of the Nigerian scene. While we might, for example, ultimately contribute pure research in the field of concept formation, for the moment we would be better advised to deal with research concerning teaching methods in, say, history in the primary school classroom.

(3) The College of Education should place its emphasis on research growing out of problems located in the College's teaching program and service programs. This implies that it would be premature to commit ourselves to any large area of programmed research but rather that we should deal with specific problems as these make themselves apparent through our teaching and through our study of the school system.

With these reservations, however, it would appear that there are certain broad areas which are particularly deserving of immediate attention. Three of these appear to be areas in which there is pressing need throughout West Africa, and members of the Carnegie Seminar recommended that we do research in these areas. These are:

1. Child growth and development in West African societies, concentrating particularly upon longitudinal studies.

2. Problems of selection and evaluation of students, particularly selection and guidance for study in appropriate higher educational units.

3. Methodology in the various teaching areas.

Among the special research areas which appear to demand particular attention and to which the University of Nigeria might contribute leadership are the following:

1. Unique problems of education in rural (bush) communities and the solution of these problems.

2. The types of crash programs which might prepare primary school leaves for productive employment.

3. Methods and curriculum in teaching English as a foreign language, concentrating on particular problems in Ibo and Efik speaking areas.

4. Re-evaluation of primary school curriculum and methodology.

5. Problems of school administration and educational leadership in Nigerian schools.

6. Applicability of the comprehensive high school (a school offering multiple vocational and prevocational curruculs as well as a common citizenship course) in Nigeria.

7. Relation of the volume and scope of technical training to job opportunities in Nigeria.

8. Analysis of currucular content necessary to prepare individuals for positions in developing industries.

9. Unique problems of women's education in Nigeria.

10. Effective community change techniques, placing emphasis on:-
    (a) Education for community development.
    (b) The role of the teacher as a catalyst in promoting community change.

11. Problems of delinquency and rootlessness in changing communities.

It is undoubtedly impossible for the College to deal with all these research areas in the immediate future, but they do serve as a reservoir of areas needing particular attention from which we might draw our research projects.

RESEARCH FACILITIES

The productive execution of research will require the development of adequate facilities. The following appear to be the research facilities which will be most urgently required:

1. The University should undertake the development of a demonstration and Laboratory school, soliciting foundation support for such a project. This appears to be an especially important research requirement on the Nigerian scene. It is recommended that this facility encompass an educational system running from the primary grades through a (comprehensive) high school, possibly excluding the sixth form work. Several considerations are important here:
   (a) The schools and facilities must be planned in consultation with educational experts.

   (b) The schools should be located near enough the College of Education building to facilitate experimentation and observation. Experience in other countries have indicated that physical proximity is a matter of urgency in such construction. The primary and secondary schools should be separate units.

   (c) The demonstration school should probably include a secondary school encompassing various types of training, possibly modelled upon the comprehensive high school as it exists in the United States.

   (d) These schools should be separate from any school planned for the education of faculty children. They should attempt to draw a student body selected for appropriate background in terms of the type of experimentation envisaged by the College of Education. Considerable experience with laboratory schools has definitely established that when such schools draw their clientel from faculty families, research tends to become invalid and experimental program design suited to the needs of the entire community tends to be inhibited.

2. The College of Education should develop a research library and statistical laboratory. Good research requires the availability of recent material in the areas to be research as well as the computional machinery and technicians to process research findings and facilitate the drawing of conclusions. It would be particularly helpful if one full time staff position were made available for a person to serve as research co-ordinator and and facilitator. This person should be well trained in both research design and in research techniques especially applicable to education.

3. The facilitating of research generally requires the availability of research fund: This fund should be administered through a committee composed of persons familiar with the requirements of research. In addition to an allocation through the total University Budget, this fund should be built up by charging overhead for various research and developmental projects financed by foundations and carried on under the auspices of the University.

Apart from the position of research co-ordinator, no separate research faculty should be built up in the College. The College should operate on the principle that good research will strengthen the good teacher, and that teaching and research should feed into one another. At the same time, it should be recognized that not all faculty members are trained or qualified to do research. Research opportunities should be thus unequally distributed among the faculty in terms of their ability to use the opportunities wisely, but this should not exclude untrained faculty members from engaging in some co-operative or team research in order that they might gain the necessary research skills.

SERVICE ACTIVITIES OF THE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

As has been pointed out, it is a fundamental principle of the land-grant type institution that it shall render service to the people of the society in which it is located. This means that, in one sense, the campus of the University is co-extensive with the nation or region which supports it. It is particularly incumbent upon the College of Education to render service throughout the length and breadth of the land, for it is only as the College of Education gets into our communities and learns of their problems and the problems of their schools, that it can make a significant contribution in improving the life of the people. The "Campus" of the College of Education should really include as its "facilities", the schools throughout the country, for it is in these schools that the College's products will take their places as productive workers, it is there that its research projects must find their physical location, it is there that the College can hope to inaugurate primary, direct changes. It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that the College of Education make known to schools, and demonstrate by its actions, that it is ready to help them work on the particular problems which confront them.

