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9. ABSTRACT
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The evolution of higher education and the development of the present university facilities in Nigeria are discussed at length in this document, along with the topics of educational finance and administration. When Nigeria attained internal self-government in 1952, education was conceived as an indispensable tool for the development of human and natural resources. Top priority was given to the expansion of primary and secondary programs and an enthusiasm generated for more higher education facilities. There are presently six universities in Nigeria: Ibadan, Nsukka, Ahmadu Bello, Lagos, Ife, and Benin. There are many problems and challenges in developing the future direction for higher education. Nigerian universities, like their counterparts in other developing countries, need to identify more closely with their environment. A greater awareness of the needs and aspirations of the people will effect a more flexible curriculum, relevant research, wider utilization of facilities, and a breaking down of the barriers between society and the universities.

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The Growth and Development of Nigerian Universities

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Overseas Liaison Committee
American Council on Education

American Council on Education

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Preface

Higher Education in Nigeria has experienced a phenomenal rate of growth since independence in 1960. The number of students enrolled in Nigerian Universities grew from 1,395 in 1960, to approximately 25,000 in 1974 and the Nigerian Universities Commission has projected that the number will double by 1979/80. The quantum jump in student enrollment and the evolution and growth of Nigeria's six universities should be of special interest to educators throughout Africa as well as to members of the international academic and donor communities. The Overseas Liaison Committee is therefore honored to publish Professor A. Babatunde Fafunwa's account of the evolution of Nigeria's higher educational system.

Professor Fafunwa has served with distinction as a teacher, researcher, consultant, author and administrator. He is a creative and perceptive critic of not only Nigerian education, but also of the development of higher education throughout Africa. Formerly Dean of Education at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Professor Fafunwa is now Professor and Head of the Department, Dean of the Faculty of Education, and Director of the Institute of Education at the University of Ife.

A member of many national, regional and international boards and commissions, Professor Fafunwa is the author of New Perspectives in Africa Education (1967) and the History of Higher Education in Nigeria (1970), for which he received the 1972 Franklin Book Award. Professor Fafunwa's current research on bilingual education in secondary schools in Western Nigeria has attracted considerable interest among educators throughout the world.

Carl Keith Eicher
Chairman, Overseas Liaison Committee
American Council on Education

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I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Higher education in Nigeria really began more than a hundred years before the founding of its first college when the first Nigerian enrolled in Fourah Bay College in 1827. From that moment on, increasing numbers of Nigerians were being educated in a variety of fields outside of Nigeria and, toward the end of the 19th century, these educated Africans began to demand the creation in Nigeria of opportunities for higher education and technical training. This movement coincided with a shortage of British personnel for the Civil Service, particularly during the Depression beginning in 1928, and the colonial government was forced to establish courses of study for Nigerians who were needed to fill junior and intermediate posts in the administration of the Colony.

The first college of higher educational status to be established on Nigerian soil was the Government Yaba Higher College, in 1932. It offered post-secondary diploma courses in medicine, engineering, agriculture, education, arts and science. Its main objective was to train intermediate cadre for the Civil Service on a more organized basis than earlier departmental courses. One of the peculiar features of the College was its stringent admissions policy which was largely dependent on the prospective vacancies for students' placement in the various government services at the completion of their studies. Its entrance requirements were considerably higher than those of most British universities and the College proudly proclaimed that the latter were accepting Yaba "rejects and dropouts!"

The establishment of the Yaba Higher College as an intermediate or junior college was vehemently attacked by the press and the public as an attempt on the part of the colonial government to fool the public into

believing that it had met the aspirations of the people for higher education by providing an inferior institution whose graduates would not be recognized outside the boundaries of Nigeria. This was a valid criticism since the diplomas awarded were only valid for Nigerian employment and were not recognized by British universities. Graduates going abroad for further studies were not given credits for the work completed in Nigeria. Despite public opinion, the College continued for fifteen years.

The College suffered immeasurably during World War II. Its campus and the medical school, which was located at a different center in Lagos, were requisitioned for military purposes and the students were distributed to several centers: Lagos, Umuahia and Accra. The College later became the nucleus of the new University College, Ibadan in 1947.

Emergence of the British Model: The Yaba Higher College was still suffering the adverse effects of the war when, in 1943, the Secretary of State for the Colonies announced that he was setting up a Commission on Higher Education in West Africa with the following terms of reference:

To report on the organization and facilities of the existing centers of higher education in British West Africa, and to make recommendations regarding future university development in that area.¹

The Commission marked a new era in the history of higher education in British West Africa principally because it was the first of its kind and importance to include three Africans, Rev. I.O. Ransome-Kuti of Nigeria, Dr. K.A. Korsah of the then Gold Coast and Dr. E.H. Taylor-Cummings of Sierra Leone, in its fourteen-member panel, headed by Sir Walter Elliot. The Commission visited Sierra Leone, Ghana, Nigeria and the United Kingdom, taking written and oral evidence from missionaries, students, government officials, groups and individuals, both African and British. The Commission's reports of 1945 led to the establishment in 1948 of the University

College, Ibadan, Nigeria; the University College, Legon, Ghana; and the reconstitution of the Fourah Bay College, Freetown, Sierra Leone. Both Ibadan and Legon were securely tied to London University under a "Special Relationship" which meant that the curricula, the appointment and the promotion of staff were not only patterned after the London University system, but were also closely monitored by it and the Inter-University Council for the Colonies.

The first five years of the University College, Ibadan were a difficult period.² The public and the press were critical of the institution because, among other things, Nigeria wanted a university, but was given a University College; the administration was almost entirely British; and the Colonial Secretary in London exercised control over the college, even though it was largely financed from Nigerian taxes. The college began by having forty-four expatriate staff and six Africans. The number of African staff remained at the same level until 1953, while expatriate staff nearly doubled during the same period. Partly due to Ibadan's stringent admissions policy and partly for other reasons, the number of Nigerian students abroad has always been greater than those studying at home. For example, in 1948 there were 210 students in Ibadan as against 550 abroad; while in 1953 there were 400 students at Ibadan as compared with 2,000 abroad.