If all of the resources of the College of Education are not to be absorbed in rendering services to particular schools, however, certain principles must be established which will enable the College to select those services which it will render. The following are proposed as criteria for the selection of service projects to be rendered during the first years of the University:

1. Those service activities will be given priority which can be worked out on a cooperative basis between ministries, voluntary agencies, the local schools involved, and the College of Education.

2. Willingness or eagerness to respond on the part of the school administration and the teachers directly affected should be a criterion in the acceptance of any service project.

3. Service projects should be designed mainly to help people to help themselves - the success of projects should be judged interms of the tendancy of the schools to carry on further projects on their own after the specific service rendered by the College has been terminated.

4. These service projects should be given priority which give promises of feeding back new knowledge or experience which will contribute to the teaching programs and the research programs of the College. Projects which are repetitive and do not give much promise of learning on our part should be given lower priority when the demand for service becomes large. Although it is impossible to specify with any certainty the particular types of service projects which should be

(1) Establishment of an Instructional Materials Development Center: This center should not only demonstrate desirable types of instructional aids but should be equipped to teach people how to construct and use instructional materials. Special week-end courses should be provided to teach the use of instructional materials. Attention should be given to providing a mobile unit which will bring this instructional materials development center to local "average" schools.

(2) Establishment of a Demonstration School Library: It will be important to demonstrate the advantages which accrue to an instructional program through the maintenance of a school Library. The provision on the University Campus of an exemplary school library, accompanied by short courses on school Librarianship, might render valuable services to the schools of the country.

(3) Center for Adult Education and Community Development: The College of Education must in the years ahead concentrate not only upon education in the schools but also on education in Nigerian communities. Adult education and educational leadership for community development require special competencies. It is thus urgent that the University of Nigeria establish within the College of Education a Center for Adult Education and Community Development, WHICH MIGHT WORK WITH VARIOUS ADULT LEADERS IN IMPROVING THEIR TECHNIQUES IN INSTITUTING COMMUNITY CHANGES. Such a center might work with nutrition experts, domestic science personnel, agricultural extension workers, and other types of community development personnel as the need and opportunity develops.

(4) Short Institutes: One of the most valuable types of service a University can offer consists of short institutes which meet particular specific needs in the country. Among those which should be projected for the College of Education, in the first few years are:

i) Teaching of English as a Second Language; (Ibo, Efik).

ii) Teaching of Science.

iii) Educational Administration.

iv) Institute for Educational Assistants.

v) Two month course on Education Research.

vi) School Librarianship and Reading Improvement.

(5) Publications: Almost any outside observer is immediately aware of the dearth of professional literature which is available to the teaching profession in Nigeria. One of the services of the University could render would be through providing useful professional materials to teachers at all educational levels. During the first year, an emphasis might be given to highly practical how-to-do-it publications, which would have immediate "pay-off" in the classroom or or administrative situation. Inexpensive duplicating processes might be suitable for the early publications although the University Press might undertake more elaborate publication when it is established. One person within the College should be charged with primary responsibility for co-ordination and distribution of publications.

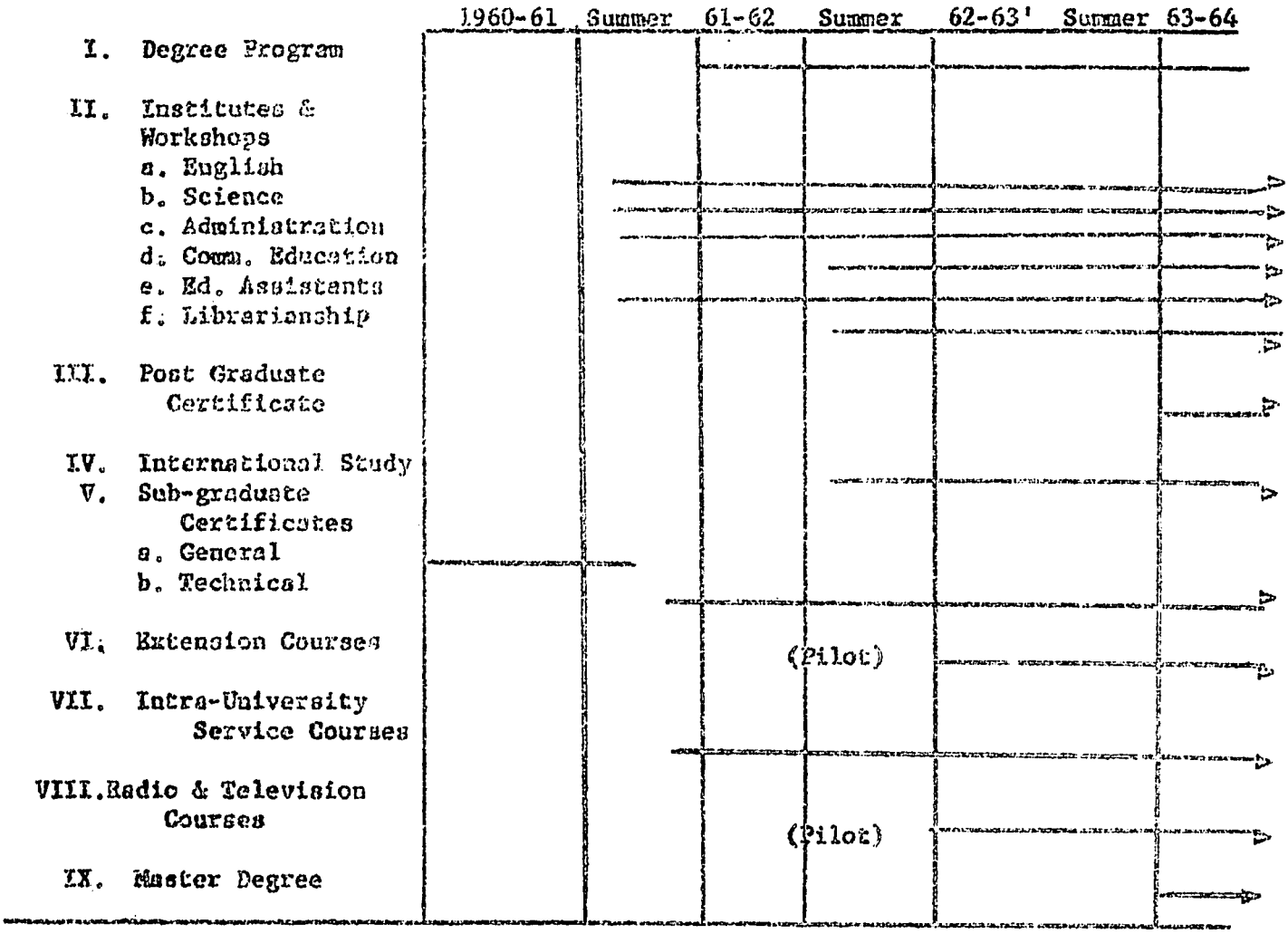
(6) Workshops: A further type of service which the College of Education might explore would be the offering of workshops within specific schools or specific regions. These should be offered first on a trial basis, with careful evaluation of their outcome made. Certain of these workshops should center about self-study projects, in which needs are located and particular programs of improvement undertaken. When this is the pattern followed, a follow-up evaluation workshop should regularly follow.

(7) Sponsorship: Upon request, the College of Education should be willing to enter into informal sponsorship relations with a small number of teacher training institutions. Such sponsorships should occur only where the request orginates from the teacher training institution itself. Sponsorship should not be in the form of external examinations or rigid attempts at quality control but should rather consist of a continuing advisory service on curriculum, methods, self-study and the like. The College of Education should stand ready to offer such sponsorship service to the new Advanced Teacher Training Colleges as these are established in the Eastern Region, and negotiations with the Regional Ministry to this effect should be undertaken.

(8) Advisory functions: In addition to the direct service functions to schools, the University and the College of Education should stand in a position to render service through both their automatic membership on professional bodies and through advisory services to other agencies which can render direct assistance to teachers, schools, and the larger Society. We have been invited to hold membership on the Reference Committees on Teacher Training and Secondary Education and can expect a similar invitation with respect to Technical Education, Secondary Education and Rural Education. We hold institutional membership, by invitation, on the Joint Consultative Committee on Education, which advises both the Federal Ministries and the Regional Ministries. The College must stand ready, however, to work directly on an advisory relationship with the Ministries of Education themselves as special projects and problems develop. Illustrative of the types of advisory relationships which should be developed should be consultations concerning the new advanced teacher training colleges, consultations in which we have been invited to participate. The University should also take an active role, through participation, in the Nigeria Union of Teachers and play an active part in the programs and activities of the specialised professional groups, (such as Association of Teachers of Science), which are beginning to come to life. Not only should membership in such organizations be sought by appropriate faculty members, but the facilities and good offices of the College should be extended readily to these organizations, particularly during their early formative years. Any effort toward the professionalization of the teaching body (and not merely the Grade I teachers) should be encouraged and supported by the College of Education. The College might further take leadership in promoting or founding special professional groups which might take initiative and explore problems in such fields as educational administration, guidance, or community development.