Nigeria attained internal self-government in 1952 which meant that the Nigerian people were responsible for their own internal self-rule via the secret ballot, choosing their own legislators and appointing their own ministers in charge of several portfolios including education; however, external affairs remained firmly in British hands. At this point, Nigerian leaders made education their first priority. More primary and secondary

schools were built and more children were enrolled at the two levels between 1952 and 1959 than during the previous one-hundred years of British rule. Between 30 and 40 percent of the country's recurrent expenditure and about 20 percent of the capital budget were spent on education. Both the Nigerian people and their leaders genuinely believed that through popular education the country could be transformed socially, politically and economically. Thus, education was conceived as an indispensable tool for the development of human and natural resources.

With the expansion of primary and secondary education, the enthusiasm for more higher education facilities peaked among both educated and illiterate Nigerians. Thus, Nigerian higher education reached another important landmark in its history when, in April 1959, the Federal Minister of Education appointed a Commission "to conduct an investigation into Nigeria's needs in the field of the post-secondary school certificate and higher education over the next twenty years (1960-1980)". The appointment of the Commission is of special importance for two reasons: (1) It was the first time in the history of education in Nigeria that the Nigerians themselves decided to examine the higher educational structure in terms of the needs of the country not only for that material time but for a period of twenty years; (2) It was the first official comprehensive review of higher education in Nigeria to be undertaken by a team of experts comprising equal numbers of Nigerians and non-Nigerians-- British and American. The team, which was headed by Sir Eric Ashby of Cambridge University, also included Professor Frederick Harbison, a noted American economist who was asked to estimate Nigeria's needs for high-level manpower between 1960 and 1970 and their educational implications for the future in terms of training.

The Ashby Commission, as it is commonly called, reviewed the pre- and the post-secondary educational facilities in Nigeria and noted that the country had made remarkable progress during the previous decade. Specifically it had 2 1/2 million children in primary schools and 25,000 teachers in training in 1958 as compared to 626,000 and 5,000 respectively in 1948. The Commission noted the lack of balance, however, between primary and secondary and post-secondary education and observed that most of the 80,000 teachers in service were "pitifully unprepared for their task". Some three-quarters of the teachers were untrained and from among those trained, two-thirds had no more than a primary school education.³

The Commission singled out for special criticism the literary emphasis of secondary and higher education. While agriculture was and is the mainstay of the Nigerian economy, agricultural schools like technical and commercial education, failed to attract the best graduates. The educational gulf between the north and the south was also noted with dismay, and a number of measures were proposed to correct the imbalance.

Harbison on his part, pointed out that Nigeria, as an emerging state, was not only faced with the arduous task of maintaining its economic growth, but of accelerating it. He warned:

Modern dams, power stations, textile factories or steel mills can be constructed within a few years. But it takes between 10 to 15 years to develop the managers, the administrators and the engineers to operate them. Schools and college buildings can be erected in a matter of months, but it requires decades to develop high-level teachers and professors.⁴

After describing what he meant by high-level manpower both by function and by educational qualification, he proceeded to divide high-level manpower into two broad categories-- senior and intermediate. By Harbison's estimate, of the 31,200 personnel needed in the senior category, 20,000

should have university education or its equivalent; that is to say, some 10,000 individuals would rise, by dint of hard work, to the managerial and administrative positions without a university education, particularly in the commercial and industrial sectors. Based on this assumption, Harbison estimated that Nigeria would need to produce 20,000 graduates over a period of ten years at the rate of 2,000 a year and that other post-secondary institutions at home and abroad should produce about 5,000 intermediate manpower for Nigeria annually. He also made a number of other recommendations including the establishment of a Manpower Development Board to coordinate inter-regional manpower development. The Federal government later accepted Harbison's report as a minimum target.

The Ashby Commission issued its own report in October 1960 and based its recommendations on three premises: (1) its conception of Nigeria in 1980; (2) Harbison's estimate of Nigeria's high-level manpower needs in 1970; and (3) its own estimate of the limited capacity of Nigeria's educational system. The Commission's two main objectives were (1) to upgrade Nigerians who were already employed, but who needed further education and (2) to design a system of post-secondary education which would first produce by 1970 the flow of high level manpower which Nigeria needed and design education in such a manner as to ensure expansion to meet the 1980 target without further re-planning. It then proceeded to make a number of recommendations directed to primary and secondary education, commercial, agricultural and veterinary education concerning expansion, recruitment and training. Finally it addressed itself to university education and proposed:

- (1) That the Federal government should give support to the development of the new University of Nigeria, Nsukka, planned in 1955 and opened a few weeks before the publication of the Ashby Report;

- (2) that a university be established in the North using the old site of the Nigeria College as its base;
- (3) that a university be established in Lagos with day and evening degree courses in business, commerce, economics, etc.;
- (4) that the University College, Ibadan should move away from its conservative position, widen its curriculum, and develop into a full university;
- (5) that all universities in Nigeria should be national in outlook;
- (6) that there should be wider diversity and greater flexibility in university education;
- (7) that all the universities should offer B.A. (Education) degree courses;
- (8) that courses in engineering, medicine, law, commerce, agriculture, etc. should be offered;
- (9) that the new Nigerian Universities should be independent of one another and with each offering its own degrees;
- (10) that a National Universities Commission should be established to have undisputed control over the affairs of the Universities particularly in areas of finance, staff and curriculum.⁵

The Commission believed that the academic enterprise proposed would cost between £15 and £20 million between 1960 and 1970 and that external aid might have to be sought by the Federal government to meet part of the cost.

A minority report submitted by the then Western Region's Minister of Education, who was also a member of the Commission, disagreed that four universities would meet Nigeria's needs and hinted that the Western Region Government was already planning its own university.

The Federal government enthusiastically accepted both the Ashby Commission Report and the minority reports. However, it did not accept Harbison's estimates of future manpower needs, finding them conservative. These estimates were therefore taken as a "minimum requirement." As for

Ashby's four universities, the government's decision was the boldest one ever to be taken by a developing country in terms of men, money and materials. The Commission recommended a student enrollment of 7,500 in all the universities by 1970, but the Federal government projected 10,000.

By 1966, six years after the Commission's report, the five Nigerian universities had a total enrollment of 8,800. This exceeded the Commission's target and would have reached the Federal government target of 10,000 by 1968, were it not for the Nigerian Civil War. By 1972 the Nigerian Universities had a combined enrollment of nearly 18,000 and 28,000 in respect of 1971-72 and 1972-73 academic years. Enrollments in the universities are shown in Table I.