In addition to these types of activities, further service can be rendered in the years immediately ahead through using teacher training centers as a focus for working with co-operating teachers and administrators as well as with student teachers and through encouraging the involvement of teachers out in the schools in "research" which is organized on a co-operative basis with the University but which may lead to greater insight on the part of those teachers involved.

APPENDIX



POSSIBLE TIME TABLE

1961	General Certificate Courses - Recommend feed into degree.	
1961	(July)	Institute on Teaching of English.
1961	"	Institute on Teaching of Science.
1961	(August)	Institute on School Administration
1961	(July)	Institute for Education Assistants.
1961	(October)	Degree Program (Major emphasis).
1961	"	Technical Certificate Program.
1961	"	Service Courses for Physical Education Program.
1962	(January)	Pilot Program on Extension Courses.
1962	"	Pilot Program on Radio and Television Instruction.
1962	(April)	International Study Program.
1962	(July)	Center for Community and Adult Education.
1962	"	Institute for School Librarians.
1963	(October)	Post Graduate Certificate in Education.
1963	"	Master Degree Program in Education.

SUBSTANTIVE APPENDIX B: N.O. **EJIOGU.** (Formerly Chief Inspector Eastern Nigerian Ministry of Education)

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN EASTERN NIGERIA (1960 - 1965) with particular reference to the Relations between the Ministry of Education and the University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

The dawn of Independence in October, 19 brought with it a number of educational problems. Some of these concerned the terrific expansion which had taken place in primary, secondary and teacher education during the preceeding three years. Others were created by the departure of many experienced expatriate teachers and administrators who had taken advantage of the lump sum compensation scheme, following the introduction of the Nigerianization policy. However, there was no lack of enthusiasm among the people and within the government circle to grapple with these problems.

2. Earlier, the Government of Eastern Nigeria had set up the Dike Committee to investigate the organization, administration and management of education in Eastern Nigeria and make its findings and recommendations. The report of this Committee was received by government in 1960, although it was not made public until two or three years later. Nevertheless its recommendations, in no small measure, had influenced policy and practice in the years that followed.

3. The establishment of the University of Nigeria was undoubtedly the most significant and the most exciting event after Independence. Like a much-desired and long-expected baby, the birth of the young University was heralded with joy throughout the Federation. Nigeria's only University College Ibadan, with its policy of gradualism, had constituted a bottleneck to higher education, since, despite the ever-increasing number of eligible undergraduates, its annual intake had not increased substantially.

4. The legitimacy of the new University's claim to existence was not only acknowledged, but was also reiterated, by the Ashby Report which appeared contemporanously. The Ashby Report had pointed to the great and urgent need of high-level man-power in large numbers and even went further to recommend the establishment of at least one University in each Region of Nigeria. The report showed that unless there were adequate facilities for the training of highly qualified teachers who would in turn prepare secondary school-leavers for absorption by the Universities in various fields of higher learning, the much-needed high-level man-power would not be suitable, with the result that Independence would founder on the rock of economic stagnation or be meaningless altogether.

5. Although the University of Nigeria had been founded with funds provided by the Government of Eastern Nigeria and placed under the jurisdiction of the Premier's Office, it was unfortunate that its Faculty of Education did not initiate adequate and effective communication with the Ministry of Education as early as was deemed necessary. This apparently led to the University adopting certain measures which ran counter to the established policies operating in the Ministry. For example, it was through a radio announcement published later in the local press that the Ministry of Education got the information that some Grade II teachers were being admitted to the University on a 2-year diploma programme in education with a view to placement on the new sub-graduate scale of salary after its completion. Both the Ministry and the school proprietors re-acted very unfavourably to what they regarded as a precipitate and irregular action on the part of the University, and agreed not to accord professional recognition to such half-baked teachers as would be produced by the 2-year diploma course.

6. As time went on communication and relationship between the Ministry and the Faculty of Education of the University began to improve. Contact became more frequent to the mutual advantage of the two bodies. In February, 1961 some of the Senior Professional Officers of the Ministry of Education participated in the Carnegie Seminar on Higher Education held at the Campus of the University of Nigeria Nsukka under the Chairmanship of Dr. Karl Bigelow. The various discussion groups into which the Seminar broke up from time to time came out with many suggestions and recommendations for the future development of the University.

7. One of the practical steps taken to foster good relationship between the Harden College of Education of the University of Nigeria and the Ministry of Education as recommended by the Ashby Commission and unanimously agreed to at the February 1961 Seminar on Higher Education. Under the leadership of Dr. John Hanson who was at the time Professor of Education and Head of the Harden College representatives of the College staff and the professional Officers of the Ministry of Education held series of meetings the outcome of which was the inauguration of the Institute of Education on 8th January, 1963.

8. It must be admitted, however, that in its first few years of existence there were many snobbish acts or utterances directed against the students of the University, particularly those of the College of Education with the lower entry qualification. Having regard to the difficulty of recruiting at the material time University teachers and administrators with reasonable experience, and considering that there was a shortage of equipment and accomodation, many professional educators were sceptical about standards in the University. Among British University graduates and the patrons of the British educational system, the knowledge that the University of Nigeria would break with tradition and award its own degrees did not inspire confidence. But it is also true to say that there were many others who had nothing but admiration

for the broadly based degree programme at Nsukka, which they believed would better serve the educational needs of Nigeria. To this group the decision to award its own degree was an indication of willingness to accept the challenge and responsibilities of Independence.

9. The important role which the Institute of Education was destined to play in the Advanced Teacher Training College had almost been hampered through an unfortunate incident that occurred in 1962. The College was facing two alternatives of either opening in 1963 (having been a year behind schedule) or forcing UNESCO to withdraw the project and its Plan of Operation. The College buildings had not even been started by the end of 1962 and the Ministry of Education thought that the situation could only be saved by borrowing the necessary accomodation at the College of Technology which the University had recently acquired from the Federal Government. Series of meetings were held with the University representatives, but, in spite of pressure of time, action on the part of the University was dilatory and indicisive. It was only in the nick of time that the Old Shell Camp at Owerri was placed at the disposal of the Ministry for the opening of the Advanced Teacher Training College in May, 1963.

10. At the inaugural meeting of the Advisory Council of the Advanced Teacher Training College, Owerri held on 10th September, 1963, the Hon. Minister of Education, Dr. S.E. Imoke said this inter alia:

> "I am very glad that a representative of the University of Nigeria is a member of this Council because in many respects I feel that we have too little contact with the University. I therefore hope that his presence will help to forge closer links. I say this because I think the policy of my Ministry and of the University should be complementary. The University depends largely upon our schools and colleges for its students and we shall depend more and more upon it for graduate teachers. We should, therefore, work closely together and coordinate our policies." Unquote.

formulated principles of a formal association whereby its staff serve on the special subject panels and the Board of Examiners.

11. There are other areas in which collaboration between the University and the Ministry had been of great value to education in Eastern Nigeria in particular and in the Federation in general. Among these may be mentioned the following:

(1) <u>The Summer Vacation Courses organized at the University for uncertificated teachers</u>.
The Ministry agreed to take attendance at these Courses into account in considering teachers for

the award of honorary certificates, because of its value in improving the teachers' academic and professional competence.

(11) Conference on the Review of the Education System in Eastern Nigeria - The Minister of Education invited five Faculty members of the University to serve on this Conference. Two of these were on the Steering Committee and others on the different Committees which did excellent work.

(III) Trade School Curriculum and Syllabus Sub-Committee. Two members of the University Faculty of Education were coopted by the Ministry to participate in working out the curriculum and detailed syllabuses for the proposed Trade Schools in Eastern Nigeria.

(iv) Conferences on the Teaching of English and Science in Primary Schools.
These conferences were sponsored by the Ministry of Education in collaboration with the University. They have made a tremendous impact upon the work of the schools and Collges.

(v) Seminar on Administration, Organization, Financing of Primary Education and the Establishment of School Boards. In consultation with the Ministry of Education the above Seminar was held at the University Campus on 15th and 16th June, 1965. It was opened by the Minister of State in the Ministry of Education under the Chairmanship of the Dean of the Faculty of Education, Dr. Baba Fafunwa. The outcome and the recommendations of the Seminar has given Eastern Nigeria much food for thought, especially as they concern the establishment of the proposed School Boards and the role of the Voluntary Agencies in the management of schools and the control of teachers.

(vi) The Entebbe Mathematics Project. The New Mathematics Project which was being carried out under the auspices of the University of Nigeria had received enthusiastic support from the Ministry. One of its Education Officers had been released on two or more occassions to attend the Conference at Entebbe and the experimental work on the new mathematics was started in one of the Government Secondary Schools.

(vii) Memoranda on the Diploma and the Degree Courses in Industrial Arts Teacher Education. In order to provide qualified and suitable teachers for the Trade Schools, Comprehensive Schools and the technical wings of some of the existing secondary schools the University, after discussions with the professional staff of the Ministry, put forward two Memoranda on the

diploma and the degree Courses in Industrial Arts Teacher Education. The memoranda were endorsed by the Ministry and later referred to the Joint Consultative Committee on Education for Acceptance.