II. NIGERIAN UNIVERSITIES TODAY

Although the University College, Ibadan was opened in January 1948 as an extension of the University of London in Nigeria, the institution did not emerge as a full-fledged University until December 1962, two years after Nsukka and three months after Ahmadu Bello University. The University of Ife and the University of Lagos followed and each was founded as an autonomous institution.

University of Nigeria, Nsukka: Between 1948 and 1960, the University College, Ibadan dominated the higher educational scene in Nigeria and served as a point of reference for the British pattern of higher education. However, within seven years of Ibadan's establishment this model came under severe criticism when, in 1955, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, who was the Premier of the then Eastern Region, proposed the establishment of a different kind of university patterned after the American land-grant college. The Eastern Legislature approved the

TABLE I
NIGERIAN UNIVERSITY ENROLLMENTS¹

	IBADAN	NSUKKA ²	ABU ²	LAGOS	IFE	BENIN	TOTAL
1960-61	1,136	259	-	-	-	-	1,395
1961-62	1,501	905	-	-	-	-	2,406
1962-63	1,688	1,148	426	131	244	-	3,637
1963-64	2,016	1,828	588	271	475	-	5,148
1964-65	2,284	2,499	719	558	659	-	6,719
1965-66	2,687	2,579	946	722	713	-	7,697
1966-67	2,729	3,482	896	1,119	945	-	9,171
1967-68	2,559	-	1,351	1,436	1,258	-	6,604
1968-69	3,117	-	1,745	2,094	1,661	-	8,617
1969-70	3,380	-	2,351	2,395	1,780	-	9,906
1970-71	3,785	2,954	2,785	2,421	2,476	100	14,531
1971-72	3,931 ³	3,363	3,828	2,797	3,190	240	17,349
1972-73	3,942 ³	3,898	5,055	2,958	3,982	417	20,252

Source: Provided by Professor Archibald Calloway; calculations based on information provided by the Nigerian Universities Commission

- Notes:
1. Enrollments include students on courses leading to first degrees and to higher degrees, also those on preliminary courses and those studying for non-degree certificates.
 2. NSUKKA = University of Nigeria, Nsukka; ABU = Ahmadu Bello University.
 3. University of Ibadan enrollments for 1971-72 include 100 preliminary students in Arts at the Jos campus (which started in January 1972) and somewhat higher numbers for 1972-73.

proposal, causing no small consternation at home and abroad. Nsukka under the leadership of Azikiwe and the contractual support of Michigan State University blazed a new trail. The philosophy of the institution, as enunciated by its founder, was to blend the land-grant college idea with the classical concept of universities, adapting both to the changing circumstances of contemporary Nigerian society. To this end the University was to produce both vocationally- and academically-oriented graduates who would preserve the dignity of African culture and help meet the manpower needs of industry, commerce, and civil service. Nsukka introduced a variety of new courses not normally accepted in the British Isles and Colonies at that time including music, fine arts, physical education, agricultural education, vocational technical education, secretarial studies, business administration, home economics and the BA/BSc combined honors in education. These degree courses were accorded full academic recognition along with more traditional courses, such as law, religion, physics, chemistry, mathematics, biology, history, geography, sociology, political science etc. The University also required a two-year general studies program for all students irrespective of their area of specialization. Despite the early controversy, after less than four years of Nsukka's existence, Nigeria's other universities followed Nsukka's example, particularly in the area of Teacher Education (BA/BSc Ed.). Nsukka not only challenged Ibadan with an innovative curriculum but also within five years Nsukka's student enrollment exceeded Ibadan's.

Ahmadu Bello University: Ahmadu Bello University was opened in 1962 on the old campus of the Nigeria College of Arts and Science, Zaria Branch. Its faculties grew out of the various departments of the Nigeria College, which was established in 1952 as an intermediate or junior college. The new University inherited all of the assets of the old college, as recommended

by the Ashby Commission. The University's initial objective was to follow the British pattern of higher education while at the same time "reflecting the needs, the traditions, the social and intellectual heritage of the land in which we live...We shall be a truly Nigerian institution and not the mirror of some alien body,"⁶ said its first Chancellor, Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto, at his installation ceremony in 1963.

The University brought within its fold the traditional Koranic institutions of higher learning, established a service-oriented medical school, consolidated the Samaru Agricultural Research Institute, absorbed the Institute of Administration for the training of civil servants, and established, in collaboration with the six northern states, an elaborate Institute of Education to improve teacher education. It also has a school of Basic Studies offering a preliminary course in a realistic attempt to meet the needs of under-qualified candidates for admission. Today the University is a thriving institution with three centers - Zaria, Samaru and Kano. Its student population rose from 426 in 1962-63 to 5,055 in 1972-73.

University of Ife: The University of Ife was the only University not recommended by the Ashby Commission, which assumed that the University College, Ibadan, although a Federal institution, would serve the people of the West as the other proposed regional universities were designed to do. It was not without justification that the leaders of the Western Regional Government decided to open a university in the service of the population of thirteen million people whom they claimed the Ashby Commission had ignored in its recommendation. Indeed, the Western Region had no more claim on the University College, Ibadan than the Eastern or Northern Region.

The government of Western Nigeria first announced in 1960 its intention to establish, as soon as possible, a university in Western Nigeria

which would be of the highest standard. Its policy would be to open its doors to students from all parts of the Federation and of the world. The Federal government accepted the Ashby Commission's recommendations as well as the West Regional Government's proposed university and assigned to it the assets of the Ibadan Branch of the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology.

The planning of the University was entrusted to two committees:

- (1) A Planning Committee of sixty Nigerians comprised of persons qualified to advise on the planning of a new university, and who in effect, undertook the preparatory work connected with the establishment of the university pending the setting up of the Provisional Council;
- (2) A University Parliamentary Committee, which would be advisory to the Minister of Education. On 8th June, 1961, the law providing for the establishment of the Provisional Council of the University was passed by the Legislature of the Western Region and on the 26th of the same month the Provisional Council of the university was formally inaugurated.⁷

The site selected for the University consisted of 13,000 acres at Ile-Ife, a town about 53 miles northeast of Ibadan, having a population of about 130,000. The site was donated by the Ife people. The University was temporarily located on the site of the Ibadan Branch of the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology when it opened in October 1962 with 244 foundation students and 51 academic staff. A limited number of the staff and students were transferred from the old Nigerian College while some staff were recruited from the University College, Ibadan and the others from abroad.

Thus, when the new University of Ife was opened, like Ahmadu Bello and Lagos, which opened at about the same time, it was considerably influenced in academic, administrative and organizational structures by

the University College, Ibadan, with its British orientation; but Ife did have the distinct advantage of being the only Nigerian university exclusively organized and administered by Nigerian leadership from its inception.

The University began with five faculties: Agriculture, Arts, Economics and Social Studies, Law, and Science. Four have since been added: Education, Pharmacy, Technology, and Health Sciences.

In addition, five institutes and two research units have been established since 1962: The Institute of African Studies; Institute of Administration; Institute of Education; Institute of Physical Education; Institute of Agricultural Research and Training; Demographic Research and Training Unit; and a Drug Research Unit.

The student population rose steadily from 244 in 1962-63 to 3,982 in the 1972-73 session. The academic and administrative staff of the university also rose correspondingly from 80 in 1962 to 415 in 1971-72. Because of its location in a rural and agricultural setting, the University made agriculture its main preoccupation with other courses related to it. The agricultural extension service, its service-oriented Institute of Education, its staff-development-oriented Institute of Administration, as well as its well-articulated staff development scheme for junior academics, and its versatile African Studies program, make it an innovative university in a number of ways.

University of Lagos: The University of Lagos opened in October 1962 in accordance with the recommendation of the Ashby Commission. Prior to its inception the Federal government requested the assistance of UNESCO for an advisory commission "to make recommendations on the organization, administration and financing of the proposed University of Lagos and to formulate a plan for its development." This commission suggested that, as urban Lagos

offered a unique opportunity for a city university, particularly in professional and technical fields, the new institution should institute a five-year evening degree course for the LL.B in addition to its regular three-year residential law course, an Engineering School, a Faculty of Science, a Faculty of Arts and an Institute of Education.

The University started in 1962 with 131 students at a temporary site near Lagos with three faculties: Business and Social Studies, Law, and a Medical School. Evening courses in Law, Business and Social Studies were added in 1963. The faculties of Art, Education, Engineering and Science were established in 1964. The growth of the University was interrupted in 1965 as a result of a controversy over the change of vice-chancellorship and the University had to be closed down for about nine months between March and October 1965. The University was shaken to its foundation by this crisis which resulted in the resignation of all deans and some fifty staff and a series of legal actions.

The institution has a unique academic organization with its pattern of colleges, schools, institutes and centers. The colleges are headed by provosts, the schools by deans, and institutes and centers by directors and deans. The College of Medicine operated almost independently of the University from 1962 till 1968, when it was finally brought under the control of the Senate and Council of the University by a Federal Military Government edict.

The University has fully recovered and now has an Institute of Asian and African Studies, a Department of Environment Studies, an Institute of Mass Communication, an Institute of Computer Sciences, an Institute of Child Health and a Centre for Curriculum Reform in Secondary School Science, among others. Its student population rose from 131 in 1962 to 2,797 in the 1972-73

academic session. Its Continuing Education Centre organizes seminars, conferences and lectures for commercial and industrial firms in and outside Lagos.

University of Ibadan: The University of Ibadan responded to the challenge posed by the other universities in the country by admitting more students than were originally planned for; establishing new faculties of education and social sciences; developing post-graduate studies on a scale yet to be surpassed by any other Nigerian university; and, in January 1972, by establishing a campus at Jos in the Benue-Plateau State, some 700 miles away from the main campus at Ibadan. The Jos campus is designed to help redress the educational imbalance between the North and South. The Jos branch at present has 186 undergraduate students and 24 academic staff and its program focuses on the Arts and Social Sciences.

Ibadan was originally planned for a maximum student population of 800, but was forced to expand rapidly in the face of stiff competition by the newer institutions in the early 1960's. Its student population rose from 1,136 in 1960-61 to 3,942 in 1972-73.

University of Benin: The Institute of Technology was formally created by an edict promulgated by the Military Governor of the Mid-West in 1970. The aim of the Mid-West Government was to inaugurate a higher education institution that would not follow the conventional pattern of the established Nigerian universities but to create a technologically-oriented institution. To this end, the new institution started with the following faculties: Science, Engineering, Medicine and Pharmacy.

An area of 4,000 acres was acquired along Benin-Ore Road as the permanent site of the institution. It admitted 110 students at its

opening in November 1970.

The National Universities Commission recognized the Institute as part of the University system in Nigeria in July 1971 and this recognition meant that as of that date, the Institute could receive Federal government subvention of 30 percent recurrent and 50 percent capital. In May 1972 the Mid-West Government changed the name of the Institute of Technology, Benin to the University of Benin.

Other Institutions of Higher Education: The pressure for more universities is increasing and some of the new states are desirous of establishing their own institutions of higher learning. The Mid-Western State started with an Institute of Technology in Benin in 1970 and converted it to the University of Benin in 1972 by a decree. The University of Ibadan opened a Jos Campus in 1972 and there is speculation that it may eventually become the University of Benue Plateau. Recently the Rivers State opened a College of Science and Technology in Port-Harcourt; the North Eastern State opened a College of Arts and Sciences in Maiduguri and the Kwara State has started another College of Technology in Ilorin, its capital. It is not unlikely that these institutions will eventually become state universities. By coincidence or design, the three original regional universities were sponsored and largely financed by the former three regional governments of Nigeria - East, West and North and, now that Nigeria has twelve states, new universities tend to be developing in each state following the earlier pattern.

A new college for preliminary courses is being planned by Lagos University on behalf of the Lagos State Government. It is anticipated that the college will be sited at Epe or Badagry, a riverside town sixty miles from the Lagos Capital.

In addition to the six universities there are other institutions of higher education. There are six advanced teacher-training colleges, most of which are affiliated with the universities; five technical colleges; the Yaba College of Technology; the Technical Teachers College, Lagos; the Polytechnic, Ibadan; the Kaduna Polytechnic and a Law School in Lagos where law graduates spend one year before they are called to the Bar.

III. FINANCE AND ADMINISTRATION

Relations with Government: All the universities, whether state or federal, were established by state or federal instruments as autonomous institutions. They all derive most of their incomes from the state and Federal governments and funds are allocated to them on a certain percentage basis through the National Universities Commission. The Commission serves as an intermediary between government and the universities. It is charged with the responsibility of ensuring even development among the universities in terms of the manpower needs of the country. The National Manpower Board has a seat on the Commission providing advice on issues relating to manpower needs in various fields. Other members representing government interests on the Commission are the permanent secretaries of finance, education and economic development. Other interests represented on the Commission are the universities, the Nigerian Union of Teachers and the general public through the appointment of non-university people from the professions.