(viii) Memorandum on Recognition of holders of the B.A. and B.Sc. (Education) as Graduates with teaching Qualification. Normally only teachers who had successfully completed a three-year degree course, and done a one-year post-graduate Teachers' Certificate Course, or had, prior to a degree, been awarded a grade 1 teachers' Certificate, were eligible for recognition as graduates with teaching qualifications. The three-year B.A. and B.Sc. (Education) programme at Nsukka, which combined academic with professional training, had created a new problem , since the duration of the course was the same for the B.A. and B.Sc. general, and shorter than that required to obtain the post-graduate Certificate in Education.

12. In advising the Public Service Commission to accord recognition to the holders of the B.A. and B.Sc. (Education) the Ministry of Education made the point that such teachers would be more versatile, show a greater sense of professional responsibility, and were less likely to be lured away to other jobs outside the field of education. In recent years some University graduates had used the teaching profession as a spring board to other and more lucrative occupations, largely because they had not been trained to make a career in teaching.

13. There had been other unlisted areas in which cooperation between the University and the Ministry had produced fruitful results. These include a Seminar on the Comprehensive School held at the University College of Education on 7th May, 1964. One paper was read on the Philosophy of the Comprehensive School by Dr. Baba Fafunwa, Head of the Harden College of Education and another on the Significance of the Comprehensive School in current educational Scene in Eastern Nigeria by Mr. N.O. Ejiogu then Chief Inspector of Education. Others who took part in the Seminar were Mr. Gerald Hansen, Principal Port-Harcourt Comprehensive School. Mr. Alan Thom, UNESCO Advisor in Secondary Education, Ministry of Education, Enugu, Mr. Lamidi Sofenwa, Vice Principal, Ayetore Comprehensive High School, Abeokuta, Dr. Buron Newbery, U.S.A.I.D., and Dr. O. Ukeje of the College of Education.

14. Today a much closer link has been forged, and there is a greater realization that the University and the Ministry of Education are interdependent. By strengthening and maintaining the line of communication so far established, the University could further expand the scope of its activities. For example, it could act as a coordinator of the educational projects and experiments being sponsored by the various international Agencies such as the UNESCO, U.S.A.I.D., the British Council and the Ford

Foundation. A programme of educational research could be worked out and embarked upon concurrently with an educational journal through which the results and findings of research could be disseminated. By recruiting additional academic personnel, more conferences and Seminars could be organized in the areas of Curriculum development, the comprehensive approach to secondary education, counselling and vocational guidance. Vocation and periodic orientation Courses could be arranged for technical and specialist teachers, particularly those in trade schools and in the technical wings of secondary schools.

15. Financial Provisions need be made in the Ministry of Education Estimates to help defray the expenses of educational investigations and experiments carried out by the University in collaboration with the Ministry. In the alternative the Government of Eastern Nigeria (or the Military Government) whould make special grants to the University for that prupose. This is an issue which the University and the Ministry of Education and any other Ministry concerned should sit together and resolve. Hitherto there has been some uncertainty as to whether individual Ministries were responsible for giving financial support to the University in respect of the investigations and activities pertaining to their peculiar needs, or whether the subvention from the Eastern Government through the Premier's Office is to be looked upon as an all-purpose grant covering everything. The University should also work in close cooperation with the Man-power Board in order to strike a proper balance in the production of the Country's man-power requirement.

16. By and large the University of Nigeria has become a force to be reckoned with in the arena of higher education in Africa. Both its admirers and its detractors are all agreed that the incredible swiftness with which it was brought into being as well as the orderly manner in which its affairs have been conducted makes it one of the wonders in twentieth century Africa. Gone are the days when the management of the affairs of the University, created the erroneous impression among certain sections of the community that it was a privately-owned institution. Today its staff and student body are drawn from all over the world. Graduates of the University of Nigeria are already taking their rightful place in the labour market and are to be found in various walks of life. In the field of education they occupy positions as Education Officers teaching at all levels including Sixth Forms of the secondary schools. Some are Principals of newly established schools, and there has been nothing to suggest that they have been unequal to their tasks. Others have been accepted for higher studies in older and world-famous Universities.

17. It is perhaps too early yet to make a general assessment of the contribution and impacts whichthe graduates of the University of Nigeria will bring to bear on society and education in the new Nigeria. But one thing which the University itself is no less well aware is that

the challenge of the times imperatively demands that its products shall be men and women well-equipped for translating into reality today's dream of a better and happier Nigeria.

(N. O. Ejiogu)

SUBSTANTIVE APPENDIX C. V. Chukwumeke Ike, Academic Standards at the University of Nigeria: An address delivered at Alma Mater Night, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, June 5, 1964. (Abridged)

About two months ago, a member of the Nigerian Parliament was reported to have stated that a graduate of this University had been unable to secure a job because of the low academic standards at the University.