Financial Arrangements: The University of Ibadan, which was the first of the five universities to be founded as a Federal institution, was partially financed by the British government and the Nigerian government between 1948 and 1952. The Federal government assumed full responsibility after 1959 and before the creation of the National Universities Commission. When the

University of Lagos, the second Federal institution, was established in 1962, it was fully financed by the Federal government. The University of Nigeria, Nsukka opened in 1960, was fully financed by the then Eastern government for some years before the National Universities Commission took over part of the financial responsibility on behalf of the Federal government. The University of Ife, like Nsukka, was fully financed by the then Western government before the National Universities Commission came to the scene. The same was true of Ahmadu Bello University which was funded by the then Northern government.

The Nigerian National Universities Commission is largely patterned after the Universities Grant Commission in the United Kingdom and follows the same procedures. It calls for each university's five-year-plans in terms of capital and recurrent expenditure, assesses the needs of each institution and finally recommends to the Federal government what it considers to be an equitable distribution of funds to the five universities. Federal grants for recurrent expenditures to the universities from 1963 to 1974 are shown in Table II.

In an attempt to rationalize the financing of the universities, the National Universities Commission in 1964 proposed that the Federal government should be responsible for 50 percent of the total recurrent and capital expenditures of the three regional universities of Nigeria, Ife and Ahmadu Bello, while the universities of Ibadan and Lagos, as federal institutions, should receive complete subsidy. The Federal government accepted the full funding of Ibadan and Lagos, but rejected the recommendations relating to the three regional universities. Instead, it agreed to finance 30 percent of recurrent and 50 percent of capital expenditure for Nsukka and Ife and assumed 50 percent of both recurrent and capital expenditure for Ahmadu

TABLE II
GRANTS BY FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TOWARDS RECURRENT
EXPENDITURE

	IBADAN	NSUKKA	ABU	LAGOS	IFE	BENIN	TOTAL
1963-64	*1,525	220	210	430	195	-	2,560
1964-65	1,900	388	450	901	218	-	3,851
1965-66	2,000	485	500	900	210	-	4,095
1966-67	2,250	500	550	920	250	-	4,470
1967-68	2,307	-	554	988	253	-	4,102
1968-69	2,301	-	1,140	2,102	357	-	5,900
1969-70	2,521	86	1,523	1,953	427	-	6,510
1970-71	3,015	243	1,980	2,495	569	-	8,302
1971-72	3,732	922	2,788	3,319	848	-	11,609
1972-73	5,119	1,191	3,491	4,197	1,147	355	15,500
1973-74	**12,221	11,254	10,161	11,032	2,939	1,493	49,100

Source: Provided by Professor Archibald Calloway; calculation based on data supplied by the Nigerian Universities Commission

Note: * All figures for the years 1963-64 to 1972-73 inclusive are given in Nigerian pounds.

** Figures for the year 1973-74 are given in Nigerian Naira.

Bello. The National Universities Commission executed this decision between 1964 and 1966, and the annual Federal subsidy to the five universities rose from £2.56 million in 1963 to £24.9 million in 1966.

In 1967 the Federal Military Government further amended the previous government's decision as shown in Table III.

TABLE III

	% of Federal Support	% of Regional or State Support
University of Ibadan	100	-
University of Lagos	100	-
University of Nigeria	30	70
University of Ife	30	70
Ahmadu Bello University	75	25

Universities and university colleges are expensive to operate. They claim a significant portion of the nation's financial resources. The problem of duplication of courses has been raised a number of times in and out of the National Universities Commission meetings and discussions. This problem affects the judicious use of men, money, equipment, space, and other facilities and raises the question of increasing the effectiveness of the National Universities Commission on this crucial matter.

During the first Military Regime (1966), a Universities Authority was proposed with one Supreme-Vice-Chancellor, a Supreme-Chancellor and perhaps five principals or rectors. It was hoped that by this device, the five universities could be effectively coordinated and duplication avoided. The issue was under discussion when the second Military government came to power.

Late in 1969, the Dina Committee, set up by the Federal Military

Government to look into revenue allocation, proposed that all Nigerian universities should be financed completely by the Federal government. Thus, the three existing regional/state supported universities - Nsukka, Ife and Ahmadu Bello - should become Federal institutions like Ibadan and Lagos. Meanwhile, a number of states, groups and even individuals have expressed the need for more universities in Nigeria. Some of these demands are based on "state pride", real need necessitated by geography, and others on mere wishful thinking. There is no doubt, however, that sooner or later, Nigeria may be forced either by compelling needs or political pressure or both to build new universities or university colleges unless rigorous planning is begun immediately. It is therefore of utmost importance that a national policy be established as soon as practicable on the opening of new universities. Such a policy must be forward looking. It must attempt to assess Nigeria's higher education needs between 1974 and 2000 A.D. - a mere 26 years away. Otherwise, if present trends continue, it is very likely that Nigeria will have fifteen to twenty universities by 2000 A.D.

In August 1972 the Federal Military Government announced that all the Nigerian universities would be federalized and that higher education would now be the sole responsibility of the Federal government. However, it was stated that the existing state or regional universities may lose some of their autonomy in the process if the Federal government uses this opportunity to control university curriculum, appointment of vice-chancellors and of course, finance. Federal control may also mean complete control of university growth and development by the Federal government. It is, however, too early to determine the effect of this new development. Two things are, however, certain if the new edict is upheld: (1) state initiative in establishing a university to meet its own need will disappear; (2) duplication of courses

and disciplines will be reduced to a minimum.

External Assistance: Prior to 1960 the chief external benefactor of Nigerian higher education was the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund in London, which aided University College, Ibadan, in its early days. While Nigeria was a colony, it was not politic for a foreign country to assist financially except through the metropolitan government, so American and other aid could not come directly into Nigeria without the consent of the administering power. Between the time of Nigerian independence in 1960 and 1966, the five Nigerian universities received assistance from a number of external sources, either directly or through the governments of the Federation. The major foreign donors to the universities during this period were the United Nations and its agencies; the United States government (USAID); the British government (Overseas Development Ministry); the Netherlands government; the Ford Foundation (U.S.A.); the Carnegie Corporation (U.S.A.); the Rockefeller Foundation (U.S.A.); the Nuffield Foundation (U.K.); and the West German government.

The University of Ibadan received over £2 million from the Ford Foundation for building, research and personnel, but Nsukka, Ahmadu Bello and Lagos received only small sums. The Rockefeller Foundation mainly supported agricultural and medical research at Ibadan, and had no commitment at the other universities. The Nuffield Foundation also gave its whole support to Ibadan by providing research facilities. While Ibadan was given far greater support than the other universities, they did receive grants. The Carnegie Corporation mainly supported educational projects and concentrated its grants at the Institutes of Education at Nsukka, Ahmadu Bello and Ife, and the Ford Foundation gave Nsukka a large grant to develop its Faculty of Education. The West German

government offered scholarships to Nigerian undergraduates tenable in Nigerian universities - a novel idea in foreign aid - and the Netherlands government practically built from scratch the University of Nigeria's Faculty of Engineering by supplying equipment, staff and technical assistance.

Michigan State University (MSU) helped to establish the new University of Nigeria as a land-grant institution through a ten-year trilateral agreement, M.S.U./USAID/Nigerian government, with the latter represented by the Eastern Nigerian government. M.S.U. supplied thirty professors and teachers biennially, and gave equipment and technical information, particularly in general administration and agriculture. It also supplied the first two vice-chancellors.

The University of Ife was assisted, mainly in agriculture, by a Wisconsin University team under a USAID contract. The University was also helped by the Overseas Development Ministry through London University, which supplied a number of lecturers in the main branches of science subjects (physics, chemistry, zoology, botany and biology) under what was styled a VISTA (Visiting Scientists Teaching Abroad) scheme under which a number of London University lecturers taught in rotation for one term each. The University was also helped substantially in the building up of its Institute of Administration by the Ford Foundation which supplied a teaching staff, equipment, and a consultative system, for this as well as the Institute of African Studies and Education.

Ahmadu Bello University received substantial support from the Wisconsin Team via USAID for staff and equipment in agriculture and from an Indiana Team for an audio-visual aid center. The Carnegie Corporation contributed to the development of its Institute of Education. Special grants were also made by

the United Kingdom government for general development.

From the beginning, the University of Lagos was assisted by UNESCO. At the request of the Federal government, the agency supplied a number of professors at the initial stages. New York University assisted in building up the Lagos University Business School through a UNESCO-USAID contract.

According to the Calloway and Musone study, an estimated sum of £9.874 million was committed by all external donors to higher education in Nigeria between 1960 and 1964, and some £4.265 million was actually disbursed by the end of 1964.⁸

Student Financing: Payments of tuition fees is common in the Nigerian universities, unlike in United Kingdom universities, where most students are on government and local council bursaries, or in East, North and Central Africa and the French-speaking African countries, where all students attend fee-free universities and in some cases receive special allowances for doing so. As over 90-percent of the Nigerian undergraduates are residential, fees charged cover tuition, room, board, examinations, students' union, breakages, teaching practice (education) etc. The lowest fees charged are in the neighborhood of £50 (for arts) and £60 (for science), while the highest is about £70 (for medicine). A deposit of £10 is to be paid by freshmen before the session begins to ensure that a place is reserved and is reckoned as part of the total fees. Examination fees are payable for all University examinations, but no fees are payable for class and sessional examinations. The Caution Money for all students and the Laboratory deposit for science students are refundable at the end of the course if there has been no breakage or damage.

Students' fees represent only a small percentage of the income of a university at any given time. In the 1963-64 academic year for instance, Ibadan collected 8-percent of its recurrent revenue from students, while Ife

collected 14 percent. As enrollment tripled at Ife (1966-67), the percentage dropped to 13 percent. The cost per student to each of the universities continues to be relatively high as is indicated in Table IV.

Payment of fees by students continues to be a subject for annual debate. At the beginning of each academic session, indigent students are either sent home before the end of the term or session. The Nigerian press and educators in and out of the universities continue to appeal to the various governments to cancel payment of fees. Although there are many agencies awarding scholarships to students, less than 40 percent of the Nigerian undergraduates benefit from these bursaries. The biggest benefactors are the Federal and State governments, followed by Nigerian statutory corporations, particularly the marketing boards, foreign countries, foundations and foreign governments. With some measure of success Nsukka experimented by giving loans to students through a banking house and by providing 'work-aid' for needy students. The Federal Military Government has approved a loan scheme in an attempt to solve the perennial problem of needy students.

There is a need for the Nigerian universities to raise money for endowment. The University of Ibadan has already started such a fund and Ife has followed suit, but the other universities have yet to establish similar schemes. The most crucial challenge that all the universities face is how to accept government subsidies and still remain independent of government direct and indirect pressures. Certainly some government pressures are healthy and should be welcome, especially in terms of manpower needs and maximization of scarce resources. Any university that ignores the legitimate demands of a government in a hurry (this description typifies most progressive governments in Africa) will have only itself to blame when it loses public confidence for

TABLE IV
GROSS RECURRENT EXPENDITURE PER STUDENT⁴
YEAR 1972-73

	IBADAN	NSUKKA	ABU	LAGOS	IFE	BENI
TOTAL RECURRENT EXPENDITURE ³	14,459	14,678	16,753	13,075	12,146	5,71
NUMBER OF STUDENTS	3,942	2,958	5,055	3,982	3,898	41
COST: NAIRA PER STUDENT ¹	3,667	4,420	3,314	3,040	3,766	13,69

- Notes: 1. The cost per student for all Nigeria's universities taken together is Naira 3,791.
2. Benin, being a new university and having only three faculties (science, Engineering, Medicine) obviously has high recurrent costs for the present.
3. Gross Recurrent Expenditure includes expenditure for organized research units and for extra-mural activities and these have no relation to teaching of full-time students.
4. For international comparison it should be noted that the expenditures given in this table include several justifiable expenditures that would not feature in the costs of universities in more developed countries. For example: (a) Students' housing and boarding expenditures, (b) Staff housing, and (c) Staff development including expenditures for further education of staff abroad.

Source: Provided by Professor Archibald Calloway; calculation based on information supplied by the Nigerian Universities Commission.

failing to meet the pressing needs of the whole population whose labor supports it.