The alleged statement was later followed by the Report of the National Universities Commission, entitled 'University Development in Nigeria'. In the section of the Report dealing with 'Educational Problems', the Commission stated: "Furthermore, we think it would be difficult to make a fair comparison between a degree earned after four years from an Ordinary Level G.C.E. with that earned after three years from Advanced Level G.C.E. notwithstanding the General Studies Course given at Nsukka. The General Studies Course, whatever its merits, does not bridge the gap between the Ordinary and Advanced levels in content of knowledge. Therefore four years from Ordinary level at Nsukka will not be equivalent in academic achievement to three years from Advanced level at other universities."

Both the Parliamentarian's alleged statement and the comments of the National Universities Commission have caused a great deal of indignation within and outside this University. The Parliamentarian was appropriately tackled on the floor of the House by the Federal Attorney-General and Minister of Justice, and by the Federal Minister of Education. Students and graduates of the University have also crossed swords with him. The comments of the National Universities Commission upset many members of the University community who wanted the University to do something about it.

The Parliamentarian and the members of the National Universities Commission are not the only people in Nigeria who have expressed doubts as to the academic standards at this University. It is known that some Principals of good secondary schools actively discourage their students from applying for admission to this University. The visits to about 120 Secondary schools in the Federal Republic organised by my office in October 1963 gave us an invaluable opportunity of finding out what people think about us. One also hears many sinister comments about the University in many other academic circles. I have tried to analyse the grounds on which we have been criticized.

One ground is that we began as a full University. What was the guarantee that we would not award cheap degrees indiscriminately, without the watchful eye of a reputable and well established university? Before the 1963 degree results were released many critics of the University expected that most final year students would emerge with first class honors. After the release of the results one Managing Director of a firm interested in recruiting graduates of the University came to see me

specifically to inform me that his faith in the University had been strengthened by those results. Favourable comments were also received from Principals of Schools who had feared we would pass everybody. It is purely an accident of history that the University of Nigeria was the first of the universities in this country to start as a fully autonomous institution. The three Universities that followed Nsukka have been saved from that kind of criticism. Any one conversant with the development of higher education in the United Kingdom will know that the new universities springing up in that country are all now beginning as fully autonomous universities. The University College pattern of development is now out of date.

Another ground for criticism was the admission of holders of the West African School Certificate or the Ordinary Level G.C.E. to the University. The comments from the Report of the National Universities Commission echo this. "Furthermore," states the Report, "we think it would be difficult to make a fair comparison between a degree earned after four years from an Ordinary Level G.C.E. with that earned after three years from Advanced Level G.C.E. . . . " I do not see the difficulty, because both groups of students emerge with the same degree. My Alma Mater, the University of Ibadan, has been admitting the two levels of students since its inception. At Ibadan the 'O' level student spends four years at the University while the 'A' level student spends only three. In his first year, the 'O' level student takes what is designated a preliminary course in three subjects, to raise him to the equivalent of 'A' level. Generally, if he passes in two of these subjects (except in one or two faculties) he can then begin the three year degree work, taking exactly the same courses and the same degree examinations with the 'A' level student admitted at the beginning of his second year at the University. The position at the University of Nigeria is not vastly different. One difference is that at Nsukka the 'O' level student is not regarded as a 'Concessional' student because the University does not regard it a concession to admit him to the University. With that same qualification he can gain admission to very reputable universities in many countries in the world. He could not gain admission to a U.K. university without having passed through the Sixth Form. That however, is the pattern in the U.K., and the Report of the Committee on Higher Education (in the U.K.) popularly known as the Robbins Report, makes it clear that this pattern is the exception rather than the rule, considering practices in different parts of the world. The reputation of a University does not therefore hand merely on whether it takes 'O' level or 'A' level students. The University of Ibadan has won international recognition for its academic standards even though it has been taking the two levels of students. What matters in the curriculum planned for each category of students. I was amazed to learn during my visit to Harvard University in 1962, that that famous university admits, from time to time, boys who have a year to go before taking their secondary school diplomas but who have very high potential for University work.

The fact that the National Universities Commission singled out the University of Nigeria for criticism in this regard, even though at the time the Report was written three other Nigerian Universities were admitting some students who did not satisfy the two 'A' level requirements for direct entry (and the remaining university is contemplating doing so from 1964/65) could be interpreted to mean that the National Universities Commission was not satisfied with the 1st Year programme at Nsukka. The University of Nigeria operates a standard three-year programme for its 'A' level students (who at present out-number the 'O' level students). The General Studies Programme is not the difference between the two, as one might gather from the National Universities Commission Report; on the contrary it is common to both, except that the 'A' level student takes two General Studies courses only during his career at the University while the 'O' level student takes all four of them. The 'O' level student does not devote all his first year to General Studies courses. He is generally required to take basic (or, if you like, preliminary) courses in his proposed major subject at the University. Thus, contrary to what the N.U.C. Report stated, "the gap between the Ordinary and Advanced level in content of knowledge" is bridged in the subject which the 'O' level student wishes to take to degree level. At the beginning of his second year at the University he is ready to take the same courses in his major subject with 'A' level students admitted that year. Both of them are subjected to the same degree examinations at the end of their career. It would have been a more profitable exercise for the National Universities Commission to have compared the three-year programme at Nsukka with the three-year programme in the other Nigerian universities before rushing to the rather embarrasing conclusion in their Report.