Entrance Requirements: The entrance requirements of all Nigerian universities are similar. Prospective students must hold the G.C.E. or equivalent in five subjects including two at advanced level in relevant subjects for direct entry to the three-year program leading to the B.A., B.Sc., or B.Ed.⁹ Candidates with 'O' level (or equivalent) in five subjects may be admitted, by competitive entrance examination, to a one-year course of basic studies in arts or the sciences before proceeding to the three-year degree courses in the various faculties. Some departments have supplementary requirements. Although all faculties consider candidates who satisfy minimum requirements, it is becoming increasingly difficult for candidates with lower passes to gain admission into any of them.

IV. UNIVERSITIES OF THE 1970s: PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES

The University and the People: We have reviewed the evolution and development of higher education in Nigeria and the direction of higher education in the 1960's and early 1970's. This final section will be devoted to the problems and challenges that face Nigerian higher education in the 1970's and the analysis of the needed changes in strategies and policies which may help to make higher education more responsive to the needs of the Nigerian society in the late 1970's and the 1980's.

Between 1950 and 1970 both the newly independent countries of Africa and their people held the illusion that the newly established higher educational institutions in their countries would help transform the economy and improve the lot of their people. Consequently, the government and the people

poured money into education in general and higher education in particular. In some countries, including Nigeria, 30 to 40 percent of the annual recurrent budget was allocated to education. Large and elaborate buildings, sophisticated equipment, scholarships etc. were generously provided in the early years. The professor, the graduates and the undergraduates enjoyed enviable positions in society. Thousands of young men and women were attracted to the universities and admission figures grew phenomenally in many countries. Higher education became a means by which a student of poor background could climb both the social and economic ladder in his society. Everyone--the tax payers, the government and the university people themselves--felt sure that carbon copies of Oxford, Cambridge, Harvard and Moscow universities in Africa would effectively serve the needs of their people. The problem, of course, was that the developing countries failed to realize at that time that a university in an affluent society has a different role to play as compared to a similar institution in a developing country. Africans borrowed staff, equipment, ideas and practices very generously from the cosmopolitan countries supposing that a university is UNIVERSAL and therefore knows no national boundary. They forgot that what is universal is the quest for knowledge and truth, not necessarily structures and organization, curriculum, etc. Indeed, African academics have tended to conform to Lord Malaulay's ideal of a well educated Indian of the 19th century: "A person, Indian in blood but English in thought, language, religion and culture."

In the late 1960's and early 1970's, the taxpayers and the governments of most underdeveloped or developing countries began to question the role and cost of the universities in their midst. They felt that their universities were failing them in many ways. Most importantly, they have not helped to improve the economy of their nations; on the contrary, university education

was becoming too expensive for poor countries to finance. While continuing to accept the important role of the universities, it was felt that they were not developing the right mix needed for a relatively poor nation. Worse still, some of the graduates had no special skills to contribute to the development of the nation, having been trained in subjects which cannot be of immediate use to the graduate or his society. What's more, there is a growing feeling that the university community constituted itself into an "elitist group" willing to admit new entrants but ensuring that the group is small enough to retain its elitist character.

In sum, the generality of the people in the developing countries are feeling that universities are economic parasites providing them no benefits. Indeed the reality of university education in Africa today is that the universities are islands of privilege in an ocean of poverty.

Conditions vary from country to country, but we will be deceiving ourselves if we fail to see that our universities must be flexible enough to meet the social, cultural, attitudinal and economic changes that are taking place in our societies. We can only ignore these at the risk of jeopardizing the existence of universities in our countries.

Necessity For Change: As we have observed earlier, Nigerian universities in the 1970's are faced with the problem of re-defining their roles within the Nigerian context. In other words, Nigerian universities, like their counterparts in other developing countries, are faced with the problem of identifying more closely with their environment. In 1972 the Association of African Universities held an important seminar in Accra, Ghana on the theme: Creating the African University, Emerging Issues of the 1970's, attended by scholars from forty-one African universities and representing various fields and a variety of foreign and local academic backgrounds and traditions.

The group included a cross-section of the African academic community and the conferees agreed that there was a compelling need for the universities in the 1970's to fully identify themselves with the needs and aspirations of their people. It defined the African university envisaged as "A community essentially of African scholars, men and women, old and young, lettered and unlettered, dedicated to serve knowledge to its community and committed to the total development of the African society with the objective of the total liberation of the common man from all that hampers his well-being physically, materially and intellectually."¹⁰

As we examine the role of the Nigerian universities in the context of the Accra conference, six major issues have to be resolved if the universities are to bridge the gap between themselves and their society:

(1) Attitudes: Most developing countries, including Nigeria, are faced with the problems of poverty, disease and ignorance. How do we create development-oriented universities that will be more responsive to the needs and aspirations of the people?

What we can consider top priority is the attitude of academic staff and administrators on what should be the role of a university in a developing country. We need to re-orientate the staff and de-anglicize them if they are going to be sensitized to the needs of their people. If we can achieve this, half the problem is solved. Africanization of the university faculty is helpful, but it does not guarantee awareness and relevance. The local staff is not any different in attitude, only in color, from his expatriate counterpart. Both were probably trained in the same overseas institution and both have imbibed the same idea of what a university is in an affluent society. Their research orientation is that of a developed economy and so is their attitude to teaching and curriculum. What we are saying here is that we should change

our attitude and re-think our role. We need to make ourselves relevant to our society first, before we can be in a position to produce relevant curriculum and relevant students.

In addition, every university faculty member needs teacher training if he is to maximize his effectiveness as a university teacher. There is a mistaken notion among university dons that teacher training is an unnecessary requirement and that the undergraduate should take the professor as he finds him and be thankful for having him at all! Another mistaken notion is that a good researcher automatically makes a good teacher and many university promotional committees place emphasis on research, teaching and community service, in that order. Consequently many a university teacher devotes more time to research than teaching and gets away with it. What is more, the more theoretical and the less relevant the better and it is the student who suffers all around.

(2) A Wall-less University: There is need for Nigerian universities to break down the physical and psychological barriers that stand between them and their society. A wall-less university should naturally facilitate the flow of ideas from inside out and outside in making the university more receptive to ideas, more responsive to challenges and more sympathetic to the needs of their people and government. The traditional poets, linguists, artists, musicians, agriculturists and other talented, but unlettered experts should be given an opportunity to share their knowledge with university staff and students. The good influence of the university in terms of its staff, students and other resources must be felt by the society for a university supported by the state must serve all of its people. The university in Nigeria must attempt to enter every home, town, city, and rural area through research, teaching, and dissemination of knowledge and skills by radio,

television, newspapers and by any available means of communication. Conversely, its classes must be open to its local constituency through innovative programs and staffing that arise from the unique genius of local cultural traditions.