Our American friends may not like to hear this, but one other reason why many people in Nigeria feel standards cannot be high here is because of the prominent role which Americans are playing in this University. The image of American education in this country and in many other countries which were at one time British colonial territories is not very complimentary. The American bachelor's degree is regarded to be of very little depth. One writer described the proliferation of courses one finds in many American Universities as "educational cafeteria". It is true that much of this criticism stems from a lack of understanding of the goals of American higher education, but the image is still there, and the University of Nigeria is often dismissed as an American University. Very few people know about the invaluable contributions being made by the U.K. Department of Technical cooperation, and the Netherlands Universities Foundation for International Cooperation towards the development of the University, nor of the international nature of our staff. The kind of publicity sometimes given to American participation in the moulding of this University has provided additional gunpowder for our critics. Our General Studies programme, which I regard as one of the major contributions this University has made to higher education in Nigeria, is regarded ad evidence that this is an American University. One is reminded of the concept of "horizontal education" brought back from the U.S.A. decades ago by Nigerians who

studied in that country. Perhaps one might also regard this 'criticism' as an accident of history. One now finds U.S.A.I.D. personnel in almost every major educational project in this country. A 'Review of Cooperative Programme for Economic Development in Nigeria' published by the U.S.A.I.D. in March 1964 reveals that the ASAID is involved in the development of not only the University of Nigeria but also the University of Lagos, the University of Ife and Ahmadu Bello University; they are in Vocational and Technical Education in Western and Eastern Nigeria; they are in Schools of Agriculture in the East, North and West; they are in the Aiyetoro Comprehensive Secondary School; they are in the Federal Advanced Teacher Training College, Lagos, the Olunloyo College of Education, Ibadan, and the Kano Teacher Training College, they are in Aptitude Testing and Schools Broadcasting. Peace Corps Volunteers are found in many secondary schools throughout the country. If the presence of Americans spells doom to academic standards then the whole of our educational structure, not just this University, is in grave danger.

It might be consoling to the Americans to know that in one of the secondary schools visited by members of staff of this University last year, the boys wondered whether high academic standards could be maintained when 50% or more of the staff were Nigerians! Some people have even gone far enough to give us names of Nigerians who could not adorn the staff list of any University of repute.

One other criticism has been the unprecedented rate of expansion. How could a university expand so rapidly without sacrificing academic standards? Dr. Eni Njoku, Vice Chancellor of the University of Lagos, spoke about a 'new African time scale' when addressing the Third Plenary Session of the 9th Congress of the Universities of the Commonwealth in July 1963. "In discussing University development in these areas," Dr. Njoku remarked, referring to Nigeria, "one of the most important considerations to bear in mind is the very rapid rate of change-so rapid that we sometimes begin to think that we are working to a...different time scale from the rest of the world". The University of Nigeria has had to expand very rapidly in keeping with the tempo in the country. Rapid expansion in itself need not however be synonimous with low academic standards, provided it is backed up by sound forward planning.

One significant thing is that hardly any of the criticisms of this University has been based on the adequacy or inadequacy of the degree programme which we publish annually for all who care to read.

I am not surprised that people should have their reservations about this University. I remember how amused I was during a discussion with a Frenchman who came to me for advice on whether his daughter should apply to the University of Nigeria for admission. "Would the degree of your University carry the same prestige for employment and other purposes as a degree from the Sorbonne University?" he asked. Why should it? Even if every facet of its development were perfect, the University of Nigeria in

its fourth year of existence could not lay claim to a prestige that comes with years or even centuries of existence. A new university cannot expect to be accepted overnight. The University of Ibadan, which is now almost the automatic first choice of prospective students, was not accepted overnight. An official circular had to be issued to employers that the graduate of Ibadan should be accorded the same status as his counterpart who studied in Britain. Even then many people could not believe that the "golden fleece" could be acquired locally and asked the early Ibadan graduates when they would be proceeding to the U.K. to "finish up"!

The University of Nigeria is "keenly aware of the necessity to establish and maintain standards". The Joint University Advisory Committee was established by the University with this aim in view. Select academicians from London University, Michigan State University and this University spend some days each year on the University campus studying critically various facets of the programmes of the University and making appropriate recommendations to the University Council. The Committee at the end of its last meeting held in November 1963, expressed general satisfaction with the progress so far made by the University. . .