(3) Flexible Curriculum: There is an urgent need to liberalize the curriculum which at present follows the British pattern too closely, although some of the universities are now introducing a general studies course to help broaden the background of their students. Except for the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, all other universities admit all students as "honors" candidates until they prove otherwise. This system results in considerable wastage, as failure in one out of six or eight examination papers (taken at one sitting) means that the student will be required to repeat the whole year and all of the subjects including the ones he previously passed. Nigerian universities, along with the entire educational system, are examination-centered. It is a popular joke that "Nigeria may not have an educational system, but it surely has an examination system."

Apart from removing this self-imposed wastage in the system, the various subject components in the curriculum need to be Africanized in terms of all teaching-materials, case studies etc. For instance, sociology should be rural and pastoral as well as industrial; psychology should be taught and illustrated with African and Nigerian examples and problems; science should be studied for use in Africa while agriculture should be brought closer to farming, as someone aptly observed: "The universities do agriculture in English while the Nigerian farmer does farming in Ibo, Hausa or Yoruba." For this to happen, relevant research findings should be brought to bear on teaching, while teaching methods should be improved

and related to the needs of the students and their environment.

Another aspect of the curriculum that needs re-assessment is in the area of technical and commercial education which at present is the Cinderella of the education system. Nigerian universities need to broaden the base of their curriculum and incorporate intermediate courses in the basic sciences, business, agricultural and home economics education, secretarial studies, citizenship and leadership education, government and administration and teacher education as they relate to these areas. This could be accomplished by affiliating the few intermediate colleges that run such courses to the universities and thus give these colleges and their students the status they richly deserve in a country that is waiting to be developed, not by an army of literary men, but by a corps of technicians and teachers. Many university students in Nigeria readily admit that they are in the university in order to get a "meal ticket." A university degree is a vehicle for upward social and economic mobility, and rightly so. But if Nigeria is not to over-produce degree-holders at the expense of intermediate skills necessary to support the top echelon, greater emphasis has to be placed on technical, commercial, agricultural and home economics education. Greater parity of esteem must be established between university degrees on one hand and diplomas and certificates earned in polytechnics and other technical colleges on the other. If this is done, it is most likely that many more able students will opt for technical and commercial education than is the case at present. Presently, out of every 100 students opting for higher education, over 90 seek admission to the university and less than 10 apply to technical institutes. Even those brave few receive far less remuneration than their degree-holding counterparts; consequently those coming after them avoid the polytechnics except as a last resort. Governmental action is required to rectify this anomaly.

(4) Relevant Research: We have discussed earlier the need to re-orientate the staff. As they are largely responsible for research, they need to direct their attention to the type of research that will benefit the people. As we generally contend, the study of "whether Shakespeare is Shakespeare" is a valuable inquiry, but it does not in any way improve the lot of the generality of the African people; however, the problem of English as a second language in Nigeria, Ghana, Sudan, or India, is certainly more relevant and valuable as an important piece of research. Indeed, if a Nigerian fails to pursue the Shakespeare project, others from Australia, Britain or Canada may one day tell the world whether Shakespeare is indeed Shakespeare. But will an Australian or New Zealander come out to Nigeria to do effective research into the linguistic problems of the country? It is most unlikely although it may happen by chance. But the study of a country's problems should not be left to chance, individual ambition, or the good-will of another country. We need to involve our students more in the collection of research data and in the actual exercise of designing and executing the research program. There is hardly an area of life in Nigeria that has been fully studied. Many fields are awaiting discovery and the sky is the limit. Time on esoteric research is time and opportunity lost. We need to eliminate tedium in agriculture, improve human conditions, prevent and cure diseases. The battle against ignorance, disease and poverty in Africa should without exception be an active concern of all academics.

(5) Life-long Education: The universities in the 1970's should constitute themselves into life-long education centers in the evenings. At present most of their facilities are unused between 6:00 p.m. and 6:00 a.m. During the long vacation from June to September, the facilities are closed down except for the few classrooms and dormitories utilized

for in-service training for teachers regularly mounted by institutes of education. Here is a unique opportunity for the university staff and students to use part of the summer vacation for improving in a more direct fashion the lives of their fellow citizens through teaching, research, community projects and the like. It is also a period when classes could be held in rural areas and conferences organized between the faculties of agriculture and the local farmers. The problems confronting the farmers will be better appreciated if university experts and their students live and work with the local farmers if only for a few weeks at a time.

(6) Students' Re-orientation: Undergraduates should be encouraged to manage their own personal affairs. Over 80 percent of Nigerian university students are housed and fed by the universities. But life outside the university walls is another matter. The majority of university students should live off campus on their own. This is desirable both from the economic and social standpoint. Most graduates experience cultural re-entry problems due to the isolated nature of the university environment. Students need to remain close to their cultural pasts and they need to learn self-reliance. Living off-campus could be a powerful reform with obvious economic advantages to the student, the university and the community.

Nigerian universities cannot continue indefinitely as an oasis of privilege in a sea of poverty; nor can they afford to ignore the pressing needs and aspirations of their people. They can only do so at their own peril. These institutions, as we said earlier, were creations of their respective governments in response to the demand made by the taxpayers. The university teachers and administrators, if they are to survive the

present century, must of necessity move ahead of government in planning the social and economic order. They must strive relentlessly to help solve social and economic problems. They must climb down from their ivory tower and mingle with the masses below without getting submerged in the process. They must be human if they are to humanize their disciplines and disciples.

In the final analysis, the Nigerian universities must justify their existence within the Nigerian social milieu. They must maximize their contribution to their society and individual human well-being. Until there is marked improvement in the social and economic lot of the Nigerian people, universities in Nigeria will be in constant danger of losing their credibility and, indeed, their existence.

V. CONCLUSION

Administrative arrangements to coordinate these suggested changes and re-orientation are needed. Decentralization of functions is a prerequisite as the universities grow bigger. The role of the Vice-Chancellor, the Registrar and other offices need to be re-examined and new roles determined. A system of accountability both at the academic and administrative levels needs to be introduced if the proposed multi-purpose, development-oriented universities are to maximize their effectiveness.

NOTES

1

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2

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3

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5

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6

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7

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8

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9

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10

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